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THE
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ORIGINAL PAPERS;

CONTAINING THE

SECRET HISTORY of GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

RESTORATION,

TO THE ACCESSION OF THE

HOUSE OF HANNOVER.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

EXTRACTS from the LIFE of JAMES II.

AS WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

THE WHOLE ARRANGED AND PUBLISHED

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

VOL. II.

31052
a2

PERICULOSÆ PLENUM OPUS ALEÆ. HOR.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand.
MDCCLXXVI.

TT.d.15

00031052

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

STUART PAPERS.

1706.

1706.

THOUGH the ſtate of affairs in Scotland was calculated to raiſe the hopes of the court of St. Germains, the Stuart papers for this year are more curious than important. The Scotiſh Jacobites were reſolved to riſk every thing to prevent the union, and the conſequent ſucceſs of the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. The French had given them ſome expectations of ſupport; but the battles of Ramillies and Turin diſconcerted all their meaſures. The French King declared that he could ſpare neither men nor money at preſent; but that he would ſearch for a more favourable conjuncture to give them the aid they required. The Tories in England were more cautious than the Jacobites of Scotland. They wiſhed for the reſtoration of the excluded family; but they were unwilling to agree to any attempt, during the life of Queen Anne. They held no direct communication with the court of St. Germains. The agents of that court, however, had acceſs, as uſual, to Marlborough and Godolphin, who ſeemed to give private aſſurances of zeal for the Pretender, when they, particularly the former, publickly avowed their attachment to the houſe of Hannover, while both promoted the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. It appears that the excluded family had turned their eyes, as early as the preſent year, towards the King of Sweden; who, by poſſeſſing himſelf of Saxony, and dethroning King Auguſtus, became, in ſome meaſure, the umpire of the affairs of Europe.

1706. Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. February 21.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

"THIS is to let you know that your couſin Wiſely [the King] is very well pleaſed with the care you take to preſerve her right in reverſion upon her kinſwoman's [Queen Anne's] death; and ſhe very well approves of the method you propoſe of conſulting with Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] concerning what is beſt to be done in it: conſidering all preſent circumſtances, without doubt that lawyer is better able than any other, both to adviſe and to act effectually in this affair, if he were willing to undertake it. But of that I muſt doubt, conſidering his behaviour in your couſin's former claim of right to her eſtate in poſſeſſion; however, your couſin gives you full commiſſion to act and proceed in the way you ſhall think beſt for his intereſt. And when you have conſulted the above-named lawyer, you will be better able to take your meaſures, and to inform your couſin how matters are likely to go.

March 21. What you now write concerning that part of the quit-rents which are lately become due to your couſin Wiſely [the King] ſufficiently ſhews her undoubted right to them according to law; but I fear there will be many difficulties, not eaſy to overcome, that will obſtruct her getting poſſeſſion of them, through the neglect of her truſtee, of which we ſhall know more, when you have conferred with Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] about it. Your couſin's title is certainly good in law, both againſt Young [princeſs Anne] and againſt that other perſon [Hannover] whoſe name I forgot, who at preſent, as you ſay, puts in a claim. I am glad to hear you ſay that thoſe who have long ſince ſo often promiſed to pay Pleſſington's [the King's] debts, make ſteps as if they did deſign to be honeſt at laſt; though I do not find that you have had any freſh aſſurance from Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] or Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin], who I know are full of other buſineſs at preſent.

April 5. What I hear concerning Hanmer [Hannover] and his knight [Sir Rowland Gwyne] is very extraordinary, and I believe will make ſome diviſion in Wanley's [the Whigs] family, of which ſome are for joining immediately in company with the merchant Hanmer [Hannover], and others of them, with Mr. Brag [in the parliament] have publickly appeared againſt it. I alſo believe that thoſe few of Kenzy's relations [Tories], that ſtood up for Hanmer [Hannover], have done

but little good either to Hanmer [Hannover] or to themſelves. It is very probable, as you ſay, that the two merchants, Goulſton [Godolphin] and Armſworth [Marlborough] have had a great hand in all this, but whether with an honeſt intention of paying their old debts or not, time muſt ſhow. You are much in the right not to move in the buſineſs of the quit-rents, lately fallen in, whilſt Mr. Brag [parliament] is in town, and that will come on better next term. In the mean time, you may have opportunity of conſulting with Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] about it, and as you may find him diſpoſed, you may make a pretty near gueſs of the ſucceſs of that and of other matters. 1706.

April 25. I ſhould be very glad to hear of your having had ſome communication with Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] about the old debts, before his going into the country [abroad]; but if that cannot be, I hope at leaſt that ſomething will be ſaid about that matter to captain Gourdon [colonel Sackville], of which I ſuppoſe you will have an account.

June 6. I find that your kinſman, Mr. Wiſely [the King], is very well pleaſed with the way in which you proceed about the recovery of that part of the quit-rents lately fallen in, and applying them to the payment of the debts formerly contracted. As to the ſucceſs of this matter, much will depend upon the honeſty of Mr. Young's ſolicitor, [the princeſs of Denmark's miniſter] Goulſton [Godolphin], for he has in his hands wherewithall to clear that matter, and therefore a ſeaſonable application ought to be made to him.

Being a perſon concerned in theſe debts, though I can pretend no great ſkill in the law, yet I ſhould be glad theſe queries might be made to thoſe that are of Wiſely's [Queen's] council: 1ſt, Whether Wiſely has not at preſent a clear title in law, as it now ſtands, to thoſe quit-rents? 2dly, And if ſo, whether he may not make them over to ſome truſtees, for the payment of thoſe debts, by a deed that will ſtand good in law? This I mention becauſe I do not ſee, at preſent, how the title is devolved from Wiſely [the King] to Young [Queen Anne]; but you that are upon the place can better judge of theſe matters.

June 28. In your laſt you gave full ſatisfaction to the two queries I had put to you in mine of the ſixth of June; ſo that nothing

1706. June. otherwiſe is to be done in the buſineſs of the quit-rents than according to the plan laid down by you, by the advice of counſel upon the place; for, as you ſay, Mr. Brag [parliament] is a very angry gentleman naturally, and his bitterneſs ought not to be ſtirred. Mr. Manning's [the King of France] affairs have gone ſo much backwards of late, that there is little hope of his being able to lay down the ſum neceſſary to redeem the mortgage (an army for an invaſion), ſo that we muſt neceſſarily make the beſt of the promiſes given, by thoſe other merchants, which you know have been ſuch, as no honeſt man could make and not perform, when able to do ſo. Nor is there, at preſent, any queſtion to be made of their ability, having almoſt all the trade in their hands; ſo that, if they fail in the performance, the ſhame will be theirs, and the loſs will be ours."

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 33.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.——He informs him of his maſter's abilities and application to buſineſs.

June 28, 1706.

"THE King, my maſter, applies to buſineſs now, with the addreſs of a ſkillful workman. The diſpatches for Scotland, were exactly conformed to what you ſaid to me. They are all in his own hand and ſtyle, as well as eight letters to individuals, of the firſt conſequence: as this gives myſelf very great pleaſure, I believe you will not be diſpleaſed to know it."

July. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 21.

'*An account of the preſent ſtate of Scotland, in July, 1706.*"—*Indorſed*, "*Mr. Scot's relation.*"

"Firſt, *An account of the ſtanding forces, now actually in the kingdom.*"

"THE earl of Leven, commander in chief and maſter of the ordnance, a notorious whig and Hannoverian. The earl of Lothian, major general, ſuch as the commander in chief, but of leſs capacity. James Maitland, major general, a ſoldier ſince he was a man; and if his capacity is as good as his experience is long, he may be a good officer. He is thought to have ſome good inclinations; and it is preſumed he may be treated with.

The

The regiment of guards, without a colonel ſince Ramſay's death, 1706.
conſiſts of 16 companies, each company 40 men, including ſerjeants, corporals, and drums, is 640.

The earl of Dalhouſie, firſt lieutenant colonel, a young man with a very ſmall eſtate, no good manager, has debts, and ſometimes forced to take ſanctuary in the abbey of Holyrood-Houſe; but being of a loyal family and ſo educated, it is preſumed he has good inclinations; and it may be reaſonably expected, that the King's preſence will draw him, and all ſuch to his Majeſty's intereſt and ſervice. The other lieutenant colonel —— Stewart, brother to the earl of Galloway, is thought to have good inclinations; and to my certain knowledge, he was for the grand reſolve. The major and following officers of this regiment, are reputed well affected; Thomas Hamilton, ſecond major, John Murray, James Scott, John Hamilton, William Sharp, — Scott, — Stewart, captains; William Murray and James Ogilvie, lieutenants; the firſt two captains, and the two lieutenants, I know to be ſo.

The troop of horſe guards, commanded by the earl of Argyle, conſiſts of 100 gentlemen; at leaſt, ſhould be ſo.

The lord Forbes, firſt lieutenant, a bigotted whig, little ſenſe, little eſtate, and diſloyal. My lord Ballantyne, the other lieutenant, one of a very ordinary capacity and little or no eſtate; at the Revolution, and for ſeveral years after, was eſteemed very loyal; but having ſquandered a good eſtate, and falling in with the duke of Queenſberry, he bought him, at the price of his poſt. Mr. John Kerr, the firſt cornet, ſuch as the captain; the other Archibald Douglas, was at and after the Revolution thought very loyal, and is ſtill reputed well affected; but much under the influence of the duke of Queenſberry. I am credibly informed, that many of the gentlemen of the troop are well affected.

Two troops, or companies of grenadiers, on horſeback; each conſiſting of 30 men, ranked as guards, 60.

The earl of Crawford, colonel, a good-natured man, and brave; has little or no eſtate, and influenced by the earl of Arran. The captains of *(ſome words illegible)* lord Cumberland, oldeſt ſon to the earl of Balcarras, and —— Chrichton, heir male to the late earl of Dumfries.

The

1706. The firſt is a very young gentleman, that ſeems to promiſe no great things; the other is thought to have ſome good inclinations towards the King.

Major general Maitland's regiment, in the garriſon of Inverlochy, conſiſts (as I remember) of twelve companies; each company 40 men, including ſerjeants, corporals, and drums, 480.

Robert Keith, firſt lieutenant colonel. I have known him from my infancy. He always was before, and at the Revolution, very loyal; but I think, ſince that unhappy time, he is much corrupted in his principles; yet, at the ſame time, I judge his old imbibed loyalty is not entirely wore out, but that he may be retrieved; and, if I am commanded or permitted, I will uſe my beſt endeavours to perſuade and engage him to his duty; for I know he has a great friendſhip for me, and will not deceive me. The other lieutenant colonel of this regiment, is Mr. Patrick Ogilvie, ſecond ſon to the earl of Findlater, who will always be ſuch as his brother, at leaſt ſo long as he is chancellor. Yet he has many times, with great aſſeverations, ſaid, that he never would do any thing againſt the King's intereſt. Other officers of that regiment I know not; but in general, I am informed, that ſome of them are well affected, and it is preſumed, many of the common ſoldiers are ſo, becauſe moſt of them are Highlandmen, and of conſequence thought loyal.

Lord Strathnaver's regiment of foot, conſiſts of 10 companies; each company 30 men, including ſerjeants, corporals, and drums, is 300.

This colonel is a very young man, and his father, the earl of Sutherland, being of ill principles, it may reaſonably be preſumed he is ſo. Yet I am told by ſome of his relations, that he is much better diſpoſed than his father. The earl of Glencairn, lieutenant colonel, I know is loyally inclined; and I have it from moſt unqueſtionable authors, that he has often ſaid, he never would do any thing againſt the King, and, as I remember, he voted the grand reſolution; and ſeveral captains and ſubalterns in the regiment are reputed well affected.

The laird of Grant, younger; his regiment is in companies, and number of men, the ſame with Strathnaver's, 300.

The colonel, before he got the regiment, was reputed loyal; but ſince he had it, by Argyle's procurement, he is conſidered, as much influenced by

by that lord. Bruce of Kennith, the lieutenant colonel, is reputed loyal, as are ſeveral other officers in that regiment. 1706.

The earl of Lothian's regiment of dragoons, as I remember, conſiſts of ſix companies; each company, including ſerjeants, corporal, and drum, is 30 men, 180.

The colonel's character is already given. The lieutenant colonel is ſon to Pollwarth, now called earl of Marchmont; when the late earl of Hume liſted, this lieutenant colonel was thought well affected, and very much under the influence of Hume; but what to ſay of him now, I know not.

The major of this regiment, John Johnſton, of Weſtraw, is reputed to have loyal inclinations, being much managed that way by his very loyal lady; but he is much under the influence of his chief, the earl of Annandale, whom few of any ſide muſt truſt.

The Maſter of Carmichael's regiment of dragoons is, in troops and number of men, every way the ſame with Lothian's, 180.

This colonel, like his father, my lord Carmichael, now called earl Hyndford, is conſidered as not well affected to the King's intereſt, and his lieutenant colonel —— Wiſhart far leſs; being a bigotted whig, the ſon of a miniſter of that pernicious tribe. But Pollock of that ilk, the major, though he is ſomething whiggiſhly inclined, Kilmaronock tells me, that he has often, with great aſſeverations, ſaid to him, that when the King comes, he ſhall have him and his troop; and this is all the loyalty I know in this regiment, except one lieutenant Graham, who I know to be well affected.

Three independent companies, for ſuppreſſing the Highland thieves and robbers; each company 100 men, 300.

The firſt independent company is commanded by captain Campbell, of Finnab; ſuch as his chief, Argyle.

The ſecond independent company, commanded by captain William Grant; generally reputed loyal.

The third independent company, commanded by major M'Kenzie; reputed loyal.

The

1706. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by earl of Léven, governor. The garriſon, as I remember, conſiſts of 100.

The governor's character is already given.

The lieutenant-governor, colonel James Stuart, one that was bred in Dumbarton's regiment, and before and at the Revolution was eſteemed very loyal, and is ſtill reputed to have loyal inclinations, but is a little influenced by the duke of Queenſberry.

Major Cout, the lieutenant of the company, is a moſt bigotted whig, and reputed very diſloyal.

The caſtle of Stirling is commanded by the earl of Mar, governor. The garriſon conſiſts of 100 men.

What to ſay of the governor I know not well. He was much reputed to have loyal inclinations; and to my certain knowledge, very much courted by the earl of Arran, to be brought entirely in, both to the intereſt of the King and country, and Arran once thought himſelf ſure of him. But, laſt ſeſſion of parliament, when the duke of Queenſberry came to Scotland, he no ſooner came, but he drew Mar from the country party, with the bait of ſecretary of ſtate.

The lieutenant governor is colonel John Erſkine; one that is ſuppoſed will always be for what the court has a mind to, ſo long as he enjoys any tolerable good poſt. But —— Shaw, of Saughy, lieutenant of the company, is reputed to have loyal inclinations.

The caſtle of Dumbarton is commanded by Maſter Archibald Campbell, brother to Argyle. Who is the lieutenant, I know not; but the garriſon, I think, conſiſts of 60 men.

The caſtle of Blackneſs is commanded by the earl of Buchan, lately made governor; and the garriſon, as I ſuppoſe, conſiſts of about 60 men; but who the lieutenant is, I know not.

The number of the whole forces, in field and garriſon, 2860.

This account of the forces is calculated according to the eſtabliſhment; but cannot be reckoned effectually 2500, at the higheſt."

"Second, *The officers of ſtate are*"

"E. Seafield, chancellor: there is no lord high treaſurer: the duke of Queenſberry, privy ſeal: the earls of Mar and Loudon, ſecretaries of ſtate: Boyle of Killburn, now called earl of Glaſgow, treaſurer depute: Cockburn of Ormiſton, juſtice clerk: Murray of Philliphaugh, regiſter.

The marquis of Montroſe, preſident of council, not properly an officer of ſtate. 1706.

Mr. James Stuart, now called Sir James, is advocate;

Mr. William Carmichael and Sir David Dalrymple, ſolicitors."

Third, "*An account of the Shires.**."

Edinburgh.

THE earl of Dalhouſie, lieutenant-colonel of the foot-guards, is ſheriff, and for the court. "The family of Winton were never ſtained with diſloyalty. The preſent earl is in France; and the affairs of that family are under the conduct of Mr. James Seaton, a moſt loyal gentleman, and brother german to the lord Kingſton. Lord Balmerino, a very bold loyal man, and of good parts, is very ſignificant in parliament, and always with the country party." Collington, lord of Seſſion, in the late King's time, and Lockhart of Carnwath, two commiſſionrs of parliament for the ſhire are "unqueſtionably loyal, and of the country party." Of the other two commiſſioners, Dundas of Arniſton and Dickſon of Invereſk, "the firſt is a whig, a courtier, and lord of Seſſion; and the other has been much with the country party, but ſometimes varies."

Scot mentions the following gentlemen, in this ſhire, as very loyal; "Seaton of Barnes, Wauchop of Niddery, and all his ſons, Sinclair of Roſelin, Dalmahoy of that ilk, Sir James Baird, Sir William Paterſon, Sir William Cuningham, Sir James Dick, Sir James Fleming; and in the town of Edinburgh, though the magiſtracy is in Whig hands, the moſt of the merchants and tradeſmen are well affected: and here, I cannot but remember Mr. Drummond, the keeper of the priſon, who is always kind to loyal priſoners, and took no fees from them, particularly from myſelf, he would take none."

Haddington.

The earls of Tweedale, Roxburgh, and Haddington, "all three of a ſtamp, and, as is ſuppoſed, much for Hannover;" yet it is thought, enemies to the union. "What to ſay of lord Belhaven's loy-

* This account is greatly abridged.

1706 alty, I know not: for he has varied in parliament, as he had employment from the court." The commiſſioners of parliament are Sir John Lawder of Fountainhall, "one that is thought tolerably well affected but peeviſh and humourſome;" Fletcher of Salton, "though he owns himſelf of republican principles, always oppoſes the court, with vigour, ſpeaks boldly and well, and has often ſaid to myſelf, that he will oppoſe union and Hannover ſtill, as thinking both deſtructive to the nation;" Niſbet of Dirleton, well affected; Cockburn of Ormiſton, younger, for the court. "The generality of the gentry, in this ſhire, are eſteemed well affected, as are many of the commons." Alexander Egar, Surgeon, member for the town of Haddington, is, "by many, thought loyal, but ſometimes influenced by Tweedale, becauſe he has much of his employment from that lord and others of his kidney."

Berwick.

The earl of Hume, heritable ſheriff, about 18 years of age, "has been loyally educated, and has a loyal governor; and it is not to be doubted, but he will follow the example of his moſt loyal, worthy father, lately deceaſed." The friends of the earls of Roxburgh and Haddington, in this ſhire, joined with Polwarth, in a late election againſt the earl of Hume; "which ſeems to be a clear indication, of what is to be expected from theſe three." The commiſſioners of parliament are, Sir Robert Sinclair of Longformacus, Sir Patrick Hume of Lumſden; "both reputed loyal, and have always adhered to the country party;" Sir John Swinton of that Ilk, "who ſometimes trims, but for the moſt part is with the country party;" the ſeat of the fourth is vacant. "In this ſhire, many, both of gentry and commons, are well affected, and generally all are ſo, that are not whigs, either here or elſewhere in Scotland."

Roxburgh.

Douglas of Cavers, is ſheriff and one of the commiſſioners for this ſhire. He is "entirely managed by the duke of Queenſberry." The other commiſſioners are; Sir William Ker of Greenhead, "reputed an honeſt well affected man, but a little influenced by his chief, Roxburgh;" Elliot of Headſhaw, lord of Seſſion, "who, as I am well informed, came in by a trick, is entirely wrong;" Bennet, younger, of Grubet, "He was in the country party, till Tweedale, Roxburgh, and others of

of that ſet, broke off. He is now muſter-maſter and a courtier." The gentry are well affected, and the "commons, that are not whigs, are here and every where inclined to follow their maſter." 1706.

Selkirk.

Murray of Philiphaugh, is heritable ſheriff. The commiſſioners are, Mr. John Murray, advocate, and Mr. John Pringle Staining. "The firſt is entirely governed by his brother Philiphaugh, and the other much ſo." The town of Selkirk, is repreſented by Robert Scot. "As I remember, he trims; but the town, I know, is generally well affected."

Peebles.

Scot did not remember who is ſheriff for this ſhire. "The commiſſioners," ſays he, "are Horſeburgh, of that Ilk, and Moriſon of Preſtongrange; the firſt is reputed loyal, and he profeſſed ſo to myſelf; the other is a weak, but rich man, expecting a patent of honour, and entirely managed by Queenſberry." The earl of Traquair, is "a worthy honeſt man, and of moſt unqueſtionable loyalty, and ſo is Sir David Murray of Stanhope. Moſt of the gentry are loyal. The commiſſioner for the town of Peebles, Robert Shiels, is for the court."

Lanerk.

Scot did not remember the ſheriff of this county. "The commiſſioners for it are, Bailey of Lamington, Hamilton of Aikenhead, Sinclair of Stevenſtown, younger; theſe three are of the country party, and much managed by the earl of Arran: but Bailey of Jerviſwood has entirely left that party, and is every way wrong. The commons of this country are generally whiggiſh, and conſequently not well affected. But I am informed, a good many of the gentry are well inclined."

Dumfries.

He was uncertain who was ſheriff. "The commiſſioners are, Sir John Johnſton of Weſterhall, led both by employment and the earl of Anandale; Sharp of Hodham, who profeſſes loyalty, but is entirely led by the duke of Queenſberry: ſo is Douglas of Dornock: but Ferguſon of Iſle, the fourth commiſſioner, keeps by the country party, and is reputed loyal; and I heard him lately ſay, he would be againſt the union and Hannover. The common people are generally whiggiſh: but a good

1706. number of the gentry, are well affected. The earl of Nithſdale is a man of undoubted loyalty, much loved and reſpected."

Wigton.

" I know not if the earl of Wigton be ſheriff of this ſhire; but I am perſuaded, he is, and will always prove loyal." The commiſſioners are, Mr. John Stuart of Sorby, brother to the earl of Galloway, and Mr. Stuart of Caſtle Stuart.

Kirkcudbright.

Sir —— Agnew is heritable ſheriff of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, " and by many reputed well affected, and I have heard him expreſs himſelf ſo." The commiſſioners are, Maxwell of Cardines, " a rank whig and Hannoverian;" M'Kee of Palgowan, to my knowledge, is loyal and honeſt, and generally known in that country to be ſo, which is an evidence that moſt of the gentry there are well affected. The town of Kirkcudbright is repreſented by Andrew Hume, ſon to Polwarth, " both father and ſon Hannoverian." The viſcount Kenmure " is of moſt undoubted loyalty, having never taken the oaths."

Air.

" If the earl of Eglington is not ſheriff of this ſhire, I know not who is. But I am ſure his lordſhip profeſſes much loyalty, and have often heard him do ſo. The commiſſioners are, Breſlan, younger, of Biſhoptown, a loyal honeſt man, and a cloſe adherer to the country party; Cathcart of Carlton, ſometimes court, but for the moſt part country party; Mr. Francis Montgomery, always with the court. Many of the gentry are well affected; but the commons generally whigs. For the town of Air, John Muir, an engrained whig, is commiſſioner; and the moſt of the town are ſaid to be like him."

Dumbarton.

Mr. Scot did not know the ſheriff, nor was he well acquainted in the county. But he concluded, that the gentry were loyal, " becauſe they have choſen two gentlemen to repreſent them, that are notourly known to be moſt loyal; Sir William Cochrane of Kilmaronock, and Sir Humphry Colquhoun of Luſs, conſtant adherers to the country party. The town is repreſented by a noted courtier, Mr. Smollett."

Bute

Bute. 1706.

"The Stuart of Bute, now called earl of Bute, is heritable ſheriff, reputed well affected; and ſo is Stuart of —— one of the commiſſioners. But Stuart of Tillicutry, the other commiſſioner, is for the moſt with the court, and much influenced by Stair and the preſident of the Seſſion. For the town of Rothſay, Mr. Dougal Stuart, advocate, brother to Bute, is commiſſioner. He is loyal, active, and bold, ſpeaks well in parliament; and though he is ſheriff depute of Edinburgh, he cloſely adheres to the country party."

Renfrew.

Scot did not know who was ſheriff; but he was convinced, that the earl of Dundonald and the lord Semple were loyal; and he hoped, that the marquis of Montroſe, who had then great intereſt in Renfrew, as well as in Dunbartonſhire, "whatever miſtakes his lordſhip has committed will, in the main, prove for the King's intereſt. The gentry, in this ſhire, are generally reputed loyal; but the commons, moſt partly whiggiſh." Mr. Colin Campbell, member for the town of Renfrew, was reputed to have loyal inclinations, but thought to be a little overawed and influenced, by his chief, Argyle." The commiſſioners for the ſhire, were Sir John Houſton of that ilk, Stuart, younger, of Blackhall, and Pollock of that ilk. "The firſt are, to my knowledge, well affected; but Pollock is entirely courtier."

Linlithgow.

The ſheriff uncertain. "The commiſſioners are, Sharp of Houſton and Mr. John Montgomery, both of the country party. The gentry are generally well affected, and many of the commons are ſo. But the town is repreſented by a moſt bigotted whig, Stuart of Purdiven."

Stirling.

"The earl of Linlithgow, as I ſuppoſe, is ſheriff of this ſhire. He is, to my certain knowledge, loyal, and was from his infancy educated under the government of a moſt loyal mother, ſiſter to the late marquis of Montroſe. The viſcount of Kilſyth is loyal; ſo is lord Forreſter, Graham of Killairn, Graham of Bucklyvie all eminently loyal, and conſtant to the country party. The loyal gentry, that I know in this ſhire, are Mr. Charles Maitland, brother to the earl of Lauderdale, Stirling

1706. ling of Kier, Seaton of Touch, Murray of Polmeas. But I am well informed, that moſt part of the gentry and many of the commons are well affected. The town of Stirling, for the moſt part, is whiggiſh; at leaſt, the magiſtracy is ſo. The commiſſioner for this town, is colonel John Erſkine, brother to the late laird of Alloa, and is a thorough-paced courtier."

Perth.

—" I think the marquis of Athol is ſheriff; and it is hoped, his lordſhip is or will be right; and to my certain knowledge, many of the king's friends are uſing their utmoſt endeavours, to bring him entirely into the King's intereſt. The lord Drummond is of moſt unqueſtionable loyalty, as is his brother, lord John, and all the gentlemen of that name, that I know in this ſhire or elſewhere, are very loyal. The viſcount Stormont is of undoubted loyalty. The lord Nairn is of undoubted loyalty, not having taken the oaths to the princeſs Anne; and, not only, as I am certainly informed, given good advice to his brother, the marquis of Athol, but adviſed and aſſiſted the lord Stormont and others how to manage the marquis, in order to bring him heartily and entirely to the King's intereſt and ſervice."

Scot mentions the following gentlemen, as loyal, in this ſhire, and gives ſeveral reaſons, for his opinion of them: Drummond of Logie, and his brother, Drummond of Blair, and his ſons; Drummond of—— and his brother, Mr. David Drummond of ——, advocate; Mr. James Graham, advocate, " a ſon of the loyal family of Inchbrakie;" Murray of Abercairny and his brother; Lindſay of Evelyke; Smith of Methven; Graham of Balgowan; Gray of Crechie, and Mr. Gray of Crechie, and his ſon, now maſter of Gray; and Sir Patrick Trepland.

Fife.

" The earl of Rothes, as I think, is ſheriff of this ſhire; and it is known to every body, that knows any thing of the tranſactions of Scotland, that he has very much loſt his eſteem and intereſt among the gentry of Fife, ever ſince he left the country party. The earl of Murray is of undoubted loyalty, as is his brother and preſumptive heir, as having never taken the oaths; and my lord Sinclair is eminently loyal, having never taken the oaths, and all his children, that are men, are loyal; and Sir William Bruce, colonel Balfour of Ferny, Scot

of

of Scotstarvit, Sir John Preſton, Carſtairs of Kinneucher, Stuart of Dun- 1706.
aven, and Malcolm of Grange, are all very loyal, never having taken the oaths." The members of parliament were Anſtruther of that ilk, lord of Seſſion, Beaton of Balfour, Balfour of Dunbog, and Douglas of Strenry. Scot was uncertain about the principles of the firſt and laſt, as their conduct in parliament frequently varied; but he was convinced, that the ſecond and third were well affected, as they adhered cloſely to the country party.

"Sir John Malcom and Malcom of Bolbodie I know to be loyal, and the lord Lyon is generally ſo reputed: for the earl of Balcarras, I can ſay little for him; but I know the earl of Kelly has loyal inclinations, but is frequently kept out of parliament, by the influence of his lady and her father Balcarras; the lord Colville is thought well affected, and is a cloſe adherer to the country party: for the reſt of the noblemen in Fife, I can ſay nothing for them. But the far greateſt part of the gentry, in this ſhire, are reputed well affected, as are all ſuch of the commons as are not under the direction and influence of Preſbyterian miniſters. The members of parliament, for the towns in Fife are; Watſon of Aderny, for St. Andrews; David Chriſtie, for Dyſart; Sir Jo. Anſtruther, younger, of that ilk, for Anſtruther Eaſter, ſuch as his father; Sir John Erſkine of Alloa, for Bruntiſland; James Spittell of Lenchat, influenced by Tweedale and Yeſter, is for Inverkeithen; captain Oſſat, a ſeaman, for Kirkaldy; —— of Reedie, younger, for Kinghorn, much, if not entirely, under the influence of the earl of Leven; Bruce of ——, for Coupar, entirely devoted to Rothes; Sir Peter Halket for Dumferling, Smith of Gebliefton, for Pittenweem; Moncrief of Sachop, for Creil; David Dalrymple, for Culroſs, entirely courtier; Robert Anſtruther, for Anſtruther Weſter; Beaton of Balfour, younger, for Kilrenny; all thoſe members for the towns in Fife, except ſuch as are above diſtinguiſhed, are generally believed to be honeſt men, well affected to the King's intereſt, and I know moſt of them to be ſo, and all of them are thought adherers to the country party."

Forfar.

"The earl of Strathmore is ſheriff, and is of undoubted loyalty. The earl of Airly is loyal; as are the moſt of his name every where.

1706. The earl of Southeſk is loyally educated, and, to my knowledge, moſt zealous that way; and it is hoped the earl of Northeſk's inclinations are right. Though he has ſometimes varied in parliament, I am ſure he was for the grand reſolve. The lord Kinnaird is very loyal."

"The members of parliament for this ſhire, are Lyon of Achterhouſe, Carnegie of Finhaven, Haliburton of Piteur, and Graham of Fintray; all four loyal; but the firſt and laſt moſt remarkably ſo." The loyal gentlemen in this county, are "Lindſay of Edſdale and his brother, Fothringham of Powrie, elder and younger, Seaton of Old Bar, Ramſay of Bamff, Graham of Duntroune, he that repreſents Dundee, Lyon of Coſſens, Lyon of Carſe, Lyon of Ongle. The town of Forfar is repreſented by Mr. John Lyon, an honeſt loyal man. Brechin is repreſented by Alexander Milliſon, ſo loyal and honeſt, that no act could yet prevail with him to give the court one ſingle vote, even though he is very poor. Hutcheſon, for the town of Aberbrothick, is reputed loyal; and Scot of Logie, for the town of Montroſe, though he was the firſt that left the country party, upon the temptation of the maſter of works place, he always did, and ſtill does, pretend much loyalty, and has often ſworn to myſelf, that he never will do any thing againſt the King's intereſt.

"In ſhort, this ſhire is ſo entirely loyal, that there is ſcarce any in it of birth, breeding, or eſtate, but what is ſo, and ſo are all the commons, ſome few Whigs excepted, moſt, if not all, in the town of Dundee; but now the magiſtracy of that town is out of their hands, which was chiefly promoted, managed, and effectuated by Fintray, and captain Yeaman, a ſubſtantial merchant, lately come from the Weſt Indies, and has the reputation of a loyal honeſt man."

Kincardineſhire, commonly called Mearns.

"The earl Marſhal heritable ſheriff, of unqueſtionable loyalty, loved and reſpected, has great intereſt in elections for parliament, and on a good occaſion, will be much followed both by the gentry, and commons. The viſcount of Arbuthnot is loyal, and has often profeſſed ſo to myſelf. The family of Halkertown were always loyal, but this lord is mad. The gentry and commons of this ſhire are exactly ſo as in Angus. Such of them as I perſonally know, and am particularly acquainted with, are, Sir David Ramſay of Balmain, commiſſioner for the ſhire, who is loyal, and keeps ſteady with the country party: Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys,

the other commiſſioner, though he was very far wrong at the Revolution, 1706.
and ſometimes varies in parliament, he has for theſe three laſt ſeſſions, been for the moſt with the country party, particularly for the grand reſolves, and ſpoke boldly againſt the Hannover ſucceſſion, when propoſed by Polwarth; and told myſelf, a week or two before I came from Scotland, that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, oppoſe the union.

The gentlemen in this ſhire that I am familiarly acquainted with, and know to be loyal, are Bannerman of Elſick, Falconer of Newton, Falconer of Glenfarquar, Middleton of Balbegno, Burnet of Glenbervie, Scot of Brothertown, Scot of Benholm, Scot of Comieſtown, Barclay of Johnſton, Barclay of Bomakinan, and Douglas of Arthroſe, ſon to biſhop Douglas.

Aberdeenſhire.

"The earl of Errol, lord high conſtable of Scotland, is of moſt unqueſtionable loyalty. The earl of Aberdeen is reputed loyal; and my lord Haddo, lately to myſelf, expreſſed much loyalty. The members of parliament for this ſhire, are Udny of that ilk, More of Stonywood, Gordon of Pitlurg, and Seaton of Pitmeddan, younger; all four, I am informed, were choſen as loyal honeſt men, which is a good evidence of the loyalty of the barons there, as it is in many other ſhires. I am well informed, by many of the King's friends, that moſt or all the gentry are well-affected to the King's intereſt, my lord Forbes, and ſome of his name, excepted, who are rank Whigs, and few of that ſtamp are any where well-affected."

Inverneſs.

Scot owns he knew little about this ſhire. "He was acquainted," he ſays, "with the commiſſioners, Grant, elder, and younger. The firſt always adhered to the country-party; and, to my certain knowledge, very warmly oppoſed the Hannover ſucceſſion, when propoſed by Polwarth. His ſon was, laſt ſeſſion, courtier."

Nairn.

Scot knew little about this ſhire: but he heard, "that the generality are well-affected. The members of parliament are Roſe of Kilravock, and Forbes of Culloden. The firſt is reputed loyal, and for the moſt part, with the country-party; the other commonly with the court."

1706. *Cromarty.*

Scot knew only by common report, "that in this, as in all the northern ſhires, all ranks of people are generally well-affected to the King's intereſt. The lord Tarbat has changed ſo often and trimmed ſo much, that I do not know what to ſay of him. The members of parliament for this ſhire are, Mackenzie of Cromarty, and Macleod of Cathbole; both much under the influence of Tarbat, but frequently with the country-party."

Argyle.

"For this ſhire, I can ſay little about it; but that it is repreſented by Campbell of Auchenbreck, Campbell of Arkinglas, and Campbell of Mamore; all theſe are, and will be, as their chief Argyle is; and ſo will Mr. Charles Campbell, commiſſioner for the town of Campbeltown."

Bamff.

"In this ſhire, all ranks of people are generally believed and reputed to be loyal. Ogilvie of Boyne, younger, is the commiſſioner for it; and is reputed, and very much pretends to be loyal. He has, ſometimes, varied in parliament; but, laſt ſeſſion, he cloſely adhered to the country-party. His colleague, Duff, is dead. Lord Salton is loyal; and, though the lord Fraſer has a poſt in the army, he is thought to be loyal: and the loyal lord Duffus is dead, and his ſon is with an Engliſh ſquadron, in the Weſt Indies."

Sutherland.

"This ſhire is of a very ſmall compaſs; and being (as I am informed) only two or three barons in it. The earl of Sutherland's vaſſals are privileged by an expreſs act of parliament, to elect commiſſioners, contrary to the general rule of law and ſtandard of the nation. So this earl muſt always rule the election as he thinks fit. The preſent commiſſioners are, Gordon of Gavity, ſuppoſed to have inclinations to loyalty, but often varies in parliament. The other commiſſioner, Sutherland of Kinnald, younger, is in priſon for debt."

Caithneſs.

"This ſhire (as both commiſſioners of it informed me) is entirely loyal. Sinclair of Stempſter is one commiſſioner. Sir Gregory Sinclair of Clyth, the other commiſſioner, died before I came from Scotland; and

and none in his place, that I know, as yet elected; but it is not to be doubted, but an honeſt loyal man will be choſen. The earl of Caithneſs is very loyal; but it is thought will not come to parliament, becauſe he has no inclination to take the oaths." 1706.

Elgin.

" I cannot ſay much about this ſhire; but that it is reputed, as the other northern ſhires are, well affected. It is repreſented by Brodie of that ilk, who is old and infirm, and has not been in parliament for the two ſeſſions paſt. The other commiſſioner is M'Kenzie of Inch Couter, a loyal honeſt man, and ſtands firm with the country-party."

Orkney.

" The ſtewartry of Orkney is believed and reputed to be very loyal. The commiſſioners for it are, Sir Archibald Stuart of Burray, and Douglas, younger, of Eagleſhaw, both reputed loyal, but much influenced by the duke of Queenſberry; yet voted the grand reſolves, and, as I am well informed, have often declared, they will never do any thing againſt the King's intereſt."

Clackmannan.

" This is very ſmall, conſiſting of three, four, or five barons; has, at preſent, only one commiſſioner, Stuart of , who is reputed loyal, and is of the country-party."

Roſs.

" This ſhire is like the other northern ones, believed and reputed to be loyal. The commiſſioners for it are, M'Kenzie of Scatwell, and M'Kenzie of Gerloch, both reputed loyal, but much influenced by the lord Tarbat."

Kinroſs.

" This is a very little ſhire, containing very little more than the eſtate of Kinroſs, and a little town of that name. Mr. Bruce, younger, of Kinroſs, is commiſſioner for it. I know not what to ſay of his loyalty; but I can with confidence ſay, that his father, Sir William, always was, and ſtill is, a very loyal honeſt man.

" I do not pretend to give a plain, diſtinct, particular, or poſitive account of the Highland clans; but in general, according to the laſt information I have had, I think they may be capable to raiſe about eight

1706. thouſand men. I mean ſuch as are well affected; for Argyle, and all his followers, are conſidered as otherwiſe diſpoſed.

" The duke of Gordon is of ſo known and undoubted loyalty, that I ſhall not preſume to ſay any thing about his Grace; only, in general, as he is one of the moſt powerful of the clans, he has this advantage, that, having many gentlemen of note of his name, and abundance of gentry in the low country, his vaſſals, he is capable to bring a good number of horſe to the field, which few or none of the clans but his Grace can do.

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty, thus, to the beſt of my judgment and knowledge, in the preceding pages, I have given your Majeſty a true, ſincere, and faithful account of the preſent ſtate of Scotland; and I am fully perſuaded, that the far greateſt part of the nation is well affected to your Majeſty's intereſt: and I know none that are ill affected, but that pernicious rebellious crew, the preſbyterian miniſters, and ſuch as are entirely under their direction and influence, which are, for the moſt part, the common people; for in the weſtern and moſt Whiggiſh ſhires, a great many of the chief gentry are well affected, and (as I am informed by the viſcount of Kenmure) thoſe in Galloway, commonly called Cameronians, are generally for your Majeſty; and every body knows that all the northern ſhires, nobility, gentry, and commons, are well affected."

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College.

July 22. " I Find that of late you have not had much communication with your old acquaintance Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin]; when you meet him next, I ſhall be glad to know in what temper you find him."

Auguſt 22. In the former letter, you tell me that the buſineſs of the quit-rents is ſtill depending, without any great proſpect of your reaping much advantage from them; and that alſo the pretenſions of the creditors, concerning your couſin Wiſeley's [the King's] debts, had yet received no anſwer, but that you intended a viſit to Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] to try whether, by his means, you could procure a good diſpatch in either or both theſe matters: you alſo intended, at the ſame

time, and by the ſame means, to try to do a kindneſs to your friend Wilſon [Middleton] in procuring a paſs for his young kinſman, which ſeemed otherwiſe to be very difficult to be obtained. 1706.

Now I am very glad to find, by your laſt letter of the 26th, that you have met with Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] and found him in very good humour; and that which pleaſed me moſt is, that he ſeemed to be affected with the good news of your couſin Wiſeley's [the King's] better health, which, by other rumours, had been contradicted. As for what paſſed between you in regard to the quit-rents, I am glad at heart that he is gone ſo far in it, as to take from you an abſtract of the title, and an account of the adverſaries pretenſions, to conſider what may be done in it. I find Mr. Jones [Middleton] is much beholding to him for his kind expreſſions in his behalf, and will be more ſo, when, by his means, leave is obtained for Jones [Middleton] his young kinſman. I hope the kindneſs ſhewn to Mr. Jones [Middleton] is upon account of the near relation he has to your couſin Wiſeley [the King], upon which head I ſhould moſt delight in it.

The gentleman mentioned in the following letter, is probably captain Stratton, who was appointed by unanimous choice of the Jacobites in Scotland, and particularly by the duke of Hamilton, to go to France. September.

"*The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.*" Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 35.

The Scots are determined to oppoſe the union.—They demand aſſiſtance from France.

Tranſlation.

September 4, 1706.

"A Gentleman, ſent to my maſter, the King of England, by his friends in Scotland, is arrived at this place; and his Majeſty has commanded me to explain to you his commiſſion, in order that the King may be informed of it.

"They make no new propoſals; referring themſelves to, and adhering to thoſe which they formerly made. But they hope, that, after the enemy's armies ſhall retire, the King will take advantage of that opportunity to ſend them ſuccours, under the command of their own King, whoſe preſence appears to them very neceſſary for animating the people, confounding his enemies, and deciding, when opinions differ.

"Having

1706. "Having received no news from this country ſince the misfortunes that happened to them, they conſidered themſelves, in duty bound, to aſſure the King, their maſter, that their zeal was not ſhaken, nor their courage damped by them; but that they would make all their efforts to reject the union, and did not doubt to ſucceed, providing the prevailing party in England did not ſend money to gain voices in parliament; and that even this, though it ſhould happen, ſhould not break off the project of the enterpriſe, becauſe thoſe who diſapprove of the union, will be piqued at it, and be reduced to the neceſſity of having recourſe to force, as the means of preventing the effect of an act of parliament, and of delivering themſelves from the tyranny with which they ſee they are threatened: but that, without the ſuccours they demand, they will not be able to do any thing; and there will be reaſon to fear that ſome, through deſpair, will abandon the deſign, in order to protect themſelves from the perſecutions which they have endured, with a conſtancy, that can never be ſufficiently commended."

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. Sept. 14.

"I Alſo thanked you, in a former letter, for your ſo ſeaſonably taking occaſion of your obliging your friend Wilſon [Middleton], at your meeting with Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin], in procuring his aſſiſtance in behalf of the young gentleman traveller *, which I hope may give him countenance to appear in the world.

"I doubt not but you will drive the nail as far as it will go, in the buſineſs of the quit-rents, formerly mentioned, that they may be applied to the payment of the debts, which would be of great eaſe and ſatisfaction to your couſin Wiſeley [the King]."

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 62.

* He probably means John lord Clermont, ſon to the earl of Middleton. There is a copy in Nairne's hand of a procuration from lord Clermont to the earl of Strathmore, dated in the month of November this year, whereby he impowers him to manage an eſtate in Scotland. It appears to have been a ſecret and *bona fide* tranſaction.

A Memorial, ſhewing that it is the intereſt of the King of Sweden to hinder the Hannoverian ſucceſſion.

Carried to Verſailles the 22d September, 1706.

1706. September. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 48.

Tranſlation.

"IT is unneceſſary to prove the utility of having a free communication between ſeparate dominions. Now the duke of Hannover, who will have none with his territories in Germany, when he is maſter of England, will think himſelf obliged, and even under a neceſſity, to find this advantage of a communication, and to employ all ſorts of means to eſtabliſh it; and his conſcience will be no obſtacle to him, as he will juſtly think, that he will have as much right to any other country as he has to England.

As a bridge of boats is thrown over rivers, veſſels are employed for the ſame purpoſe at ſea; and, in order to employ them to keep up a communication between England and the territories of Hannover, the duke of Hannover muſt have a maritime province to join his dominions, and he will find none but that of Bremen.

The ſame reaſons which will induce the family of Hannover to ſeize on the country of Bremen, ſhould alarm the King of Denmark for the ſafety of Holſtein and Oldenburgh, without which that family will not be maſter of the Elbe and the Weſer; not to mention the ancient enmity between theſe two powers, which appeared on all occaſions, and lately at the treaty of Travendal. Any regard he may have had for the preſent eſtabliſhment in England ſhould have ceaſed, at the death of the prince, his uncle, without children; and now, inſtead of eſtabliſhing an enemy, it depends entirely upon him to re-eſtabliſh the King of England, his near relation, and thereby engage him ſtill more ſtrongly from a principle of gratitude and from ties of blood, to be invariably in his intereſt.

The elector of Brandenburgh likewiſe may allow himſelf to be carried away by the hopes of having for his ſhare Pomerania, to which he pretends a right of ſucceſſion, as well as conveniency, and a powerful addition to ſupport his royalty.

The elector of Saxony will require no other motive for entering into this plan, but revenge and an irreconcilable hatred.

It

1706. September. It is not to be doubted but the King of Sweden will be perſuaded that theſe things merit ſerious reflections; and that he will find no other means ſo effectual for preventing the calamities with which he is threatened, as to employ all his force to re-eſtabliſh the King of England; and there is reaſon to hope, that he will make no difficulty of contributing to this when he will ſee that prudence, juſtice, and glory, concur in it.

The means of executing ſo great and ſo noble an enterpriſe will be explained, when the King of Sweden chooſes to enter into a treaty.

November. *Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.*

Nov. 21. "I Shall be glad to hear what the reſult will be of your next conference with Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin], when you can obtain it, as to the ſeveral matters which have been propoſed to him; which, I fear, will end only as you ſay, in procraſtination, if not in a flat denial, as to the debts and quit-rents."

Dec. 12. "You may remember that Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough], once told you that there ſhould be no money lent to Norly [the Scots], to carry on the lawſuit againſt Pleſſington [the King], in the behalf of Hanmer [Hannover]. Pray tell me in your next, whether you think that gentleman has been as good as his word. In the mean time, I muſt own myſelf much obliged to Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin], for his protection offered to our young traveller. I am of your opinion, that ſhould the match [union] be concluded between Norly [Scotland] and Wheatly [England], it would, in proceſs of time, breed diviſions in and between the two families."

HANNOVER

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1706.

THE Whigs, by intimidating Godolphin, had procured the influence of government in the elections for members of the new parliament, which met for the firſt time, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1705. Finding themſelves the majority, John Smith, one of their own party, was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, notwithſtanding the vehement oppoſition of the Tories. William Cowper, a man of heavy and confuſed parts, but who was attached to the ſame principles, was made, by their influence, keeper of the great ſeal; and in general, the whole current of preferment ran through the ſame channel. The Tories, vexed at the loſs of their influence, acted a part which exhibited a curious ſpecimen of that glaring inconſiſtency of conduct, into which the ſpirit of party has too often betrayed mankind. To haraſs their political opponents, they endeavoured to take poſſeſſion of their ground; and though they were ſuppoſed to be enemies to the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hannover, the lord Haverſham, as the mouth of the party, moved, in the houſe of lords, for an addreſs to the Queen, to invite the princeſs Sophia into England. The motion was rejected by the Whigs, who then poſſeſſed the whole influence of government. There were, however, brought in two bills, which were deemed a great ſecurity to the proteſtant ſucceſſion: the firſt, appointing a regency on the event of the Queen's death; and the ſecond for naturalizing the princeſs Sophia, and the iſſue of her body, being proteſtants.

The oppoſition of the Whigs to the invitation to the princeſs Sophia, having raiſed ſuſpicions againſt their attachment to the houſe of Hannover, the party endeavoured to take to themſelves the whole merit of the

1706. ſecurities in favour of the ſucceſſion, which had paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament. The lord Halifax, one of their number, was ſent with the acts of regency and naturalization to Hannover; and he carried along with him letters from all the leaders of the Whigs, expreſſive of their ſincere attachment to the ſucceſſion of the electoral family. The increaſe in the correſpondence with Hannover, together with the zeal expreſſed in the letters, form a kind of proof that the ſucceſſion of the princeſs Sophia and her poſterity, began then, for the firſt time, to acquire a degree of certainty. The Queen, perhaps juſtly was ſuſpected of having no intentions of that kind; and her miniſter, the lord Godolphin, had been uniformly in the intereſt of the exiled family, though, by a happy timidity, he at laſt, in a manner, enſured ſucceſs to their rivals. He, however, was ſo true to his principles, that, though he aided, with all the weight of government, the acts of regency and naturalization, he never took merit to himſelf from that circumſtance, nor entered into any correſpondence with the houſe of Hannover. The principal events, connected with the correſpondence of this year, are the complimentary embaſſy of the lord Halifax, the treaty guaranteeing the proteſtant ſucceſſion concluded with the States General, the treaty of Union then carrying on between the two kingdoms, the battle of Ramillies, the ſubſequent conqueſt of Flanders, the victory before Turin, and the evacuation of Italy by the houſe of Bourbon.

Copy in an unknown hand. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 185.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Military operations.—The affair of the biſhopric of Lubec.

Tranſlation.

Hannover, January 15, 1706.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken of informing me, by your letter of the 6th inſtant, of the project which you got approved of at the Hague, for putting King Charles and prince Eugene in a condition to act offenſively the next campaign. It is certain that one cannot imagine any thing more advantageous to the common cauſe, and that the prudence, with which you have formed this project, joined to the care which you have taken to bring it to a happy

conclusion, has added not a little to the great obligations which the public owes you already, and to the glory of the Queen, who continues to give such convincing proofs of her good intentions. 1706.

" With regard to the affair of Lubec, you are too well informed not to see that it would be as much my interest as the interest of the rest of the allies, to see it terminated amicably, by an accommodation. But if this cannot be soon done, in a manner with which the administration may be satisfied, I leave you to judge if it will be possible to control the King of Sweden, and if I can dispense with fulfilling the engagements into which I entered personally, concerning the bishopric of Lubec, and those to which the guarantee of the treaty of Travendahl binds me. Being joined in this guarantee with her Majesty, and with Holland, I doubt not but in that case they will concur with me, in making the house of Gottorp sensible of its good effects, in an efficacious manner.

" You have, no doubt, been informed already, that the troops have been withdrawn by both parties from the city of Eutin, and from the whole bishopric; and that the Danes are returned home, after having dislodged the troops of the administrator; so that the only thing to be done now is, to support that prince in the civil possession, and in the administration of the bishopric, under the guarantee of the same powers who are guarantees of the treaty of Travendahl. I hope that her Majesty will not only contribute to this, but also, by her influence, determine the States General to join her in so salutary an undertaking. I beseech you, Sir, to be so good as to give all your attentions to this, as the affair is of importance enough to deserve them; and to be persuaded that I shall never neglect an opportunity of showing you how much I am,

My Lord,

Your affectionate servant,

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

The Elector to Queen Anne.

The affairs of Lubec, and of the house of Holstein Gottorp.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 27.

Translation.

MADAM, February 19, 1706.

" I Received, with the utmost gratitude, the letters with which your Majesty honoured me, concerning the affair of Lubec. I entreat

1706. you to be perſuaded that on this, as on all occaſions which can offer, I ſhall never have any thing more at heart than to conform myſelf to your intentions, and to give you proofs of my zeal for the common cauſe. It was with very great ſatisfaction I was informed, by Mr. Howe, of your Majeſty's favourable ſentiments for the intereſts of the houſe of Gottorp, and the inſtructions you was pleaſed to ſend on that affair to your miniſter at the Hague. I ſhall concur, on my part, with pleaſure, in the expedients which, without prejudice to the inconteſtible rights of that houſe, may terminate amicably the differences now ſubſiſting. I ſhall even employ myſelf, with all poſſible ardour, to reconcile the King of Sweden and the adminiſtrator to them. I wrote yeſterday to the latter, to diſpoſe him to this, and to repreſent to him that it is very juſt to give your Majeſty and the States the time which is neceſſary for engaging Denmark to reſolve to give their conſent, that the adminiſtrator may be re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the biſhopric, without which I aſſure your Majeſty it will be no ways poſſible to control the King of Sweden. I doubt not but your Majeſty, by your great influence at the Imperial court, will prevail with the Emperor to concur with you and with the ſtates, in engaging Denmark to accept of ſuch a reaſonable expedient. This, in my opinion, is the only means of obtaining the end which your Majeſty has in view; mine ſhall always be to give you proofs of the profound reſpect with which I am, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 188.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

The affairs of the north, and military operations.

Tranſlation.

March 19, 1706.

"I AM much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. You would have heard, after you had written it, that the King of Denmark had accepted of the expedient propoſed. It is but juſt to aſcribe this principally to the ſtrong repreſentations which the Queen was pleaſed to convey to him. I am overjoyed that this affair is in a ſtate which gives room to believe that it will have no conſequence hurtful to the intereſts of the common cauſe.

"It is very diſagreeable that the prince of Baden ſhould be ſilent, when he ought to concert with you the operations of a campaign which

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is already ſo near. It is to be hoped, that the Imperial court, without delay, will take, in that reſpect, the neceſſary meaſures with her Majeſty and with the States. Whatever may be the reſult of this, you may aſſure yourſelf, that I ſhall give to lieutenant general Bulau, the orders which you deſire; and that the troops which I have in the Queen's pay will join your army, whether it acts in Brabant or in any part whatever of the empire. And I am inclined to hope, at the ſame time, that if the States-general have troops in the army which you ſhall command, you will obtain from them, to have thoſe which I have in their ſervice. 1706.

" I do myſelf a very ſenſible pleaſure, in giving on this, as on every other occaſion, marks of the ſtrong deſire I have to conform myſelf to the Queen's intentions, and to ſhow you the eſteem I have for you, and how much I am, &c."

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*The duke of Marlborough to the Elector *.——He endeavours to convince him of the importance of the acts paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament.*

Copy in an unknown hand, Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 189.

Tranſlation.

March 26, 1706.

' THE dutcheſs of Marlborough ſhewed me a letter ſhe received from Mrs. Howe, which appears to me to contain an affair of ſo much conſequence, that I think myſelf obliged, as a good Engliſhman, and as a faithful ſervant to your Electoral Highneſs, to communicate it to you. It contains, that all that has been done in England this winter, for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and for teſtifying reſpect and attentions to your electoral family, is, in the opinion of the electreſs, of ſo little conſequence, that ſhe conſiders it, at moſt, as a mere compliment; and that, for that reaſon, it will be more agreeable to her, that the acts of parliament may be ſent to Hannover without any ceremony, and that the garter which the Queen has given to the electoral prince, may be ſent merely by a herald.

" Theſe ſentiments, concerning what hath been done here, are altogether different from thoſe, which every one in England, who has ever ſhewn

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* The duke of Marlborough's letters to the houſe of Hannover, were written by his ſecretary, Mr. Cardonnel, as his grace himſelf could not write the French language. When he wiſhes to give weight to what he ſays, he tranſcribes Cardonnel's draughts with his own hand. But this innocent impoſition ceaſed, when, upon the ſickneſs of his ſecretary, he wrote to Robethon in Engliſh, excuſing himſelf for not uſing the French language, by ſaying, " *poore Cardnall is ſicke.*"

1706. any zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, entertains of it. It is for this reaſon, I am not able to reflect upon this affair, without a great deal of uneaſineſs. The parliament have redreſſed ſeveral very eſſential defects in the laws, which regarded a proteſtant ſucceſſion. They have provided againſt all accidents which human prudence could foreſee, and they have put the government, in the time of the ſucceſſor, on the ſame footing which it is at preſent, during the reign of the Queen. Theſe things are conſidered here, as affairs of the laſt importance, and as the moſt real and eſſential marks that could be given of a true zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

" With regard to the act of naturalization of the electoral family, it has been declared to be abſolutely neceſſary, by the unanimous opinion of all the judges, who are the beſt guides in an affair of that nature. With regard to the propoſal of inviting the electreſs over to England immediately, when it is conſidered, by what ſort of men it was made, in what manner, and at what time, there was reaſon to hope, that a propoſal of that nature would not be better received by the electreſs, than it has been in England. There is no one ſo capable of judging of all this affair, as your Electoral Highneſs, and you only can ſet it before the electreſs in the proper light. This is what I beſeech you to be pleaſed to do, for the good of England and of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. I cannot make a better excuſe for the liberty I have taken, than the true zeal and attachment which I have for your ſervice, being with great reſpect and ſubmiſſion," &c.

Original, Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2, No. 4.

The Earl of Portland to Robethon.——Conduct of the tories.—News of the Electoral Prince's election, as Knight of the Garter.

Tranſlation.

Whitehall, April 5, 1706.

" ALTHOUGH it is a long time ſince you heard from me, you muſt not believe that this proceeds from a forgetfulneſs of what I owe to my old friends. With regard to what concerns the ſervice of the family, I am ſure that the elector does me juſtice. But experience ſhews, that he has ſervants here as faithful as thoſe who affected to give him an invitation, and intended to make a merit of it, after having ſeen that all their oppoſition to the ſucceſſion was uſeleſs. What gives pain

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to good men here, is a belief that you was miſtaken. Such an opinion would have done great harm if it had continued, at the very time that the Queen and the majority of the parliament gave ſenſible proofs of their ſincere intention to ſecure the ſucceſſion. Yeſterday the Queen ſummoned a chapter of the knights of the order, in which the electoral prince was choſen. I entreat you to believe, that I always am very truly, &c. 1706.

PORTLAND."

Extract of a letter from the Princeſs Sophia.——She diſowns Sir Rowland Gwyne's letter, and profeſſes an affection and eſteem for the Queen.

Tranſlation.

Hannover, April 6, 1706.

I lately ſaw by the letter, which Mr. Harley, ſecretary of ſtate, wrote to you, what the parliament did againſt Sir Rowland Gwyne, and the anſwer of the Queen to the parliament's addreſs. You may aſſure Mr. Harley, that neither my ſon, the elector, nor I, take any part in that letter, and that my lord Stamford was the firſt who ſent me a copy of it, which I found ſo long, that I had a difficulty in determining myſelf to read it. You ſhould tell Mr. Secretary, from me, that I entreat him, to aſſure the Queen, in my name, that I was charmed to ſee the reſpect and affection which the parliament ſhewed to her Majeſty, even in the ſmalleſt things, and that I wiſh her Majeſty may confer upon me always the honour of her kindneſs, which I ſhall endeavour to deſerve, by the reſpect and obedience which I ſhall have all my life-time for her ſacred perſon, with a grateful acknowledgment of the affection which her Majeſty has been ſo good as to expreſs for me and for my family. It would be miſtaking me entirely to believe, that Sir Rowland Gwyne's letter could hurt the good underſtanding between the Queen and me. You will tell him all this, in the beſt terms you can chooſe; for it is from the heart I ſpeak, and I believe that it would be for the good of England and all Europe, that the Queen ſhould live for a hundred years.

The following letter may ſerve as a ſpecimen of Cowper's diction and abilities.

Cowper,

1706. Original. Hannover papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 38.

Cowper, the lord-keeper, to the Elector.

" May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs, London, April 11, 1706.

WHEN I was firſt, by her Majeſty's great goodneſs, raiſed to the ſtation I am now in, I could not perſuade myſelf, that a ſubject of ſo little importance, would have then excuſed my preſumption in troubling your Electoral Highneſs in this manner upon that occaſion, though with the ſincereſt aſſurances, that my heart ſhould ever continue moſt firmly devoted to the ſervice of your E. H. and your E. H. ſerene houſe. But now, ſince I hope it is allowable for me, to expreſs to your E. H. the very great ſatisfaction I have with every good Engliſhman, received from the effectual ſecurities lately provided by the parliament, for the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of England; I beg leave humbly to preſent to your E. H. at the ſame time, his moſt faithful profeſſion of a moſt ardent zeal for your E. H. proſperity, and promiſe never to neglect any thing in my little power, that may poſſibly conduce to it; being fully perſuaded, it is impoſſible to be in the true intereſt of England and not to be a faſt friend to that ſucceſſion, which the ſenſe of the kingdom hath ſo often declared to be its only defence from the moſt deplorable condition a people can be reduced to. I was one of thoſe, who have had the honour, for a long time paſt, conſtantly to have adhered to that opinion, for excluding a Romiſh ſucceſſor, even while it was unfaſhionable and decried by thoſe that were in authority; and therefore, that the ſame perſons ſhould now continue firm to the ſame, when it is owned by the legiſlative authority and the general bent of the people, can admit, I think, of no queſtion. This I choſe to mention, as an evidence of my ſincerity in what I profeſs, rather than multiply expreſſions, which are in every one's power to make; not that I am at all apprehenſive of thoſe endeavours which have been uſed to render your E. H. and your E. H. ſerene houſe diſguſted, with thoſe who have the trueſt concern for your ſervice; ſince it is impoſſible, that ſo excellent a judgment as that of your E. H. ſhould ever prefer the ſurprizing ſtarts of a ſudden unaccountable zeal, contrary to known principles, affected merely for popularity, and ſhewing itſelf in one particular only, (while all other means tending to the ſame are neglected) to a ſteady, uninterrupted,

rupted, and uniform courſe of acting for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and flowing from principles, that were owned, when moſt diſcountenanced. But theſe endeavours in me to give your E. H. any ſatisfaction of this kind, are perfectly unneceſſary, ſince my lord Halifax, who is ſo able and thoroughly verſed in all the affairs of this kingdom, and ſo acquainted with the inclinations and practices of all men in buſineſs here, is to be for ſome time, in your E. H.'s court, where none can ſo well diſperſe all [illegible] repreſentations of facts; and when that is done, your E. H. cannot but make the wiſeſt concluſion, and ſuch as next, under the bleſſing of God, may beſt tend to make yet more effectual, thoſe prudent proviſions which the wiſdom of this kingdom hath, on mature deliberation, thought fitteſt to be made for the intereſt and honour of your E. H.'s ſerene houſe and the public happineſs. I am, &c. 1706.

WILLIAM COWPER."

Lord Somers to the Elector.—He profeſſes his zeal for the intereſts of the Electoral family.—He juſtifies the proceedings of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, particularly the bill of naturalization.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 39.

SIR, London, April 12, 1706.

"THE hopes of having my letter preſented to your Electoral Highneſs, by my lord Halifax, has encouraged me to the preſumption of writing. I could not hope for a more favourable opportunity of making this humble tender of my duty, than by the hands of one, who has ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf, upon all occaſions, for the ſettling and eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion of the crown of England in your moſt ſerene family, and who will be a witneſs above exception, of my conduct, in every part of that affair. I confeſs I always depended upon it, that my public behaviour ſhould be an abundant teſtimony for me, as to my zeal to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and for promoting the war, in order to reduce the power of France, which I take to be the moſt effectual ſecurity to that ſucceſſion.

It is with infinite ſatisfaction we hear your Electoral Highneſs has been pleaſed to approve the meaſures taken in our parliament this laſt winter. My lord Halifax is able to give ſo perfect an account of every thing that has been done, and of the ſeveral means uſed to bring them all to bear, that I ſhall not pretend to enter further into that matter, than by ſaying,

1706. I hope it will appear, that nothing is now wanting to the eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion that can be done by the proviſion of laws; and that the adminiſtration of the government, when the ſucceſſion ſhall take place, will be upon the ſame foot that it is now in the Queen's reign.

It might have a ſtrange appearance, that they, who by a long and ſteady ſeries of acting, had ſhown themſelves, beyond a poſſibility of diſpute, the aſſertors of the ſucceſſion, in the perſon of her Electoral Highneſs, the princeſs Sophia, ſhould in the leaſt heſitate to agree to any propoſition, that it was neceſſary to have the next preſumptive heir to the crown to reſide in England; but I beg leave to ſuggeſt to your Electoral Highneſs's conſideration, that if this had been allowed for a rule, it might poſſibly, in a little time, have preſſed very inconvenient upon your Electoral Highneſs. It was not to be imagined you would leave dominions, where you were ſovereign, to reſide in England, before you were our king; and yet there would have been an inconveniency in rejecting an invitation of that nature, when the kingdom had before declared ſuch a reſidence to be neceſſary. But the manner of making this propoſal was, above all other things, the ſtrongeſt objection to it. The ſpeech with which it was introduced, is in print, and ſo cannot be miſrepreſented. The turn of it was to ſhew firſt, that we could go on no farther with the Dutch, (which was in effect to ſay, we muſt make peace) and next to ſay, the Queen's adminiſtration was hardly ſufficient to help us in peace, at home, unleſs the next heir came over. The Queen was preſent at this diſcourſe, and no one can judge ſo well as your E. H. whether this was a compliment proper to engage her Majeſty, to enter willingly into the invitation; and if it had been aſſented to with reluctance, whether it might not have given riſe to unkindneſſes, that might in the end have proved very fatal.

They who were afraid of entering into ſuch an invitation, (eſpecially coming as it did from thoſe who never till then ſhewed any concern for the proteſtant ſucceſſion) thought it proper to lay hold of that favourable conjuncture, to puſh in for thoſe ſolid proviſions, which were evidently wanting, and which we hope are brought to effect, by the act that is to be farther carried on by the negociation entered into for engaging the allies to become guranties of our ſucceſſion, and by the treaty between

between the commiſſioners of England and Scotland, for a union of the two kingdoms, which ſeems to be the way now laid open, for obtaining the declaration of the ſame ſucceſſion in Scotland, which is already effected in England. I believe there is a good diſpoſition in the commiſſioners on both ſides. I can abſolutely promiſe for one, the meaneſt of them, that as far as my capacity and application can go, nothing ſhall be wanting to bring this treaty to a happy iſſue. 1706.

Having already preſumed to take ſo great a liberty, I humbly beg permiſſion of your E. H. to mention another particular, the act of naturalization, which ſome have ſaid was, at leaſt, unneceſſary, if not a diminution to your moſt ſerene family. If this be ſo, not only all our preſent judges, but all the lawyers of former ages have been in the wrong. There are but two ways of making any perſons born out of the allegiance of the crown of England, capable of enjoying inheritances, honours, or offices in this kingdom; the one complete and perfect, which is a naturalization by act of parliament; the other imperfect, which is by letters patent, of denization. That this is ſo, cannot be better proved, than by the inſtance of his highneſs prince Rupert. For when K. C. the Firſt intended to create him D. of Cumberland, to make him capable of that title, it was found neceſſary, previouſly to make him a denizen, by the K.'s grant, under the great ſeal; the differences then ſubſiſting between the King and his parliament, making it impoſſible to procure a naturalization. But the preſent act is attended with all poſſible marks of honour and reſpect, for the Queen and nation. It extends to all the poſterity of her R. H. the princeſs Sophia, born, or hereafter to be born, and whereſoever they are born, which is a privilege that was never yet granted in any caſe, till in this inſtance. It is only from your E. H.'s eminent goodneſs, that I can hope for pardon, for this tedious addreſs. I am, with the moſt profound reſpect, &c.

SOMERS."

1706.

The Earl of Sunderland to the Elector, ſent by Lord Halifax.

Sunderland had been ſent laſt year, to compromiſe the differences between the Emperor and the Hungarians; and on his return from Vienna, paſſed through Hannover.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 32.

The ſame ſubject continued.

Tranſlation.

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs, April 12, 1706.

"YOUR Electoral Highneſs honoured me with ſo many marks of kindneſs, while I was at Hannover, that I preſume to take the liberty of giving you aſſurances of my duty. Your Electoral Highneſs is undoubtedly acquainted with the character and merit of lord Halifax, whom the Queen ſends upon this occaſion, to your Electoral Highneſs; and I can aſſure you, Sir, that as there is none who has teſtified, on all occaſions, more zeal for eſtabliſhing and confirming the proteſtant ſucceſſion in your Electoral family, and who has more contributed toward it; ſo there is none who is more in the confidence of all thoſe who are well affected to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and to the proſperity of England, or who is more capable of informing your E. H. of all the meaſures which have been taken in this affair, and of all thoſe who have uniformly teſtified the trueſt zeal for the ſucceſſion, as well as of thoſe who have conſtantly oppoſed it. I entreat your E. H. to be perſuaded, that I am, with an inviolable attachment, and with the moſt profound reſpect, &c.

SUNDERLAND."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 34.

The Duke of Bolton to the Elector, ſent by Lord Halifax.

SIR, London, April 12, 1706.

"I Am glad of this favourable occaſion to write, by this noble lord, to give your Electoral Highneſs an aſſurance of my zeale for your ſerviſe, and the intereſt of your family, which I ſhall always take hold of all opportunity to demonſtrate, whenever I think it may tend to the eſtabliſhing your ſucceſſion to the crown of this kingdome. There is none that can informe you better how all things are here, and who they are that do trewly embrace your intereſt, than my lord Halifax, to whome

whome you may give entire credit, he being very ſincerely, a trew ſervant of your moſt ſerene familey. I depend upon it, that he will aſſure your Electoral Highneſs, that no perſon living can be with greater truth and reſpect than myſelfe, &c. 1706.

BOLTON."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 190.

Anſwer to the Duke's letter of March 26.—He is ſatisfied with the acts of parliament.—He denies the diſcourſe ſaid to have been held by the Electreſs with Mrs. How.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, April 13, 1706.

I Am very much obliged to you for the letter which you have taken the trouble of writing to me. I conſider it as a freſh proof of your zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and for the intereſts of my family. I communicated its contents to the Electreſs. She comprehends perfectly well the advantage of the two acts, and what obligations we owe the Queen, for having employed her influence, in getting them paſſed. We are alſo very ſenſible of the honour which ſhe does to the Electoral Prince, in ſending him the order of the garter. As you know, that I am naturally an enemy to ceremonies and compliments, you are undoubtedly perſuaded, that it is from that very motive I have wiſhed that Mr. How ſhould be charged with that commiſſion. I entreat you, my lord, to be ſo good, as to aſſure her Majeſty of our ſincere gratitude, and of the attention which we ſhall always employ, to cultivate the honour of her friendſhip. I flatter myſelf, that it is too ſolidly eſtabliſhed to ſuffer any diminution, from the diſcourſes attributed to the Electreſs, which ſhe certainly never held with Mrs. How; and which, having only come to the ears of that lady at ſecond hand, have been undoubtedly related to her in an unfaithful manner. I depend very much upon your affection, and upon your attentions, to maintain a friendſhip which is ſo very precious to us as that of the Queen; and I am, very ſincerely, &c."

Queen

1706. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 28.

Queen Anne to the Elector.

Sent by Lord Halifax, to whom ſhe refers for the ſincerity of her good intentions to her proteſtant heirs.

Tranſlation.

Hampton Court, April 20, 1706.

"MY brother and couſin. Knowing the inviolable attachment, which the intendant of my finances, that is to ſay, the auditor of the Exchequer, lord Halifax, has always teſtified for your perſon and your intereſts; I gave him orders to preſent to you authentic copies of three acts, which concern your family. The ſhare which he has had in theſe acts, renders him very fit to explain to you, with what intention they have been formed; and, I doubt not, but you will agree with me, that nothing could more effectually ſecure the ſucceſſion of your family. It is with this view I have given them my aſſent, having nothing in the world ſo much at heart, as to preſerve our religion and the tranquillity of my ſubjects, by leaving theſe kingdoms to the mild dominion of my proteſtant heirs. I have given orders to lord Halifax, to aſſure you, that, on all occaſions, I conſider your intereſt as my own; and, as a ſmall proof of my eſteem and affection for your family, I have made my couſin, the Electoral Prince, knight of the order of the garter; which is a dignity, that my anceſtors always conferred upon thoſe whom they moſt eſteemed, and of which the greateſt princes in Europe are ambitious. The earneſtneſs of my above-mentioned miniſter to obey my orders, and his zeal for his country, equally engage him to diſcharge this commiſſion. I beſeech you to be ſo good, as to honour him with your confidence, when he enters upon theſe ſubjects; and when he tells you, with what ſincerity, I am," &c.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 191.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.——He gives his opinion of a project of carrying the war into Italy; which was communicated to him by Marlborough.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, April 23, 1706.

"I Am much obliged to you, for the letter of the 26th of March, (5th of April, N. S.) which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I received, with the utmoſt gratitude, the communication of the deſign

of

of finiſhing the war in Italy, with which the Queen was pleaſed to honour me. I judge it worthy of her Majeſty's prudence, and of her zeal for the common good. I doubt not but you will execute it, in a manner, which will add a new luſtre to the glory which you have already acquired, and a freſh obligation to thoſe which the public owe you. I am very ſorry, that the ſtate of my affairs, the ſituation of my country, and the juſt diffidence which I muſt entertain of ſeveral of my neighbours, do not leave me the power to agree to ſend my troops to ſuch a diſtance; and to put them beyond the reach of being of ſervice to me, in caſe of need. You know, my lord, that I expreſsly reſerved it to myſelf, by the treaty, the liberty of bringing them back, when I ſhould find it requiſite for my own defence; and that the fear of that want has induced me not to renew the treaty, but from year to year, and to ſpecify the places where my troops ſhould act. I doubt not, but before you begin the propoſed march to Italy, you will take care to provide ſufficiently for the ſafety of Holland; ſince a check upon that ſide might occaſion irreparable loſſes to the common cauſe; and your being at ſuch a diſtance, might put it abſolutely out of your power to bring timely relief; and as it is impoſſible to provide for the defence of the frontiers of the republic, but by leaving in them a powerful army, I think the troops, which I have in the Queen's pay, may be allowed to ſerve in ſuch an army. I am much obliged to you, for communicating to me the projects of the prince of Baden. I judge of them, in the ſame manner as you do; and I ſee no reaſon, that they ſhould be attended to. I always am, very ſincerely," &c. 1706.

The Earl of Rivers to the Elector, ſent by Lord Halifax.

Original. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 35.

"THE character of my lord Halifax, who does me the honour to preſent this letter, is ſo well known to your Electoral Highneſs, that I thinck, the beſt method I can take, is to refer myſelf entirely to his juſtice and friendſhip, for the account he will pleaſe to give of mee, to your Electoral Highneſſe. He and I have bin ſo conſtantly united, in every thing that has bin ſet on foot, for promoting and ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion, in your moſt ſerene family, and in carrying on the war, in order to the reducing the power of France, that he can ſpeake of

1706. mee as fully as of himſelf. The Queen has bin pleaſed to commana me to ſerve this year; I can never wiſh for more honour and happineſs, then to be capable of performing any thing, that may deſerve your Electoral Highneſſe's approbation. I am, with all poſſible reſpect, &c.

RIVERS."

After the act for the naturalization of the houſe of Hannover, and for the greater ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, was paſſed in parliament, the Queen ſent over lord Halifax, as has been frequently mentioned in the preceding letters, to compliment the Elector and the Princeſs Sophia, and to carry the garter to the Electoral Prince. He went to Holland with the duke of Marlborough, and began to correſpond with Robethon, from the Hague.

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 190.

SIR, Hague, May 7, 1706.

"I HAVE received the favour of your letter of the 30th, and ſhould have returned my moſt humble acknowledgments, for the great honour his Electoral Highneſs and the Electoral Prince have done me, by the next poſt, had it not gone away earlier than I imagined. I have undertaken this journey, merely to pay my duty and reſpect to their Electoral Highneſſes. I knew myſelf very unfit for any foreign buſineſs; but I would not refuſe a commiſſion, (though never ſo improper for myſelf) that might put me in a capacity of ſerving them. Sir, I beg the favour of you, that you would preſent my moſt humble duty to their Electoral Highneſſes, and to the Electoral Prince, with the utmoſt reſpect; and aſſure them, that as I have been always devoted to their intereſt in England, I am now come abroad, only in hopes I may be ſome way uſeful to them. I bring them the greateſt proofs, that the Queen and the nation can give them, of their affection and zeal, to preſerve and maintain the ſucceſſion in that illuſtrious family: and I hope the negociation, that my lord Marlborough is now carrying on in this place, will add a greater ſtrength to our laws. Mr. Vanburgh is not yet come over; and I came away in ſuch a hurry, that I left ſeveral things to follow me. When they arrive, I will ſet forward for Hannover. I have excuſed myſelf from bringing any young nobleman with me, but my lord Dorſet is left

to my care, and I ſhall bring him with me. Monſieur Nariſeau and Mr. Addiſon, two gentlemen of learning and buſineſs, give me their company, and I bring no more ſervants or liveries than I have at London. I am, &c. 1706.

HALIFAX.

"I am overjoyed that I ſhall have again the honour to renew our acquaintance; and you needed no recommendation to put an entire confidence in Mr. Robethon."

The Duke of Newcaſtle to the Elector.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 36.

SIR, London, May 7, 1706.

"IT is with the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable that I give myſelf the honour of writing to your Electoral Highneſs upon this important occaſion, wherein the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, the proſperity of England, and the liberties of Europe, (which ſeem to be united to the intereſts of your moſt illuſtrious family *) are equally provided for by the act paſſed this laſt ſeſſion of parliament. And ſince it has pleaſed the Queen to make choice of my lord Halifax (a perſon of great abilities, and entirely devoted to your Highneſs's ſervice) to preſent you with that act, who is able, at the ſame time, to give a perfect account of the whole proceedings in this affair; I would not omit aſſuring you, that as I did in this, ſo ſhall I do in all things wherein your Highneſs's intereſt is concerned, teſtify with how much zeal, and profound reſpect, I am, &c.

NEWCASTLE."

The Electoral Prince to Lord Raby.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 47.

The following letter is in Mr. Robethon's hand. It was afterwards tranſcribed and ſent by his Electoral Highneſs, as a ſpecimen of his own progreſs in the Engliſh language.

My Lord, May 8, 1706.

"I AM very much obliged to you for your letter, and your kind expreſſions about my concerns. You do me juſtice to be perſuaded, that I am very ſenſible of the honour the Queen hath been pleaſed to

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* His Grace, when earl of Clare, was quite of another opinion. Stuart Papers, 1694.

1706. beſtow upon me, in giving me the garter. Your compliment upon that ſubject is infinitely agreeable to me. I wiſh I could deſerve that which you make me upon my progreſs in the Engliſh language, and that I could be ſo great a maſter of it as to expreſs perfectly the conſideration I have for your perſon, and how much I am, &c.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 193.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

The operations of the campaign.

This letter was ſent by lord Halifax.

Tranſlation.

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs, Hague, May 9, 1706.

"QUartermaſter general Cadogan gave me the letter which your E. H. did me the honour to write to me the ſecond inſtant; and I am very happy to learn that you entirely approve the project which I had concerted, as the moſt ſalutary for the common cauſe. But the bad news lately received from the Upper Rhine, has induced the gentlemen *here* to drop theſe meaſures; yet, ſtill endeavours are uſed to march a corps of ten thouſand men into Italy, with which, it is to be hoped, prince Eugene will be in a condition to re-eſtabliſh his affairs, and to ſave his royal highneſs the duke of Savoy from the danger which threatens him.

Lord Halifax, who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your E. H. will likewiſe inform you of all that paſſed in England, having been one of the moſt zealous for your intereſts. His great capacity, and his knowledge, will give him alſo, I am ſure, a favourable acceſs to your E. H. All honeſt men, among us, applaud the choice which her Majeſty has made of him. He has been ſo good as to charge himſelf with aſſurances of the attachment, and of the very ſubmiſſive reſpect, with which I ſhall always be, &c.

Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH."

Lord

Lord Wharton to the Elector.

1706. Original. Hannover-papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 33.

Tranſlation.

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs, May 10, 1706.

"IT is with confuſion that I preſume to addreſs myſelf to your E. H. having no other merit, but that of having always endeavoured to ſerve my country well, and of having attached myſelf, with great zeal, to the intereſts of your E. H. and of your auguſt family. I doubt not, Sir, but my lord Halifax, who has the honour of being ſent to your E. H. will do me juſtice in that reſpect; and I am confident that you are ſo well informed of all that paſſes in England, that it would be unjuſt to you, if I ſhould doubt that your E. H. was not perfectly acquainted with his merit, and with the earneſtneſs which he always teſtified for your ſervice. I am, with the moſt profound reſpect, &c.

WHARTON."

The Earl of Orford to the Elector.

Original. Ibid. No. 37.

SIR, London, May 11, 1706.

"THE pride and glory I take, to be accounted a very faithful and obedient ſervant to your moſt Serene Highneſs, will, I hope, be an excuſe for this liberty, though it contains nothing, but the aſſurance of the utmoſt of my poore *ſeruis* for the intereſt of your Highneſs and illuſtrious houſe*. Lord Halifax, who has bin ſo very inſtrumental in bringing this glorious work of the ſucceſſion to the crown of England to a good concluſion, will, I am ſure, give your Highneſs a very full, and, I hope, a ſatisfactory account, of all the *ſtepts* and difficulties which are now ſo happily overcome; I therefore do not trouble your Highneſs with any particulars, but beg leave, with great ſubmiſſion, to aſſure your Highneſs, that I ſhall never be wanting, on all occaſions, to expreſs my duty and zeal, and that your Highneſs will honour me, in believing I am, with the greateſt reſpect, Sir, &c.

ORFORD."

* Vide Stuart Papers paſſim, for a proof of his lordſhip's *invariable* attachment to the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

1706. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Duke of Buckingham to the Princeſs Sophia.

Buckingham joined in the motion of inviting the Princeſs to England, and gives his reaſons in this letter.—He deſires her to ſend over a perſon in whom he and his party can place confidence.

MADAM, St. James's Park, May 21, 1706.

"AFter receiving thoſe ſeveral copies of letters about ſuch matters of importance, together with all thoſe honours and favours your R. H. has done me; I muſt ſeem ſtrangely negligent in not writing all this time †, either to yourſelf, or at leaſt to ſome friend at Hannover, if I did not entirely depend on your great prudence, which will eaſily imagine the good reaſons for it, after thoſe extraordinary ſort of proceedings we have had among us.

The truth is, I, with a great many more (as they have owned in converſation) have been this long while in a conſtant expectation of your appointing ſome perſon, either privately or publickly, to convey letters ſafely, and to be converſed with and confided in upon occaſion; becauſe, though I believe no body ever had a thought on this ſubject of your coming over hither either in the leaſt diſreſpectful to the Queen, or even to the government, or which could juſtly be blamed by either of them, if diſcovered; yet it would be unmannerly to yourſelf, as well as imprudent, to venter letters to ſo great a perſon that are ſo liable to be intercepted as mine are at this time, though, God knows, without my leaſt deſerving it. And therefore, according to this notion, it was thought abſolutely neceſſary long ago to acquaint your R. H. (once for all) with the neceſſity of ſuch an agent; but ſince none has come, I muſt conclude the propoſal never came to your hands, though ſent incloſed ſeveral ways; which was a confirmation of the reaſonableneſs of it: which has made me reſolve to give your R. H. this one trouble more now at laſt, in hopes it may have better ſucceſs, though incloſed for once to Mr. Davenant, but in a private pacquet, who, as devoted as poſſible to the houſe of Hannover, yet is by no means proper to convey a correſpondence of this kind, which, as innocent as it is, muſt needs be expoſed, every pacquet, to the under clerks of an office.

† His Grace's time was probably employed in writing to St. Germains, which occaſioned this negligence toward the princeſs Sophia. Vide Stuart Papers.

I muſt

I muſt here moſt humbly take my leave of your R. H. this way, becauſe, beſides the being apprehenſive of giving unneceſſary troubles, I think it better to refer all to that time when you will be pleaſed to ſettle this ſo neceſſary method. I ſhall now only ſay that, in my conſcience, I believe, and dare affirm myſelf ſure, that the perſons in both houſes who appeared for your coming over, and againſt that bill which paſſed, not to preſent it, but as a ſecurity brought in the room of it, did it principally for the quiet and ſafety of the government, and more eſpecially of the Quee[illegible] ſacred perſon, whom, according to their obligations, they love and re[illegible]nce above all things: and their next conſideration was for fear that ill-diſpoſed perſons ſhould interpoſe between the time of ſuch a fatal accident of our loſing her, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed, and might conſequently wiſh for that ſad day, in order to ſuch their deſign; and this was my own reaſon, which I gave openly in parliament, before herſelf, taking God to witneſs the truth of it. I am, &c. 1706.

BUCKINGHAM."

The following letter is in Marlborough's own hand; and conſequently a tranſcript of a copy written for him by Cardonnel, his ſecretary; his Grace having owned, in one of his letters, that he could not write French.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.
He announces the victory of Ramillies.
Tranſlation.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 194.

SIR, Louvain, May 25, 1706.

"AS ſoon as we underſtood that the enemy, having withdrawn their troops from the fortified places, and collected together all their forces in the Low Countries, had paſſed the Geete at Tirlemont, and encamped between that place and Leane, with a deſign of giving us battle, we did not heſitate to advance toward them, placing our confidence in the bleſſing of heaven and the valour of our troops. Sunday laſt, we continued our march, at three o'clock in the morning, to gain the opening between the Mahain and the great Geete. We ſoon underſtood that the enemy were likewiſe in march; but, according to the report of the general officers who were our priſoners, their deſign was not to fight before

1706. before Monday; not believing that we would venture to come to them. The armies were in ſight before noon; and all diligence was uſed on both ſides to arrange the troops in order of battle, and to form the batteries, which began to play at one. And toward two o'clock, we ordered the village of Ramillies, which covered the right of their infantry, where they had their largeſt battery, with a great force, to be attacked.

The battle became hot, and continued long enough, with great fury; but at laſt the enemy was obliged to give way. We took their cannon, and made many priſoners; and having continued the fight with the ſame vigour, (the infantry as well as the cavalry) until between four and five o'clock, when the enemy began to withdraw; we purſued them without intermiſſion, fighting them as they retired, until the night was far advanced: ſo that God has given us a complete victory. We have taken forty-three pieces of cannon, the pontons, a great part of their baggage, and at leaſt four thouſand priſoners, beſides their loſs in the battle.

We only halted two hours in the night, and we began our march before day, in order to draw near the Dyle, of which we had determined to attempt the paſſage this morning at day-light: but the enemy ſaved us that trouble, having retired laſt night toward Bruſſels; ſo that we entered Louvain, and all our army paſſed the river without oppoſition. The French burnt their magazines in the town, but the Spaniards left theirs entire.

Your E. H. may eaſily judge, by this, of the loſs of the enemy, and of the conſternation in which they are. We propoſe, to-morrow, to advance toward Bruſſels, to take the advantage of this conſternation; and to endeavour to attack them again, or to oblige them to retire further. Nothing could excuſe us for fatiguing the troops ſo much, after ſo obſtinate an engagement, but the neceſſity of driving them to the laſt extremity before the Mariſhal de Marſin joins them, which may happen in four days.

Your E. H. will forgive me for ſo long an account, which, I am ſure, however, will be agreeable to you. You will allow me likewiſe, if you pleaſe, to felicitate you upon this happy ſucceſs, for the good of the common cauſe. I am, with the utmoſt reſpect, &c.

Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH."

The

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

1706. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 192.

The Prince of Baden aſks the Elector's troops.—The Elector chuſes they ſhould ſerve under the Duke of Marlborough.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, May 26, 1706.

"I Thought it proper to inform you, by a meſſenger, that the prince of Baden continues to ſolicit lieutenant general Bulau to march to his aſſiſtance, with the corps of troops which I have in the Queen's ſervice. He wrote to him from Raſtadt, the 19th inſtant, by Mr. D'Avenant, the moſt preſſing letter imaginable. It is true, I had permitted the lieutenant general to advance on that ſide, with my troops, when there was any hopes of preventing the enemy from executing their project on the upper Rhine. But, at preſent, where they have carried their point, when the Marſhal de Marſin returns to the Maeſe with the detachment which he commands, and when the prince of Baden, having placed himſelf ſafely beyond the Rhine, has aſſembled there a force ſufficient to prevent the paſſage of the French, I ſee no neceſſity of ſending to him my troops. I know, if they once ſhould advance on that ſide, the prince will find means of keeping them all the campaign, which is as contrary to my intentions as it is to the public ſervice. I always reckoned that they were to ſerve in your army; and I don't ſee that there is any neceſſity of employing them elſewhere. You will therefore oblige me much, by ſending them your orders without delay. They will follow them punctually. But I chuſe to hope, that you will approve the ſtrong reaſons which I have, not to truſt them to the prince of Baden; and that the intereſt of the common cauſe does not demand that I ſhould. You will find means of employing my troops in places where they may ſerve more uſefully. I ſhall never think them ſo well as under your orders; and I ſhall never be ſo well ſatisfied, as when they ſerve in a manner which will procure them your approbation. I am, very ſincerely, &c."

The Electoral Prince to the Duke of Marlborough.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 197.

He acknowledges himſelf obliged for the garter to the Duke.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, June 2, 1706.

"THE Lord Halifax delivered to me the letter which you gave him for me. You are in the right to believe that I am as ſenſible as I

1706. ought to be of the honour which the Queen has been pleaſed to do me by conferring upon me the order of the garter. I am not ignorant that I am principally obliged for this to your good offices. I entreat you to be perſuaded that I ſhall be grateful for it all my life; and that I receive the order with ſo much the greater pleaſure, that you wear it likewiſe, my lord; and that you honour it daily, by ſuch brilliant actions. The officer who will deliver you this letter, is the perſon who brought to us the agreeable news of your laſt victory; the conſequences of which have been ſo conſiderable, and the ſucceſs, every one allows, is chiefly to be aſcribed to your conduct and valour. I take a greater ſhare than any one in this addition to your glory; and I would have nothing farther to deſire, in this reſpect, had I been a witneſs of it.

We conſider, as a freſh obligation which we owe to her Majeſty, that ſhe ſent hither a man of lord Halifax's merit. I hope that he will be as well ſatisfied with us as we are with him. I am always, my lord, entirely yours, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 195.

He has ſent a route to the Elector's troops —He informs him of the progreſs of his Conqueſts.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp at Nevelle, June 4, 1706.

"I Received the letter which your E. H. did me the honour of writing to me the 26th of the laſt month; and I was informed, from other quarters, of the earneſt repreſentations which the prince of Baden continued to make to Monſ. de Bulau, in order to engage him to march to his aſſiſtance. But there are more than ten days, ſince I ſent poſitive orders to that general to come, with all ſpeed, to the Low Countries; which he will undoubtedly communicate to your E. H. I am very glad to ſee, by this letter, that what I have done in this reſpect, is agreeable to the wiſhes of your E. H. I expect to learn, every moment, that the troops are on their march, having ſent to them a route to come from Coblentz to Liege.

The prince of Baden ſhould adhere to his orders, ſince, as your E. H. remarks, he has troops under his command of which he makes no uſe.

uſe. But as, according to the intelligence which we receive, the court of France muſt have given orders to Monſieur de Villars to march thirty battalions and forty ſquadrons to this ſide, the prince will be ſoon at liberty to act on his ſide: and I flatter myſelf that the court of Vienna will take care, that ſo large a body of troops, Monſieur de Bulau computing them at forty thouſand men, beſides the Heſſians, ſhall not remain inactive during the campaign. 1706.

I did myſelf the honour to communicate to your E. H. on the 25th of the laſt month, the victory which we obtained over the enemy. We have not failed to purſue our blow; and the happy conſequences which that has produced, are beyond whatever we could hope. It has never been heard, that ſo many places of ſtrength, with entire provinces, ſurrendered in ſo ſhort a time, eſpecially as they were provided with garriſons and magazines for a good defence. Oudenard, where there were three battalions, ſurrendered yeſterday. I have ordered Antwerp and Oſtend to be ſummoned, and I expect their anſwers every moment. We cannot take the proper meaſures, until we are maſters of the firſt place. I flatter myſelf that all this will have a good effect elſewhere; and that if our troops upon the Upper Rhine will do their duty properly, the enemy will be even obliged to bring forces from Italy to their aſſiſtance; which will give relief to the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, and may fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy upon Turin. I am, with a moſt profound reſpect, &c.

Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH."

The Earl of Portland to the Elector.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 40.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Hague, June 9, 1706.

"I AM not diſpoſed to trouble your E. H. with my letters; but I would imagine I failed in my duty, and in my gratitude, if I did not ſhow you my ſenſe of both, upon the ſubject concerning which you gave orders to Monſieur de Robethon to write to me. And as I doubt not but Monſieur Schutz has informed your E. H. of all my conduct, I ſhall only ſay, that your Highneſs may always depend upon my ſincere zeal for your ſervice. The great ſucceſs which God has granted to the arms of the allies, and on which I heartily congratulate your E. H. will

1706. contribute not a little to eſtabliſh your intereſts every where. I remain, with the moſt profound reſpect, &c.

PORTLAND."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

The Duke of Buckingham to the Princeſs Sophia.

In the ſame ſtrain with his letter of May 21.

MADAM, St. James's Park, June 9, 1706.

"HAving written ſeveral letters ſince I had the honour of receiving any from Hannover; and ſuch, as though no way prejudicial, were about matters of importance; I muſt therefore beg leave to renew only, at this time, the aſſurance I gave your R. Highneſs in thoſe of the neceſſity, which was thought here, of ſome ſafer way of conveyance, and of ſome perſon from thence to be confided in. For your R. H. in the firſt place, and all thoſe who have the honour of ſuch a correſpondence, are incapable of thinking, much leſs of writing, the leaſt thing prejudicial to the Queen or the government. I have reaſon to believe all letters, not only opened, but ſtopt alſo, becauſe there has been nothing done in ſo long a time, which was here thought ſo much of conſequence to your intereſt, and ſo earneſtly propoſed by thoſe who are devoted to it above all things, next the ſervice of the Queen herſelf, and who, we cannot imagine, has any different from yours. This is enough to a perſon ſo prudent.

BUCKINGHAM."

Copy in Robethon's hand. Hanno ve Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 30.

The Electoral Prince to the Queen.

Thanks for the order of the Garter.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Hannover, June 12, 1706.

"I Received, with the utmoſt gratitude, the letter which your Majeſty was pleaſed to give in charge to my lord Halifax. I am penetrated with the mark of diſtinction with which you was ſo good as to honour me, by giving me the order of the Garter. I entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded, that I deſire nothing more ardently than to ſhew, by my actions, that I am not unworthy of entering into ſo illuſtrious a body. My lord Halifax did not fail to give me the moſt obliging aſſurances of your Majeſty's ſentiments full of goodneſs towards me. I flatter myſelf that, on his return to England, he will make

make a faithful report of my perfect veneration for your Majeſty, and of the profound reſpect with which I ſhall be, all my lifetime, Madam, &c." 1706.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Acknowledges his having received the Duke's letters, and congratulates him upon his victories.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers. vol. marked Princes, No. 196.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, June 17, 1706.

"I Received the letter which you wrote to me by lord Halifax. His arrival here was very agreeable to me, having given me an opportunity of being acquainted with a man, whoſe merit was already well known to me. I am much obliged to you for the letter which you wrote to me from Louvain, the 25th of May; and for the trouble which you took, in the midſt of ſo many important occupations, to give me an account of the victory with which God has bleſſed our arms. All the world agrees, that it is to be aſcribed principally to your good conduct and to your valour. I entreat you, my lord, to be perſuaded, that no one intereſts himſelf more than I do in this addition to your glory, and in the happy conſequences which this great action has already produced, and which may be farther expected from it. I hope it will prevent the ſiege of Turin; and that, with the reinforcement of ten thouſand men, which you mention to me, it will place the duke of Savoy in entire ſecurity.

I have likewiſe received the letter which you wrote to me the fourth inſtant, from the camp of Nevelle; and I am happy to ſee that the orders which I gave to my troops are agreeable to your intentions.

I wiſh you a continuance of your great ſucceſs; and I always am, very ſincerely, &c."

The Elector to the Queen.

A letter of thanks ſent by Lord Halifax, when he returned from Hannover.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 29.

Tranſlation.

Madam, June 28, 1706.

"MY lord Halifax delivered to me the letter which your Majeſty was ſo good as to give him in charge for me. The three acts of parliament which he brought, are convincing proofs of the obliging atten-

1706. tions which your Majeſty continues to pay to the intereſts of my family. I entreat you to be perſuaded of the gratitude which I ſhall preſerve for this all my lifetime. I am likewiſe ſenſible of the honour which you conferred on the Electoral Prince, by giving him the Order of the Garter. My lord Halifax gave me all poſſible explanations with regard to the three acts: I am much obliged to your Majeſty for the choice you made of a miniſter of ſuch capacity and diſtinction to be the bearer of them. He acquitted himſelf of the commiſſion with great zeal. I deſire nothing more ardently than opportunities of convincing your Majeſty to what degree I am penetrated with your goodneſs, and that I am, with a profound reſpect, Madam, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

Hannover Papers.

The Princeſs Sophia to the Queen.

Tranſlation.

MADAM,

"THE favour which your Majeſty was pleaſed to do me, by the embaſſy of my lord Halifax, who delivered me the letter with which you was pleaſed to honour me, as well as the acts which you paſſed in my favour, and in favour of my deſcendents, are ſuch evident proofs to me of the honour of your favours, that I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my very humble acknowledgments for them, unleſs your Majeſty will condeſcend to furniſh me with opportunities, by honouring me with your commands. In expectation of ſuch an advantage, I entreated my lord Halifax to teſtify to your Majeſty how far the ſubmiſſion and zeal I have for your ſacred perſon extends. He procured to himſelf the general eſteem of every one; and I preſume to entreat your Majeſty moſt humbly to be ſo good as to believe the ſentiments of veneration of which he will give you aſſurances from me, and of the reſpect with which I ſhall be all my lifetime, Madam, &c.

SOPHIA, Electreſs."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 31.

The Electoral Princeſs to Queen Anne.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, June 20, 1706.

"YOUR Majeſty daily ſhews ſo much kindneſs for this family, that it is very juſt that I, having entered into it by my marriage with the Electoral Prince, take the liberty to aſſure you, that I have not a leſs

a leſs lively and reſpectful gratitude with regard to your Majeſty, than the princes who belong to it. I was very ſenſible of the honour which your Majeſty did the Prince, my huſband, by conferring on him the order of the Garter. I ſhould think I failed in my duty, if I permitted the lord Halifax to depart without offering my humble thanks to your Majeſty, and without recommending myſelf to your kindneſs. I entreat you to believe that it is impoſſible to be, with more reſpect than I am, &c." 1706.

The Elector to the Earl of Portland.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 41.

My Lord, June 26, 1706.

I AM much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, and for the aſſurances which it contains of your zeal for the intereſts of my family. My miniſter at London gave me an exact account of all the meaſures which you took, on different occaſions, for eſtabliſhing and confirming the proteſtant ſucceſſion. I entreat you to believe, that I lay great ſtreſs upon your affection; that I am very ſenſible of the proofs of it which you have given me; and that I ſhall be always very happy to find opportunities of ſhewing you how much I am, &c."

The Elector to the Earl of Sunderland.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 42.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, June 20, 1706.

"I AM much obliged to you for the letter which the lord Halifax delivered to me from you. There was no neceſſity of being informed by him of what you had done on different occaſions, to eſtabliſh and confirm the proteſtant ſucceſſion. I am as ſenſible, as I ought to be, of theſe marks of your zeal for the intereſt of my family. They are ſo much the more agreeable to me, that they come from a perſon whoſe merit is perfectly known to me; and who, under a Queen ſo well informed as her Majeſty is, cannot fail to attain to the moſt important employments. I am perſuaded that ſhe cannot place them in better hands; and entreat you to believe that I am ſincerely, &c."

1706. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 45.

The Elector to Lord Somers.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, June 20, 1706.

"THE lord Halifax delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am much obliged to you for the lights which it gives concerning the affairs of England; but eſpecially for the part which you have had in all that has been done there in favour of my family. The teſtimony of my lord Halifax was not neceſſary to inform me of this. He could give you no other, in this reſpect, but that which is due to you by all good Engliſhmen, who love their religion and their country. I am not ignorant of what influence you have among them, nor of the manner in which you have employed it. Nothing can give me a better opinion of the Engliſh nation, than the juſtice which they do your merit. My ſentiments concerning the invitation of the ſucceſſor, are entirely conformed to yours; and I put all the value I ought upon the acts which the lord Halifax brought us. He has convinced us of their importance; and he hath diſcharged his commiſſion as a man equally zealous for the proſperity of England, and for the intereſts of my family. I ſhall always look for opportunities of ſhewing you how much I am, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid.

The Elector to Cowper, the Lord Keeper.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, June 20, 1706.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me; and for the aſſurances which it contains of your affection for me, and of your zeal for the intereſts of my family. I approve, more than any one, of the choice which the Queen made of a man of your merit, for an employment ſo conſiderable as that which ſhe truſted to you. I am already ſufficiently acquainted with your principles, and with the conſtancy with which you followed them in the moſt difficult times, to be perſuaded that her Majeſty could not place that employment in better hands. You are in the right to believe, that it will be always eaſy for me to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are truly zealous for the proteſtant ſucceſſion. I know the rank which you hold among them, and the confidence which they place in you; and I ſhall be always very

happy to find opportunities of ſhewing you how much I am, my Lord, &c." 1706.

The Elector to the Earl of Orford.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 45.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, June 20, 1706.

"I Have read, with a great deal of pleaſure, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am very much obliged to you for the aſſurances which it contains of your zeal for the intereſts of my family. I know the part which you have had in all that hath been done for confirming the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line; and I am no ſtranger to the influence which you have acquired in the nation, by your merit and by your brilliant actions. The teſtimony which the lord Halifax did himſelf the pleaſure of bearing of you was not neceſſary for me in this reſpect. He will not fail to tell you what are my ſentiments concerning you, and how much I am, my Lord, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Newcaſtle, Lord Privy Seal.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, June 20, 1706.

"I Received, with all poſſible ſatisfaction, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I entreat you to believe that I am very grateful for all that you have done for the intereſts of my family; and that I conſider, as a great advantage to it, that a perſon of ſo great diſtinction as you, and of a probity ſo generally acknowledged, ſhould give us ſo many marks of his affection. I approved, with all good Engliſhmen, of the choice which the Queen made of you, for an employment ſo conſiderable as that which ſhe truſted to you; and I wiſh nothing ſo much as opportunities of ſhewing you how much I am, my Lord, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Bolton.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, June 20, 1706.

"I Received with a great deal of ſatisfaction, by the lord Halifax, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. Your good intentions for the intereſts of my family were already known to me, by your paſt conduct. I entreat you to believe that I am as ſenſible of them as I ought to be; and that I am not ignorant neither of the influence which

1706. which you poſſeſs in England, nor how much you deſerve it. The lord Halifax will not fail to tell you, what are my ſentiments for your perſon, and how much I am, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 45.

The Elector to the Earl of Rivers.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, June 20, 1706.

"I Read, with a great deal of pleaſure, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am much obliged to you for all you have done for the intereſts of my family. I was already informed of it, and I was very happy to be confirmed by lord Halifax, in the ſentiments of eſteem and regard which I had already conceived for you. I approved, with all good Engliſhmen, of the choice which the Queen made of you, to ſerve this campaign. I doubt not, but you will acquit yourſelf in your ſtation, in a manner equally uſeful to the common cauſe and glorious for yourſelf. I ſhall always be very much diſpoſed to ſhow you, how much I am, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid.

The Elector to Lord Wharton.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, June 20, 1706.

"I Received, with a great deal of pleaſure, by the lord Halifax, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am very grateful for all that you have done, on different occaſions, for the intereſt of my family. I was already informed of it; and I was not ignorant, that if you had acquired, by your merit, a great deal of credit in the nation, you never employed it but for its advantage. I entreat you to believe, that I have for your perſon all poſſible regard, and that I am, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 43.

The Elector to Lord Halifax.

Thanks him for his pains to finiſh the treaty of Guarantee.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, July 20, 1706.

"I Read with a great deal of ſatisfaction, the letter of the 19th inſtant, which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am very ſenſible of the attentions which you give, to bring the treaty of Guarantee to a happy

happy concluſion. The manner, in which you write about it to the penſionary, is perfectly agreeable to my intentions, and to the deference which I propoſe to ſhew to the Queen, during the courſe of this negociation. I agree with you, that we ought to be ſatisfied with the 6th article, as you have ſent it; and, as I am perſuaded that this affair can never be in better hands than yours, I repoſe myſelf entirely upon you, for all that muſt be done to facilitate its ſucceſs. I ſhall be always very happy to receive your letters. You may aſſure yourſelf, that I ſhall pay them all the attention which they deſerve; and that I ſhall keep them in all poſſible ſecrecy. I ſhall put the electreſs in mind of diſpatching, without further delay, the inſtruments of nomination. 1706.

I think that the King of Spain has very well underſtood his intereſts, in truſting to the duke of Marlborough, the government of the Low Countries. I thank you for having communicated this to me; and I entreat you to believe, that as your merit and your affection for my family are perfectly well known to me, I ſhall always do myſelf a pleaſure, in giving you marks of the regard which I have for your perſon, and of the ſincerity with which I am, &c."

The Earl of Scarborough to the Elector.

Recommends his ſon, and the ſon of Mr. Smith, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, who had ſet out on their travels.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 48.

July 22, 1706.

"YOUR Electorall Highnes will, I hope, pardon this liberty I take, by my ſecound ſon, whou having finiſhed his ſtudies, I have orderd to begin his travelling, with paying his earlieſt reſpect and duty to your Electorall Highnes. The favors I have formerly received from your Electorall Highnes, oblidges me to make all my familie ſenſible of your greate goodnes. Mr. Smith, eldeſt ſon to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, begins his travells with my ſon, in order to pay his reſpect and duty to your Electorall Highnes. May all proſperity attend your Electorall Highnes and princely familie, which ſhall be the conſtant prayer of your Electoral Highnes

Moſt devoted, obedient, and moſt faithfull, humble ſarvant,

SCARBOROUGH."

1706. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 198.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for felicitations on the Princeſs's Marriage to the King of Pruſſia.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, July 23, 1706.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, the 10th inſtant; and for the manner full of affection, in which you ſhew me that you intereſt yourſelf in the marriage of the princeſs, my daughter. After the proofs, which you have given, upon ſo many occaſions, of your attachment and your zeal for my family, I doubt not but you will ſee, with pleaſure, whatever happens agreeable or advantageous to it. I entreat you to believe, that I, on my part, intereſt myſelf very particularly in whatever regards you; and, that no one wiſhes you more than I do, a continuation of the great ſucceſs, which adds daily, a new luſtre to the glory you have acquired. I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

Mr. Addiſon to Mr. Lewis.

Original.

SIR, July 26th, 1706.

"I Thank you for yours of the 2d, which I received at the duke of Marlborough's camp. Mr. Cardonnel will give you a better account of all tranſactions here than I can doe. The duke of Marlborough received a letter from prince Eugene, on Saturday laſt, that confirms his paſſing the Adige, and gives very great hopes of further ſucceſſes. He tells his Grace, that the duke of Orleans was arrived in thoſe parts, to command the French army; if he had reſolution enough to enter on ſuch a poſt, when his army was in ſuch a ſituation. The duke of Vendome, they ſay, this morning, is got among the French troups, on this ſide. A trumpet from the enemy ſays, that three lieutenant-generals are broken, for miſbehaviour, at Ramellies. Their names are, counts Guiſcard, d'Artagnan, and Monſieur d'Etain. All agree here, that the laſt battle was gained, purely by the conduct of our general. I am, Sir, &c.

J. ADDISON."

The

The Electoral Prince to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for felicitations on his Sister's Marriage.

1706. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 199.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, July 27, 1706.

"I Received, with a great deal of gratitude, the letter which you was at the trouble to write to me. I am much obliged to you for the compliments which it contains, upon the marriage of my ſiſter, and for the wiſhes, which you add to them, for the happy delivery of the electoral princeſs. You have given, on ſo many occaſions, proofs of your affection for this family, and of your attachment to its intereſts, that it is impoſſible to doubt, that you ſee with pleaſure, whatever happens to it, either agreeable or advantageous. Accordingly, you may depend upon it, that all the princes, who belong to it, entertain for you, ſentiments full of eſteem and regard. But I flatter myſelf, that you do me juſtice enough to be perſuaded, that none of them has ſentiments ſo lively as mine, nor intereſts himſelf, in a more diſtinguiſhed manner, in whatever concerns you. I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c.

The Electoral Prince to Mr. Creſſet.

The ſame ſubject.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 50.

Tranſlation.

Hannover, Auguſt 3, 1706.

"I Received, Sir, with a great deal of ſatisfaction, the obliging letter which you wrote to me, on the ſubject of my ſiſter's marriage. I am very much perſuaded of the ſincerity of your wiſhes, for the happy conſequences from this marriage and from my own. You have given, on ſo many occaſions, ſuch effectual proofs of your affection for this family, that it is not poſſible to doubt, but that the good ſentiments which you entertain for us, proceed from your heart. It is juſt, Sir, that we ſhould entertain ſimilar ſentiments for you. I entreat you to believe, that mine are very diſtinguiſhed; and that I ſhall always be very happy to ſhow, that I am, &c.

1706. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 51.

The Elector to Mr. Creſſet.

The ſame ſubject.

Tranſlation.

Hannover, Auguſt 6, 1706.

"I Am very ſenſible, Sir, of the manner full of affection, in which you intereſt yourſelf in the marriage of the princeſs, my daughter. I know too well the ſincerity of your affection for me and for my family, not to be perſuaded, that you offer hearty vows for its proſperity; and that you take a very particular part, in whatever of advantage happens to it. Of this, you gave us, on various occaſions, very effectual proofs. You may be aſſured, that I ſhall never forget, and I ſhall do myſelf a real pleaſure, in finding opportunities of ſhewing you, that I am, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 190.

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

The title of the Electoral Prince, as a Peer of England.—The treaty of Guarantee with the States.

SIR, Hague, Auguſt 12, 1706.

"AT my return to this place, Monſieur Bothmer gave me your letter of the 23d July, which gave me a great dale of ſatisfaction. I did not underſtand, why the nomination was delayed ſo long; and I am confident, that it was more proper that it ſhould be diſpatched. I ſhall not fail to write to the archbiſhop and my Lord Keeper, and I do not imagine, they will make any difficulty of waiting on Monſieur Schutz, if he is not able to go abroad; but Monſieur Schutz muſt have his credentials enrolled in Chancery, before he is capable of acting; if I am in England before the inſtruments are delivered, I will be there, if that ſhall be thought proper; but in my own opinion it is not. When I was at the camp, I ſpoke to the duke of Marlborough about the title, and he is very ready to join in that, or any thing that may be agreeable to the prince. When I come into England, I ſhall not fail to repreſent it to the Queen. I intended to have gone to England by Oſtend, but the penſioner writ to have me come this way, to ſatisfy ſome ſcruples that were raiſed againſt our treaty; all the towns in this province have agreed

agreed to it, but Leyden. I have been this morning with Monſieur Van Lewen, their deputy; and I hope he is ſo well ſatisfied, that he will not make any oppoſition longer; if he does, it will not obſtruct above a day or two. I am, &c. 1706.

HALIFAX."

Lord Halifax to the Elector.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 53.

The treaty of guarantee.—The union of the two kingdoms.—He gave the Queen an account of his favourable reception at Hannover.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Auguſt 23, 1706.

"I Found myſelf ſo very deſirous of embracing the opportunity of the convoy, from the Texel, that I was not able to inform your Electoral Highneſs of the manner in which the province of Halland conſented to the treaty. I ſend now a copy of it to your Electoral Highneſs, in order that I may have the honour of receiving ſuch remarks or inſtructions, as your Electoral Highneſs will think proper to communicate to me, on the ſubject. Your Electoral Highneſs will find the guarantee of the ſucceſſion drawn up nearly in the ſame terms, as I mentioned in my laſt letter. But their demands, with regard to the barrier, which they wiſh to have, are ſo extravagant, that I doubt whether they will be conſented to, as they have projected them. I repreſented this very amply to the miniſters in Holland; and it appears to me, that they have made this propoſal concerning a barrier, altogether like merchants. They know very well, that their demands are exorbitant; but they hope to obtain the better bargain, by lowering a great deal of their pretenſions. The penſionary is ſo convinced of this, that he entreated me to ſend him, in writing, the objections which I made to them. I will not fail to do ſo. Although this method of acting is not juſt, for it will greatly retard the concluſion of the treaty. Several efforts have been made from many places, for breaking off this negociation. But I hope that we ſhall ſurmount all theſe obſtacles.

We have all the reaſon to promiſe ourſelves ſucceſs, in our union with Scotland. All the letters from that country give us great hopes, that it will be accepted by their parliament. This treaty has had its effect in advancing the other; and when the laſt hand is put to the union,

1706. and there ſhall be no further means of preventing it, certain gentlemen in Holland, will not ſhow ſo much coldneſs for the treaty of guarantee.

I gave an account to the Queen, of the favourable reception which I met with in Hannover; and her Majeſty is extremely ſatisfied with the friendſhip and eſteem, which your Electoral Highneſs teſtified for her. She has commanded me to renew all the aſſurances which I gave to your Electoral Highneſs, that ſhe will do every thing in her power, for advancing the intereſts of your Electoral Highneſs, and of your family; and I believe you will receive, very ſoon, ſome freſh marks of her zeal for their honour and intereſt, which, as I hope, will be very agreeable to your Electoral Highneſs."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 200.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector, after the taking of Menin.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp at Helchin, Auguſt 23, 1706.

"I Do myſelf the honour to congratulate your Electoral Highneſs, upon the great ſucceſs which it hath pleaſed God to give to the arms of the high allies, by the taking of the town of Menin; one of the ſtrongeſt the enemy had in this country. The garriſon was obliged to capitulate yeſterday. This morning we were put in poſſeſſion of one of their gates; and Wedneſday, the garriſon is to march out, and to be conducted to Douay. Mr. de Bulau will, undoubtedly, have communicated to your Electoral Highneſs, from time to time, all that paſſed at the ſiege; ſo that all that I ſhall have to add, will be to recommend myſelf to your kindneſs, and to aſſure you of the reſpect, and of the very ſubmiſſive attachment, with which I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 201.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Anſwer to the preceding.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, September 3, 1706.

"I Am much obliged to you for the trouble you was at of informing me yourſelf, of the freſh ſucceſs which God hath lately granted to the arms of the allies, by the taking of Menin. You are in the right

to

to believe, that I am much intereſted in it; no one having a more lively ſenſe than I have of the Queen's glory and of yours. You could not more effectually crown the great events of ſuch a glorious campaign, than by the conqueſt of ſuch an important place. I heartily wiſh you a continuance of your great ſucceſs, and am, entirely, my Lord, &c." 1706.

The Elector to the Earl of Scarborough.

An Anſwer to his Letter of July 22.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 49.

My Lord, September 3, 1706.

"THE letter which you gave your ſon was very agreeable to me. I am much obliged to you for the aſſurances which it contains, of your affection for me and for my family. I ſhall take care, that your ſon and Mr. Smith's will have reaſon to be ſatisfied with their ſtay. Mr. Smith's merit has been long known to me. I know how much he deſerves the important poſt he fills. I ſhall be very happy, to meet with opportunities of ſhewing you, what eſteem and regard I have for your perſon; and that I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector, after the taking of Dendermonde.

Tranſlation.

Hannover papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 202.

SIR, Camp of Termond, September 5, 1706.

"YOUR Electoral Highneſs will be pleaſed to approve of the liberty which I take, of congratulating you upon the taking of Termond, the garriſon of which beat the chamade this morning, about 10 o'clock, to aſk leave to march out upon honourable terms; which having been refuſed to them, they were at laſt obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; and about five of the clock, this evening, they delivered up to us the gate of Mechlin. And, as I am perſuaded that your Electoral Highneſs will be greatly intereſted in this event, ſo advantageous to the good of the common cauſe, I did not chuſe to delay to communicate it to you; being with the utmoſt reſpect and attachment, Sir, &c."

Lord

1706. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 190.

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

The Electoral Prince made Duke of Cambridge.

SIR, September 6, 1706.

"I Have had ſo much buſineſs, at my arrival here, after a long abſence, that I have too long delayed anſwering yours of the 27th of Auguſt, which I received there. Monſieur Gaugin is out of town with the duke of Somerſet, that I could not ſpeak to him of the ſalvers; but that is all one; if you order me to pay the value of 49 ecus, to Monſieur Schutz here, or any body elſe, it ſhall be done. You will have heard, that the Queen has ſigned the warrant, for making the Electoral Prince duke of Cambridge; it was done in the beſt manner here, upon the firſt repreſentation I made; and I hope will be to the ſatisfaction of your court. I am, &c.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 203.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Anſwer to his Letter of the 5th of September.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, September 14, 1706.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the trouble which you took, in informing me of the taking of Dendermond. It gave me the greater pleaſure, that I know the importance of that place, and how troubleſome it would have been, that it ſhould have remained in the hands of the enemy. I congratulate you, with all my heart, upon this freſh conqueſt; and I wiſh a ſimilar ſucceſs to all your enterpriſes; being very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 52.

Lord Hallifax to the Elector.

The Barrier Treaty.—Propoſals of Peace, by France.—The conduct of the Miniſtry.

Tranſlation.

SIR, September 20, 1706.

"AS ſoon as I arrived in England, I did myſelf the honour of writing to your Electoral Highneſs; but I learned juſt now, that the packet boat which carried my letter was unfortunately loſt. It is for this reaſon, I take the liberty of ſending a copy of it to your Electoral Highneſs,

Highneſs, with the treaty which was incloſed in it, in order to ſhew you, that I did not neglect to give you an account of this negociation, as well as of the manner in which the Queen received it, upon my return from the court of your Electoral Highneſs. Since that time, I had occaſion to know the ſentiments of others, on the propoſal, concerning the barrier; and every one agrees, that nothing can be more extravagant than ſuch a demand. I delayed to write to the penſionary, not knowing but I ought firſt to receive the inſtructions of your Electoral Highneſs upon the ſubject; and being in expectations of receiving news from foreign countrys, which are, at length, happily arrived. 1706. September.

"The ſurpriſing turn, which the affairs of Italy have taken, will redreſs every thing. But before that happened, the Dutch were ſo diſpoſed to liſten to terms of peace, that it was nowiſe proper, to declare oneſelf too openly againſt their extravagant hopes. It is certain, that France has made them as advantageous offers, as they propoſe; which makes it the more delicate and difficult to tell them, that we believe they themſelves propoſe too much. I can tell your Electoral Highneſs, that the Queen's miniſters have acted as wiſe men and men of honour, with regard to the offers of France for a peace. They plainly declared to the Dutch, on what terms they could conſent to it, which are ſuch as cannot fail to ſatisfy all the allies: and they inſiſted particularly, that we could never believe, that it was honourable to treat of a peace, while one who pretended to be King of England, remained in France. I am, with a profound reſpect, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Affairs of the North.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 204.

My Lord, September 21, 1706.

"I Received the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, concerning the entry of the King of Sweden into Saxony. You will undoubtedly know already, that that prince has declared, at Berlin and elſewhere, that his deſign was not to diſturb the Empire, nor to cauſe any prejudice to the allies: and as it appears certain, that he has no treaty with the King of France, there is reaſon to hope, that he will not go farther than Saxony; and, that he only propoſes to deprive King Auguſtus

1706. October. guſtus of the ſuccours of men and money, which he hitherto drew from that country. It appears therefore, to me, that the wiſeſt part, is to diſcover no diffidence of that prince, and to take no meaſures againſt him; for that would be the means of hurrying him into engagements with France, and into deſigns againſt the empire; of which, there is reaſon to believe, he does not think.

As for my part, I ſhall ſpare neither care nor pains to appeaſe the troubles of Saxony, and to prevent them from being prejudicial to the intereſts of the common cauſe, and from interrupting the courſe of the glorious ſucceſſes, which God continues to grant to the arms of the Queen and of her allies. It is with this view, that I ſent to his Swediſh Majeſty, baron D'Oberg, one of my miniſters of ſtate. I informed the Queen and the States-general of his embaſſy; and I ſhall not fail to acquaint them with the anſwer of the King of Sweden, and the diſpoſitions which he will diſcover.

I ſhall do myſelf a pleaſure in ſending to you, my lord, the ſame information; and then it will be eaſier to take proper meaſures. I ſhall always eſteem myſelf very happy, to be able to concur, in whatever will be agreeable to the Queen and uſeful to the good cauſe. You will oblige me, by aſſuring her Majeſty of this, and by believing that I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 206.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

After the taking of Ath.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp at Grame, October 3, 1706.

"THE Almighty continuing to bleſs the arms of the high allies, gives me another opportunity of renewing my very humble congratulations to your Electoral Highneſs: it is upon the taking of the fortreſs of Ath, whoſe garriſon, conſiſting of five battalions of infantry, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war: it is much to be regretted, that the bad weather and the advanced ſeaſon, gives no proſpect of undertaking any thing elſe, this campaign; but if there can be any chance, your Electoral Highneſs may be aſſured, that nothing will be neglected for the good of the common cauſe. I entreat your

Highneſs likewiſe, to do me the honour to be perſuaded, of the reſpect, and very ſincere attachment, with which I am, &c." 1706. October.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

The Affairs of the North.—The intentions of the King of Sweden.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 205.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, October 8, 1706.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the letter of the 29th of the laſt month, which you was at the trouble of writing to me, and for your having communicated to me, that which you received from the King of Pruſſia, concerning a project of a triple alliance. Lieutenant-general Bulau will give you, in this reſpect, all the light which you deſire: he will inform you of the inconveniencies of this project, and that the King of Sweden, far from being the author of it, does not ſhow any eagerneſs to conclude it, having even deſired, that this affair might be negociated, not at Berlin, but at Stockholm.

The moſt eſſential circumſtance in my opinion is, that the allies ſhould not diſcover any diffidence of the King of Sweden. I have reaſon to be thoroughly perſuaded, by the report of the miniſter whom I ſent to him, that he has not entered into any concert with France, and that he only propoſes to finiſh the war of Poland with advantage. You will render, my lord, a very ſignal ſervice to the common cauſe, if you will prevent this prince's being irritated by menaces, which may, beſides, divert King Auguſtus from concurring in an accommodation. I am always, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Anſwer to the Duke's letter of the 3d of October.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. 207.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, October 14, 1706.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the trouble you took to inform me of the taking of Ath. You finiſh glorioufly, by this important conqueſt, a campaign replete with ſuch memorable events, for which all thoſe who intereſt themſelves in the common cauſe, ought to hold to you an eternal obligation. I entreat you to believe, that no one enters

1706. October. deeper into theſe ſentiments than I do, and that whatever augments your glory, will give me a very ſingular ſatisfaction. I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Lord Halifax to the Princeſs Sophia.

The title of the Electoral Prince.—He ſends her a copy of the treaty of Union.

MADAM, October 15, 1706.

"I Have received the honour of your Royal Highneſs's letter of the 12th, and am extremely pleaſed, that my zeal to ſerve your Highneſs and your family, has been ſo well received; and I ſhall make it the buſineſs of my life to merit the continuance of your favour. The patent for the title of the Electoral Prince, is now diſpatched. We were a great while looking for titles, that were anciently in the royal family, for the earldom and the marquiſate; but moſt of the old titles have been ſince given away, eſpecially to the natural ſons of King Charles; and at laſt, it was thought beſt, to create him Marquis and Duke of Cambridge, that if your Royal Highneſs and the Elector pleaſe, the young prince, when he ſhall be born *, may be called marquis of Cambridge. The duke of York his ſons were called ſo, when he was nearer in degree to the crown, and it would certainly pleaſe the Engliſh, if he took that name. I ſend your Royal Highneſs the articles of the Union, as they are printed in Scotland. They have been kept very private, till they were laid before the parliament; by all accounts from thence, there is great reaſon to hope they will be approved; there has been little done hitherto, but the appearances are promiſing; the Jacobites there, are ſo apprehenſive that the Union will be carried, that they are willing to come into the propoſition which the oppoſing party talk of making, which is, to ſettle the ſucceſſion on your Royal Highneſs, with limitations, and a communication of trade; they think this the moſt plauſible way of baffling the Union; but it is ſo well underſtood, that this offer comes too late now, which might willingly have been received ſome months ago. But your Royal Highneſs will give me leave to obſerve, that we have managed the opportunities we have had with ſome ſkill, when things are brought to that paſs, that the very Jacobites are for ſettling the proteſ-

* His lordſhip, it ſeems, was determined, that the unborn child ſhould be a boy.

tant

tant ſucceſſion one way, to avoid eſtabliſhing it more effectually another. And we have this further to ſay, that, if this Union is made, it will be the firſt inſtance in hiſtory of this kind; for there never was, at any time or in any place, an example of two ſovereign kingdoms incorporating themſelves in ſuch a manner." 1706. October.

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

The treaty of Union and of Guarantee.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 190.

'SIR, October 18th, 1706.

"ACcording to your deſire, I have paid to Mr. Schutz 9 *l.* 4 *s.* ſterling, which I hope you will give to Monſ. Lubieries; 'tis a pretty good rate for looking upon two ſalvers, but 'tis no matter. I can now tell you, very confidently, that the Union will be agreed to in Scotland; we have letters from thence, of the 14th, which ſay, that the oppoſing party have made their effort two ways; they would firſt have put off the conſideration of it for three months, that they might conſult their conſtituents; but that was carried againſt them, by a great majority: then they propoſed a general faſt, which would have taken up three weeks, but that was waved, becauſe the Aſſembly of the kirk had not aſked it; and when it was moved there, it was rejected, and the Aſſembly has directed the miniſters to offer up prayers for the ſucceſs of the Union. And now the clergy have made this ſtep, it cannot fail of ſucceeding. By letters I have from Holland, I have no doubt of the ſucceſs of our treaty there, though there will be ſome difficulty in adjuſting their barrier. I think now, we may be all allowed to boaſt, that nothing was ever better puſhed, than the eſtabliſhment of our ſucceſſion has been, ſince we had a parliament to promote it. And if you can but take care of hindering your northern hero from breaking our meaſures, we will make France own, both the Electorate and the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Hannover. I am, &c."

The Elector to Lord Halifax.

Thanks for the Treaty of Guarantee.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 55.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Herrenhauſen, Oct. 19th, 1706.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the letter of the 20th of September, which you was at the trouble of writing to me, and for the copy which you joined to it of your letter of the 23d of Auguſt, which was

1706. November. was loſt with the packet-boat. I have likewiſe reaſon to thank you for your communicating to me the reſolution of the States with regard to the guarantee of the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. I am very ſenſible of the attentions which you gave, and which you continue to give, to bring this affair to a happy iſſue. It is to be hoped, that the States-General will ſoften their pretenſions, which are ſo extravagant, that they appear to be intended to hinder the concluſion of the buſineſs. You are already informed, my lord, of the ſtrong reaſons which I had for not entering into this treaty as a principal party, and for leaving the entire direction of it to her Majeſty: ſhe has begun ſo well, that there is reaſon to believe ſhe will overcome all the obſtacles which ſtill remain. I acknowledge very gratefully the proofs of kindneſs which ſhe continues to ſhow for me and for my family on all occaſions. You cannot confer a greater obligation upon me, than by teſtifying to her how ſenſible I am of this. I entreat you to believe, that I have all poſſible eſteem and regard for you, and that I am very ſincerely, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 210.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for the communication of the propoſals of peace made by France.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, November 5, 1706.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, the 26th of the laſt month, and for the confidence which you ſhew me, by the communication of the two letters which were incloſed in it. Their contents are ſo important, that it is impoſſible to pay too much attention to them. I conſider, as a great happineſs to the allies, that France addreſſes herſelf to a perſon whoſe good intentions are ſo well known, and whoſe underſtanding is proof againſt every artifice.

I agree with you, my lord, that it is neceſſary to be very much on one's guard, and to be diffident of whatever comes from ſuch a ſuſpicious quarter. It appears to me, that it is to be avoided, above all things, to take any ſtep which may give umbrage to ſuch of the allies to whom France has made no overture; and, as the two letters which you communicated to me bear, that that crown does not chooſe to exclude, from the negociation which it propoſes, any of the powers which are at war with it, nothing, in my opinion, is more natural than to anſwer, That,

That, the Queen and the ſtates being obliged to act in concert with the Emperor and the principal allies in this great affair, it is neceſſary for you to begin, by communicating to them what hath been addreſſed to you, and to know their ſentiments, before you can give any poſitive anſwer. 1706. November.

By this means, you will gain all the time neceſſary for diſcovering if France acts ſincerely, or if ſhe wants to lay ſnares; and you will perſuade, more and more, the Emperor and the other allies of the rectitude with which the Queen and the States act with them. This will ſtrengthen the Union of the confederated powers, which ought never to be cloſer, than when it is propoſed to treat of a peace. I order the Baron de Bothmar to be thoroughly inſtructed, as well in this affair as in others which are at preſent on the carpet; entreating you to place an entire confidence in him; and to be perſuaded, that I ſhall never uſe any reſerve with regard to you; and that I am, very ſincerely, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

The ſame ſubject continued.

Tranſlation.

Copy in Robethon's hand. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 209.

SIR, Hague, Nov. 24, 1706.

"I Did not do myſelf the honour of ſending to your Electoral Highneſs the copy of the anſwers which were made to the Elector of Bavaria, upon the propoſitions which he made on the part of the King of France, ſince they were immediately communicated to all the miniſters at the Hague, and Monſ. de Bothmar was ſo good as to take it upon himſelf. But your Electoral Highneſs will find incloſed a project of preliminaries, which I concerted with ſome members of the States, who were commiſſioned for that purpoſe, without being obliged to make a report of them, or to communicate them to the aſſembly, in order that the ſecret might be ſo much the more effectually kept. And I entreat your Highneſs likewiſe, to be ſo good as to keep it. Theſe commiſſioners entreated me to aſſure the Queen, on my return, that unleſs France chuſes to ſubſcribe to ſuch terms, they will never pay the ſmalleſt attention to whatever that court may endeavour to inſinuate to them; ſo that your Electoral Highneſs may depend upon another campaign. And providing the empire likewiſe exerts itſelf upon the Rhine, I flatter myſelf, that with the bleſſing of Heaven, we ſhall be able, at laſt, to oblige the enemy to accept of reaſonable terms.

We

1706. We have been agreeably ſurprized, by the treaty concluded between the King of Sweden and King Auguſtus, to which I am perſuaded the good offices of your Electoral Highneſs have greatly contributed. We expect ſoon to hear of its good effects. Monſ. de Bothmar will inform your Electoral Highneſs, that we have renewed the convention for your troops for the next year, and that our treaſurer has paid the 50,000 florins which were due for extraordinaries.

I propoſe to embark to-morrow for England, where I entreat your Electoral Highneſs to be ſo good as to honour me with your orders; and to be perſuaded of the very zealous attachment with which I ſhall always be, &c."

Hannover Papers.

The Princeſs Sophia to Queen Anne.

Recommending Mr. Weind to a place.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Hannover, Dec. 3, 1706.

"IF I did not know that your Majeſty takes pleaſure in obliging and in doing good to thoſe whom you believe worthy of it, I would never have preſumed to take the liberty of recommending to your clemency a very honeſt gentleman, who has ſerved me for a long time, called Weind, whoſe anceſtors loſt a great deal for having been loyal to the late King Charles the Firſt. Your Majeſty has ſo many places to give without inconvenience, that his parents and he would think themſelves well recompenſed, if your Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to give him one; and by that means you would render my mind very eaſy about him, by being able to provide for him in his own country, before death ſhall hinder me from taking care of him in this. This is a favour which I take the liberty of demanding of your Majeſty with all poſſible ſubmiſſion, there being none alive who wiſhes more to ſee herſelf honoured with your Majeſty's commands, in order to ſhow by my obedience, that it is impoſſible to be with more reſpect and attachment than I ſhall be all my lifetime, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 211.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

His opinion of the French propoſals.—The affairs of the North.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, Dec. 14, 1706.

"I Received the letter of the 24th of November, which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am extremely obliged to you for the confidence,

confidence which you continue to ſhew me, by the communication of the preliminary articles, on which you agreed with ſome members of the States. You may aſſure yourſelf, that they ſhall be kept inviolably ſecret. If the next campaign, which you reckon you ſhall ſerve, is as ſucceſsful as this, as there is reaſon to hope, there is no doubt but the enemy will be obliged to accept of a reaſonable peace. 1706. December.

King Auguſtus is expected every moment in Saxony, where affairs will diſtover themſelves wholly after his arrival. I continue to give them all the attention, which the intereſt of the allies requires. Hitherto one ſees nothing, that is contrary to the declarations the King of Sweden has made; that he did not enter Saxony, but to finiſh the war of Poland. And it is certain, that he is not in any concert with France.

Baron de Bothmar ſent me the treaty which he renewed with you. I ſhall diſpatch the ratification of it inſtantly. I have you to thank, for the care which you took of the payment of the 50,000 florins. I wiſh nothing more ardently, than to find opportunities of ſhewing how ſenſible I am of all the marks of affection which you give me, and that I am very ſincerely, &c."

"*P. S.* I believe it very material to ſtipulate, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolemn manner, that neither the crown of Spain, nor any of its dependencies, can ever be poſſeſſed by a prince of the royal family of France; whether elder or younger, whether in a direct or a collateral line: and that all the diſpoſitions which can be made to the contrary hereafter, by will, by contract of marriage, or by any manner whatever, will be abſolutely null: and that in all the caſes which can ariſe, that is to ſay, whether there are any princes of the houſe of Auſtria, whether there are but princeſſes, or whether that houſe ſhall be entirely extinct. For, without this precaution, it may happen, that in caſe the Emperor and King Charles the Third ſhall die without male deſcendants, France may draw a pretext from thence of beginning a new war, and of forming freſh pretenſions to the crown of Spain.

I leave you likewiſe to conſider, my lord, if, in order to take away a pretext from France, ever ready to excite new troubles in the empire, it would not be proper to ſtipulate, with that crown, the recognition of the ninth electorate."

STUART PAPERS.

1707.

1707. THOUGH Great Britain derived the benefits of the Revolution from the folly and enthuſiaſm of James the Second, it owed the continuance of that ſyſtem of government to the happy ignorance and confined policy of Lewis the Fourteenth. The juſtneſs of this obſervation is partly eſtabliſhed by the ſecret negociations of the preſent year. The Union of the kingdoms had raiſed a reſentment, and even a degree of fury, among the nobility and gentry, as well as among the vulgar in Scotland, that threatened the worſt conſequences. They wanted but a ſhow of ſuccours from France, to take up arms againſt England. Many of the nobility and chiefs of clans were enthuſiaſtically attached to the excluded family; and they preſſed, with eagerneſs, for the preſence of the Pretender in Scotland, were it only with a body of men ſufficient to protect him againſt the officers of juſtice in the kingdom, till they could join him with their vaſſals. The French King, though apprized of this ſtate of affairs in Scotland, either through want of comprehenſion in himſelf, or the fortunate ignorance of foreign affairs, which always prevailed in the counſels of France, declined to ſend the demanded ſupplies, and thus diſcouraged a diverſion to the arms of the moſt powerful of the allies, which, in all likelihood, would have procured the peace which was ſo neceſſary to his diſtreſſed ſubjects.

To amuſe, however, the Scots, he reſolved to ſend colonel Hooke again into their country. The object of this man's expedition was to induce the malecontents to take arms, without ſubjecting the French King to any engagements on his ſide. When Hooke arrived in Scotland, he found the malecontents diſtracted among themſelves. The duke of Hamilton, who had been for many years conſidered as the head

of

of the Jacobites, and was much followed by the Preſbyterians, had loſt the affection and confidence of both, by his impenetrable conduct in parliament. The two parties were equally averſe to the Union; and they aſcribed the misfortune, as they called it, of that meaſure, either to the timidity or treachery of the duke. In this ſtate of affairs, it was not likely that, if even France had ſent the aid required, the enemies of the Union could make any formidable figure in the field. But the court of St. Germains, who perceived that there was no ſerious intention to favour their own cauſe, informed their friends in Scotland, that no ſuccours were to be ſent; and that, therefore, they ought to take care of themſelves. The chief part of the correſpondence of the preſent year relates to theſe circumſtances. The ſervants of the Pretender, who had been unreaſonably ſanguine on many other occaſions, ſeemed to have derived no hopes, either from Hooke's negociations, or the intrigues of their agents in England, with the Duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin. They, however, continued their intercourſe with the Jacobites in Britain, to preſerve them in their principles and hopes, for a more favourable conjuncture. 1707. January.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. Jan. 13.

"I Find no ground at all for the reports you mention, of the merchants Manly [the King] and Wiſely's [Queen] removing from the place where they have ſo long traded, and fixing elſewhere; ſo that I look upon ſuch rumours, whether well or ill meant, to be but idle ſpeculations. I am alſo of your opinion, that a good conſtruction may poſſibly be made of Armſworth's [Marlborough's] intentions in the bargain which is now making between Wheatly [England] and Norly [Scotland], becauſe it may bring on a neceſſity of Henly's continuing in his poſt; for it has always been my opinion, that Armſworth [Marlborough] without the aſſiſtance of Henly would never be able to pay his old debts. But on the other hand, I very much queſtion whether at this preſent that merchant and his partners have ſuch honeſt thoughts. I am very apprehenſive that he intends only to ſupport himſelf, in ſupporting Henly, and little thinks of his former engagements. But theſe matters muſt be left to time and to providence."

1707. Jan. 27. ——"As to what you writ concerning thoſe two merchants, Goulſton [Godolphin] and Armſworth [Marlborough], they are ſo full of myſtery in their dealings, that it is hard to judge of their intentions and deſigns."

February. The Jacobites have generally, and with ſome reaſon, ſuſpected, that the court of France regarded no further the intereſt of the Pretender, than only when it was ſubſervient to their own. Lewis the Fourteenth himſelf ſeems frequently to have been ſincere in his profeſſions to the excluded family. His miniſters, however, juſtly judging that they could have only the uncertain gratitude of the perſon whom they ſhould ſerve for the expence and hazard of an expedition, were extremely backward in making any effectual efforts for invading Britain. Beſides, it was natural for them, conſidering their own attachment to monarchy, to ſuppoſe, that they derived great advantage from having in their hands the perſon whom they ſuppoſed to have an hereditary right to the Britiſh crown. The attempts, therefore, which were, from time to time, made for invading this iſland, were rather intended to engage the nation in a civil war, than to contribute effectually to reſtore the family of Stuart. The languor and caution of its court increaſed with the misfortunes of France in the preſent war. Happily for Britain, the court of Verſailles were moſt inattentive and negligent, when they moſt ſtood in need of ſpirited efforts, and when the ſtate of theſe kingdoms were moſt expoſed to revolution and change. It was, for example, with great caution and reluctancy, as appears from the following letters, that the French miniſtry yielded to the vehement applications of the court of St. Germains, to take advantage of the violent diſcontents excited in Scotland, in the preſent year, by the Union between the kingdoms.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 37.

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke.

He is uncertain about the intentions of the court of France.

Feb. 8, 1707.

"THEIR Majeſties have commanded me to tell you, Sir, that the letters you propoſed ſhould be written as ſoon as can be. The Queen's to the great man will be ſent to-morrow. The only difficulty was, leſt it be ill taken, which is hard to foreſee; and, in this caſe, you will endeavour to ſet them right.

Their Majeſties deſire, that you would make draughts of the commiſſions and inſtructions, as being the ſhorteſt way, and the moſt conformable to what the court of France deſigns, which we are not appriſed of. I have marked the articles in your paper, which I ſend you back, leſt you have kept no copy of it. It is certain, that the King can give no declaration, but in his own name; the other way can only be an inſtruction to be exacted, by the advice of his friends, on the place." 1707. February.

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Chamillart.

He endeavours to reconcile him to the intended expedition into Scotland.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 37.

Tranſlation.

February 11, 1707.

"I Have given an account to their Britannic Majeſties, of what you did me the honour to tell me. They are highly ſatisfied with it, and have commanded me to thank you, in their name; and, although they will not urge you further on the ſubject, they think it proper to propoſe to you theſe doubts, by way of explanations, of which you will be the beſt judge; and they refer themſelves entirely to you.

Firſt, If the perſon who receives inſtructions from you, finds all the diſpoſitions in the country which are favourable to your deſign, would it not be better to ſet them in motion immediately, in order to gain time to take advantage of their firſt fervour, and to prevent the exportation of corn, ſince, without that, a great part of the ſummer may paſs in performing uncertain expeditions at ſea; and delays often cauſe diſcoveries?

Secondly, If this is agreed to, would it not be neceſſary to ſend ſome money, not as much as will be neceſſary to ſupport the war, but to be diſtributed among the leaders of the parties, in order to put them in a condition of acting; which money might be brought back to you, in caſe things were not circumſtanced, as one could wiſh?

Thirdly, But in caſe that cannot be done, would it not be better not to ſend any warlike ſtores, till the treaty is finiſhed; becauſe that might alarm the enemies, and give umbrage to the well affected, who would fear, perhaps, that they had nothing further to expect?

In the mean time, the King, my maſter, is at work with his diſpatches, which will be ready in a few days."

The

1707. February. Nairne's Papers, vol. viij. 4to. No. 37.

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Chamillart.

He endeavours ſtill to reconcile him to the expedition.

Tranſlation.

February 13, 1707.

"I Have given the Queen your letter, and the inſtructions you prepared for colonel Hooke, from whom I received them. Her Majeſty commands me to repreſent to you, that there is a year and a half ſince Hooke was ſent upon the ſame buſineſs; that thoſe whom he ſaw were ſcrupulous to anſwer immediately, being willing to examine firſt, the ſtate of things, in the different countries, and promiſing to ſend an exact account by a man of confidence; accordingly, ſome months thereafter, Mr. Fleming came in their name, and preſented to you a memorial from them, which is now referred to. If you find any parts of it which are not ſufficiently clear, he is here, and will wait of you when you order him, to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to all the queſtions that ſhall be propoſed to him; but you may be aſſured, before-hand, that you will find nothing in it, but what regards men who have good intentions, and ſomething about corn, meat, drink, and a certain quantity of ſwords and guns, although it is not ſufficient for ſo extraordinary and important an occaſion. The Queen has likewiſe obſerved, that the ſuccours, that the Scots may expect from the King, are not ſpecified; and therefore, that they will agree to nothing, upon ſuch a general and ambiguous propoſal."

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke, of the ſame date.

Tranſlation.

"ALTHOUGH I hope to have the honour of ſeeing you on Wedneſday, I did not chooſe to delay to ſend you back your inſtructions; and, at the ſame time, you will receive a copy of my letter to Monſieur de Chamillart. The Queen imagined it would be ſufficient to ſhow the inutility of your journey, without oppoſing it formally, leſt they ſhould accuſe her of breaking of the project, and of chuſing to conceal the ſtate of that country, which is very far from being her intentions. I write to you in French, that you may ſhow this letter, with a copy of the letter incloſed, to M. de Torcy."

The

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke.

The French are by no means ſanguine.

1707. February. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 37.

February 16, 1707.

"THE taſk you ſent me, Sir, could not be got ready ſo ſoon as you reckoned; ſo I delayed my coming this morning, when I received this letter, of which I ſend you a copy, to be ſhown to M. de Torcy; and it being ſo very poſitive, I need neither go nor write any more about that matter, in which we are humbly to acquieſce. I hope to ſee you, on Sunday morning, to wiſh you a happy return; but I am afraid you will leave them in worſe humour than you find them. But this I am ſure of, that your courage and zeal can never be ſufficiently commended and recompenſed. I am, Sir, &c."

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Chamillart.

Ibid.

Lewis XIV. *is not yet reconciled to the ſcheme.*

February 16, 1707.

"I Have ſhown to the King and Queen of England, the letter which you did me the honour to write to me this morning, and they have commanded me to aſſure you, that they conſent, with pleaſure, to all that the King judges neceſſary to give him ſatisfaction, concerning the affairs of Scotland; and they find themſelves much obliged to you, for the good offices you have rendered them, on this as on all other occaſions, on which they will always depend."

The French court reſolving to ſend colonel Hooke to Scotland, M. de Chamillart gave him the following inſtructions, which may ſerve, at once, for a ſpecimen of the extreme ignorance of the French miniſtry, and their inſincerity in the cauſe of the Pretender. Chamillart, it ſeems, had the weakneſs to ſuppoſe, that the Scotiſh nobility would riſe in arms, and maintain a regular war againſt England. He ſpeaks with familiarity of campaigns, as if the populace of Scotland had already been formed into regular armies, and their leaders provided with finances, to ſupport a long ſeries of hoſtilities.

1707. February. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 37.

Inſtructions from M. de Chamillart to Colonel Hooke.

Tranſlation.

February, 1707.

"TO be certain of making a diverſion in Scotland, which will embarraſs the Engliſh, and oblige them to bring back a conſiderable body of troops to England; the Scotiſh nobility muſt be in a condition to aſſemble 25 or 30,000 men, and to clothe, arm, equip, and maintain them, during the campaign; i. e. at leaſt ſix months, to commence at the beginning of May.

The favourable diſpoſitions of the nobility, leave no room to doubt, but they will make their utmoſt efforts, to withdraw themſelves from the yoke which the Engliſh nation intends to impoſe upon them. Before a revolution, which ſhould end in the reſtoration of the lawful ſovereign, is begun, it is neceſſary to enter into a particular detail of the forces and means which the Scots can employ to accompliſh it, and of the ſuccours which they may promiſe themſelves from the protection of the King, who is no leſs intereſted in the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, than his Britannic Majeſty. It is for theſe conſiderations, that his Majeſty hath judged it proper, before he makes any poſitive promiſe to the Scots, to ſend over Mr. Hooke, in order to acquire, upon the ſpot, a perfect knowledge of the ſtate of things, to form a well digeſted plan with the nobility, to reduce it to writing, and to get it ſigned by the principal men of the country; giving them aſſurances of his Majeſty's ſincere deſire and his diſpoſitions to ſend them the ſuccours, which may be neceſſary for them; and his Majeſty recommends, in a very particular manner, to Mr. Hooke, not to engage him in expences, which thoſe he is obliged to lay out elſewhere will not allow him to ſupport, nor to give them any room to hope for more than he can furniſh.

The articles which are to be the principal objects of his attention, are firſt, to inform himſelf, with certainty, of the number of troops of which the army ſhall be compoſed, and of the generals and other officers, who are in the country, to command them: if they ſtand in need of ſome of thoſe which are in France: of what rank, and how many: the particular places where thoſe men, who voluntarily engage ſhall aſſemble, and the place of general rendezvous afterwards.

To

To know who will clothe, arm and equip them; if they have cloth in the country, and if they are able to pay for it: who will furniſh fuſees, bayonets, ſwords, belts, bandeliers, and powder-flaſks, linen, ſtockings, ſhoes, hats, and other utenſils, ſuch as hatchets, pickaxes, and ſpades. 1707. February.

If they have any artillery; of what ſize, and what quantity.

If they have ſtocks and carriages for cannon.

If they have officers of artillery, cannoniers, bombardiers, and miners.

If they have mortars, bullets, bombs, grenades, and in what quantity.

If they have powder and ball, whether for cannon or for muſkets.

What they want of theſe things, and what they demand as abſolutely neceſſary for them; acquainting them that it is not their intereſt to demand too much.

It will not be ſufficient to be informed, with certainty, that they are able to aſſemble a conſiderable army: it likewiſe is neceſſary to know further, the means by which the nobility intend to ſubſiſt them, while they are in the field; and by which they can form magazines, and aſſemble waggons to follow the army, wherever the generals think it may be proper to order it to march.

The ſame inquiry muſt be made about the equipage for the artillery; for the uſe of which it will be neceſſary to have a certain number of horſes, in proportion to the train which they think they ſhould bring into the field.

They muſt not perſuade themſelves that the mere good-will of the nobility, and the blind obedience of their vaſſals, in doing whatever they chooſe, are ſufficient to oblige them to remain too long from home, when they are furniſhed only with bread; they muſt have meat and ſpirits, or, at leaſt, vegetables, with ſome other drink than water, the uſe of which is not common in that country.

It is of importance to be aſſured of the manner in which the grain and drink ſhall be furniſhed; of the aſſeſſment which ſhall be made; of the contingent which each nobleman ſhall contribute in grain, drink, and other proviſions; of the number of men they will give, and if they ſhall be clothed, armed, and equipped. In ſhort, to enter into ſuch an exact

1707. February. detail, that nothing will remain to be done, but to take a final reſolution concerning the project which Mr. Hooke ſhall form, in order to ſecure its ſucceſs.

It is ſuppoſed it may be demanded further, that the perſon who ſhall command the army, ſhould explain himſelf, as to the uſe he intends to make of it. There will be ſeveral other things to be added, which the experience and good ſenſe of Mr. Hooke will ſuggeſt to him."

M. de Chamillart diſcovers in theſe inſtructions, that he was ignorant of the real ſtate of Scotland; but Mr. Hooke adhered ſtrictly to ſome parts of them. It appears, from his own account of his negociations, that he had addreſs enough to perſuade the Scots to bring themſelves under ſeveral engagements, while the King of France declined to oblige himſelf to do any thing.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 37.

" *A declaration of war, with inſtructions to Colonel Hooke, Feb.* 1707."

" JAMES the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: to all our loving ſubjects, of our ancient kingdom of Scotland, greeting.

Whereas we are firmly reſolved to repair to our ſaid kingdom, and there to aſſert and vindicate our undoubted right; and to deliver all our good ſubjects from the oppreſſion and tyranny they groan under, for above theſe eighteen years paſt, and to protect and maintain them in their independency, and all their juſt privileges, which they ſo happily enjoyed, under our royal anceſtors, as ſoon as they have declared for us. We do, therefore, hereby impower, authoriſe, and require all our loving ſubjects to declare for us, and to aſſemble together in arms, and to join the perſon whom we have appointed to be captain general of our forces when required by him, and to obey him, and all others under his command, in every thing relating to our ſervice; to ſeize the government, and all forts and caſtles, and to uſe all acts of hoſtility againſt thoſe who ſhall traiterouſly preſume to oppoſe our authority, and to lay hold and make uſe of what is neceſſary for the arming, mounting, and ſubſiſting our forces, and obſtructing the deſigns of our enemies; for all which you are hereby fully warranted and indemnified."

Inſtructions

Inſtructions for Colonel Hooke. 1707. February.

"1. YOU are forthwith to repair to Scotland, and to endeavour to meet with as many of our friends as you can, to deliver to them our letters reſpectively, by which they are to give credit to what you propoſe to them in our name.

2. You are to expoſe to them the neceſſity of laying hold of this opportunity of vindicating our right, and their privileges and independency, which, if neglected, may never be retrieved.

3. That, as ſoon as they appear in arms, and have declared for us, we deſign to come in perſon to their aſſiſtance, with the ſuccours promiſed us by the moſt Chriſtian King, which cannot be obtained till they have given that evidence of their diſpoſitions.

4. You are to explain to them, that the declaration of war you carry with you, is only a ſummons to riſe in arms, reſerving to bring along with us an ample declaration for pacifying the minds of our people, and the falſe and malicious ſuggeſtions of our enemies, of which we deſire they would ſend us a draught; in the mean time, you may aſſure them of our unalterable reſolution of ſecuring to them their religion, laws, liberties, and independency.

5. If you find that a party is diſpoſed to riſe in arms, on what pretence whatſoever, without directly owning our authority, you are to acquaint our friends, that we allow and approve of their joining with, and aſſiſting them againſt our common enemy.

6. Our commiſſion of general is deſigned for the earl of Arran; but in caſe he declines it, our friends are to name another, whoſe name it is to be inſerted. But neither this commiſſion, nor that for levying of war, either in Scotland or Ireland, to be publiſhed, except you find them immediately diſpoſed to take the field; though our letter to him in Ireland may be ſent, when it can be ſafely conveyed.

7. You are to aſſure each of our friends, in particular, of the true ſenſe we have of his loyalty, and ſufferings on that account, which we think ourſelves bound, in honour and intereſt, to reward to the utmoſt of our power."

1707. *Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.*

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. Feb. 17.

"WE may now hope, if ever, that Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] and his partners will pay the old debt, ſo juſtly due upon accounts to us; and it will not be want of ability, but of honeſty, ſhould they fail doing it. I ſhall be glad to hear, that you have had an opportunity of ſpeaking to Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] about theſe matters, and alſo about the quit-rents and your couſin's debts; for, by that merchant's manner of behaving himſelf, much may be gueſſed of their good or bad intentions."

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke.

He tells him, that he is only to negociate a treaty with the Scots.

St. Germains, March 11, 1707.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 17.

"I Wrote you an anſwer, Sir, to what you ſaid concerning Mr. Flemming, which I directed to Mr. Cantillons, as you deſired me; and ſo, I ſuppoſe, you received it. I was ſorry not to be here to take leave of you. I ſend you his Majeſty's letters, with a copy of M. de Chamillart's, though you have ſeen it already, that you may clearly perceive it is not his intention that the Scots ſhould ſtir, though they were inclined to it, till the treaty was finiſhed; a conſideration founded on good ſenſe and good nature. Therefore, the King our maſter thinks his *courir ſus* would be at this time both uſeleſs and inconvenient; becauſe the errand is only to treat, and his friends might think he has little regard for their ſafety, and apprehend that he might be offended at their diſobedience. Once more I wiſh you a happy return, which is all that can be expected.

I am, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

MIDDLETON."

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. March 20.

"WHAT you tell me of your acquaintance Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin], that he appears out of humour, notwithſtanding his plentiful fortune, does not much ſurpriſe me; for I always thought him hypochondrical in his temper, which increaſeth with age. I am only ſorry that this ſourneſs of humour will make him unfit to be applied to in your couſin Wiſely's [the pretender's] affair, at leaſt at preſent; and as for Mr. Armſworth

Armſworth [Marlborough], I believe he has ſo much buſineſs of his own upon his hands, that notwithſtanding all former engagements, he will hardly have the leiſure, perhaps not the will, to mind old promiſes. 1707.

I am very glad to hear what has lately been imparted to you by ſome of Mr. Kenſy's [the Tories] relations, that they are not now averſe from having the concurrence of Mr. Manning [the King of France] in Pleſſington's [the King's] affair; for though we cannot expect to bring that cauſe ſpeedily to a trial, yet Kenſy [the Tories] and his partners ought to be managed and kept in good humour. In the mean time, I believe he is irreconcilable with our chief adverſary Wanly [the Whigs]; and that you may perhaps make him firm to us; and it is upon a like account that we may reckon to have friends in Mr. Norly's [Scotland] family, who can never pardon what our adverſary Brag [parliament] has done againſt them; but theſe are ſeeds which muſt have time to grow."

"As to our affair about the cauſe depending between Wheatly [England] and Manning [France], I believe that what Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] told captain Gordon is very true, viz. that Manning [France] has offered to bring the whole cauſe to arbitration, without any ſalvo to your couſin's [the King's] intereſt: which being ſo, I hope there will be no mention made of it on either ſide, but that it will be left as now it is. April 7.

I am glad to find that your friend the captain has ſo good an opinion of Mr. Gurny's [Marlborough's] honeſt intentions to pay the old debt, when able. As to his ability, there are few people that doubt of it; but as to his ſincerity, I find there are many who doubt of it.

I perceive there are great animoſities between theſe two merchants, Kenſy [Tories] and Wanly [Whigs], which may poſſibly break out into ſuits at law; nor is there much more peace and quiet in Norly's [Scotland] family, about ſtating their accounts. Now, I perceive, that if they proceed to a trial at law, diſcoveries may be made very advantageous to your couſin's intereſt, as having been formerly joined in commerce with them.

I ſhall be glad to hear what a ſecond conference between our captain and Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] will produce, which you ſeem to intimate."

"You

1707. May 1. "You tell me, that the haſty departure of Mr. Ryſehoven [Marlborough] out of town diſapppointed you of ſpeaking to him, of which the loſs, I think, is not very great; for I think he would have ſaid no more to you than he lately ſaid to captain Gordon, of paying of the old debt; and than what he hath formerly ſo often ſaid upon that ſubject, without any effect. But you have no reaſon from thence to think yourſelf an unprofitable ſervant, in the concerns of your friends, and to take upon yourſelf the faults and failings of others. However, it will not be amiſs to receive good words, as often as we can from that merchant; hoping, that, in time, whatever it may be now, things may ſo fall out, that he may have a good meaning, joined to good words. The ſame thing is to be hoped from Mr. Travers [Tunſtal] and his partners Kenſy [Tories], though theſe two at preſent, I think, have more ſincerity than the former, in what they ſay, whether it be out of ſpite on one ſide, or out of friendſhip on the other. What Mr. Travers [Tunſtal] has promiſed you, of keeping his hold, in his truſt for your couſin Wiſely, is a mark of his good intentions; and I hope Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] will do the ſame, that juſtice at laſt may take place."

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 39.

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Chamillart.

Colonel Hooke is come back to France, and gives an account of the offers of the Scots.—Middleton endeavours to perſuade Chamillart to ſend them ſuccours, and has great hopes of the ſucceſs of an invaſion.

Tranſlation.

27th July, 1707.

"THE King my maſter has commanded me to tell you, that Mr. Hooke has been here now, for ſeven days, to inform him of the ſucceſs of his journey.

I do not pretend to trouble you with tales of antiquity, but to remark what we ourſelves ſee. What embarraſſment have not the Hungarians given to the Emperor? Who would have believed that a few peaſants in the Cevennes, without any ſuccours, could have occupied ſo many regular troops, commanded by mareſchals of France, for three years? The King of Sweden, always favoured by fortune, during five years in Poland, has been convinced, that he could never finiſh the war without entering into Saxony; and his enemy, after having obtained a victory, has been obliged to renounce his dignity, in order to ſave his own patrimony;

trimony; and the enemies in Germany, who fled before the mareſchal de Villars, by their return to Phillipſburg, have obliged that general to return, by a forced march, in order to cover Alſace. The King, by his great conqueſts, has extended the frontier of his kingdom farther than all his anceſtors. We ſee, however, that all the art of our enemies have been employed to carry the war into his dominions; of this, their efforts in Spain, their attempts upon the Moſelle, their project of a deſcent, and the invaſion of the duke of Savoy, for the ſecond time, are very ſenſible proofs. 1707.

Mr. Hooke has informed us of the good diſpoſition of the Scots, whoſe fidelity and capacity are known to you. They demand their King, who wiſhes ardently to join them. If the affairs of the King are urgent here, that pleads ſtrongly for the project in Scotland. If a ſmall part of the money and of the troops which are employed here, would finiſh the buſineſs there, it would be wrong to heſitate; and what would be formerly prudent and glorious, becomes now abſolutely neceſſary.

The King of England beſeeches you to examine and to weigh deliberately this important affair, and to be pleaſed to repreſent it to the King; it being undoubtedly the moſt important and moſt uſeful that can happen in his reign."

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

"WHAT you write concerning Mr. Travers [Tunſtal], does not much ſurpriſe me, conſidering his temper, and the provocation given him; but that to accompliſh his revenge againſt his adverſaries, he ſhould bring in Adamſon, and conſequently Pleſſington [the King]; and, in a manner, make a ſacrifice of them who have done him no injury, ſeems not conſiſtent with that morality of which he has formerly made profeſſion. I am confident, ſhould Travers [Tunſtal] gain his point, in bringing Hanmer [Hannover] to join and cohabit with Wheatly [England,] he will not be the man to rule the roaſt: but that Wanly's family [Whigs] will be the perſons moſt relied upon, who are for him, not out of ſpite, but affection. However, it's not impoſſible but Providence may make uſe of theſe wrangles to make right take place. Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. Auguſt 1.

I am glad to hear, that Mr. Travers's [Tunſtal's] deſigns, in concert with an agent of Mr. Hanmer's [Hannover's], are prevented; which will be eaſe to our partners, and enable them, if willing, to pay their old debts." Sept. 12.

HAN-

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1707. 1707.

THE Whigs in England had paid their court to the family of Hannover in the preceding year, by repealing, in the bill of regency, the limitations impoſed upon the ſucceſſor to the crown, by the act of ſettlement. Their leaders had, in various letters, expreſſed their attachment, and enumerated their ſervices. Some Tories alſo endeavoured to gain the favour of the preſumptive heirs, by exclaiming the invariable attachment of their party to the prerogatives of the crown. In the preſent year nothing happened that could give a pretence to either party to renew their correſpondence. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Sunderland, are the only perſons of rank whoſe letters deſerve to be inſerted.

The Hannover correſpondence of this year, regards chiefly the birth of a ſon to the Electoral Prince, and his being created duke of Cambridge; together with the journey of the duke of Marlborough into Saxony; and the Elector's taking upon himſelf the command of the army on the Upper Rhine.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 60.

The Electoral Prince to Queen Anne.

Notifies the birth of his ſon, the late Prince of Wales.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, February 4, 1707.

"AFTER having received ſo many marks of kindneſs from your Majeſty, I ſhould have reaſon to reproach myſelf, if I did not do myſelf the honour of informing you the firſt of the birth of the ſon, which God has been pleaſed to give me. I take the liberty of recommending

him, and myſelf, at the ſame time, to your royal protection; and to aſſure your Majeſty, that my greateſt care ſhall be to educate him in the ſentiments of reſpect and gratitude, which all the princes of this family owe to you. I entreat your Majeſty to believe that none of them is, with greater reſpect than I am, Madam, &c." 1707. February.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Original. Hannover Papers vol. marked Princes No. 212.

He aſks the Elector's advice about his going to Saxony to gain the King of Sweden. — He ſends compliments on the Princeſs's delivery (of his late Royal Highneſs Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, father of his preſent Majeſty.)

Tranſlation.

February 11, 1706-7.

"THE aſſurances which we receive from time to time from your Electoral Highneſs, of the good intentions of the King of Sweden to engage in no enterprize which may be of the ſmalleſt prejudice to the High Allies, give the Queen and the miniſters here all the ſatisfaction which her Majeſty can wiſh, as ſhe relies entirely upon the attentions and zeal of your Electoral Highneſs for the good of the common cauſe; yet I ſee, by my letters from Vienna, from Holland, and from other places, that they have not the ſame confidence in that prince, but that on the contrary he makes them very uneaſy. They even inſinuate to me, that they would be very happy that I ſhould take a tour to Saxony before the opening of the campaign, in order to renew to the King the aſſurances of the Queen's ſincere friendſhip, and of the attention which her Majeſty will, at all times, pay to his intereſts, from a belief that this may have a good effect. But I took care to give no attention to this, without being previouſly informed of your Electoral Highneſs's ſentiments concerning it, which I humbly beſeech you to be pleaſed to communicate to me as ſoon as poſſible. If you approve of it, I ſhall undertake the journey with ſo much the greater pleaſure, that it will furniſh me with an opportunity of throwing myſelf at your feet.

Some days ago I begged of Monſieur de Bulau to teſtify to your Electoral Highneſs, the joy with which I received the news of the ſafe delivery of the princeſs. I beſeech you to believe that no one intereſts himſelf more warmly in this than I do, or can be with a more ſincere veneration than I am,

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, &c."

1707. February. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 213.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Conſults him about the penſion which the Queen ſhould offer to the King of Sweden's Miniſters.

Tranſlation.

SIR, February, 14, 1707.

"I Did myſelf the honour of writing to your Electoral Highneſs the 11th inſtant, aſking your opinion of the journey to Saxony, which I am deſired to undertake. If your Highneſs approve of it, I beſeech you to be pleaſed likewiſe to acquaint me what penſion you think I ſhould offer from the Queen to Count Piper and Mr. Harmaline, in order to engage them to enter effectually into the intereſts of the High Allies. I beg pardon, moſt humbly, for this liberty; but I take it, becauſe the ſentiments of your Electoral Highneſs will have ſo much influence with her Majeſty, that I ſhall find leſs difficulty in inducing her to give the ſum which you will propoſe. I am, with all poſſible attachment and reſpect,

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, &c."

March. Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 214.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Anſwer to his Letters of the 11th and 14th of February.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, March 18, 1707.

"I Received at once your letters of the 11th and of the 14th of February. I am always in the hopes, that the King of Sweden will adhere, in preference to every thing, to the proſecution of the war againſt the Czar; and that if her Majeſty and the States General proceed to a recognition of King Staniſlaus, and charge themſelves with the guarantee of the peace of Saxony, without exacting any condition or declaration from the King of Sweden: and that, on the other hand, an end is put to the affair of the renunciation of prince Charles, and miniſters are ſent to Hamburgh to regulate there, what is ſtill wanting to the entire execution of the treaty of Travandahl, there will be no apprehenſions of any trouble.

I doubt not but the journey to the King of Sweden, which is propoſed to you, will produce very good effects; knowing the great regard which he has for the Queen, and his very particular eſteem for you. I ſhall rejoice

rejoice at it, for my part, becauſe this journey will procure me the pleaſure of ſeeing you again. You will judge better, when you croſs the ſea, if it will be neceſſary for you to undertake it; and if you can do ſo without any prejudice to the operations of the campaign. I believe it is extremely neceſſary that you ſhould give all your attentions to ſecure Piper and Harmelin. My opinion is, that a penſion of 2000l. ſterling may be offered to the firſt, and of 1000l. to the ſecond; of which the firſt year may be paid to them in advance. And that if you do not go to Saxony, it will, in my opinion, be very proper to give this commiſſion to Mr. Robinſon, while he is at hand, to execute it; for it will be very difficult for him to do ſo, if it is delayed until the King of Sweden marches: beſides that, there is a riſk of being prevented by the new miniſter from France, who is come to the court of that prince; and who, [illegible] has very poſitive orders to make conſiderable offers to the [illegible] queſtion, I am, my Lord, &c." 1707. March.

The Electoral Prince to Queen Anne.

Thanking her for his patent of Duke of Cambridge, ſent to him by Mr. How.

Tranſlation.

April. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 64.

MADAM, April 8, 1707.

"MR. HOW did not fail to deliver to me the letter with which your Majeſty honoured me, with the patent of duke of Cambridge, which you was ſo good as to grant me. I humbly entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded that I received both the one and the other with the utmoſt gratitude, and that it is impoſſible to put a greater value upon this dignity than I do, nor to be more ſenſible than I am, of the obliging manner in which your Majeſty conferred it upon me. I ſhall endeavour to make a ſuitable return to it, by the moſt perfect veneration, and by the moſt zealous and reſpectful ſentiments. I flatter myſelf your Majeſty will not take it amiſs, if I embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of expreſſing to you the part I take in the great work you have lately accompliſhed, by putting the finiſhing hand to the union of the two kingdoms. This is ſuch a glorious period of your reign, though it hath been but one continued ſeries of wonders and great events, that it ſeems to have been neceſſary to exhibit, in all its proper lights, the indefatigable attentions with which your Majeſty applies yourſelf to eſtabliſh, upon unſhaken

1707. April. foundations, the happineſs of your ſubjects. I am, with a very profound reſpect, Madam, &c."

The following is an anſwer to a very tedious, mean, and flattering letter, ſent by Sir Rowland Gwyne to the Elector. Gwyne had rendered himſelf juſtly obnoxious to all the friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, by his letter to the earl of Stamford, printed in England, and animadverted upon by the parliament. He had lived for ſome time at the court of Hannover: but when lord Hallifax was expected there, in the preceding year, the Elector ordered Gwyne to retire, for fear of his giving offence to the Whigs. He, accordingly, went to Hamburgh; and, after having continued in that city ten months, he wrote to the Elector, requeſting leave to return to Hannover, and enumerating his own pretended ſervices to the family. The Elector, however, ſeemed not to have been ſo well pleaſed with his company before, as to permit him again to return.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 66.

The Elector to Sir Rowland Gwyne.

An Anſwer to his Letter of the ſecond of April.

Tranſlation.

Hannover, April 12, 1707.

"I Received, Sir, the letter which you wrote to me from Hamburgh. I know what you did in parliament for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and I am very ſenſible of the marks which you gave, on different occaſions, of your attachment to the intereſt of my family. But I could have wiſhed very much, that when you was at Hannover, you had not meddled in public affairs. I do not think it proper, that you ſhould return again, after the noiſe which your printed letter occaſioned laſt year. I ſhall be very happy to be able to ſhow you, in ſome other manner, the eſteem which I have for you; and that I am, &c."

A Mr. Scot, who ſeems to have been a dependant on the Electoral family, had waited upon lord Hallifax and other perſons of conſequence, at London, and had officiouſly given them reaſons, for the Elector's declining the command of the army of the Empire. He wrote, at the ſame time, a letter to the Elector himſelf, giving his advice on the ſtate of affairs in England,

England, and finding fault with M. Schutz, his Highneſs's envoy at London. The length, and perhaps, impertinence of the letter, drew from the Elector the following anſwer. 1707. July.

The Elector to Mr. Scot.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 69.

July 20, 1707.

"I Received, Sir, the letter which you wrote to me; and I was ſurpriſed, that having no order or commiſſion from me, you meddled in ſuch delicate affairs. I did not, therefore, chooſe to delay to tell you myſelf, that I have a miniſter at London, with whom I am ſatisfied, who is inſtructed in my intentions. It is to him you ought to have referred the perſons who ſpoke to you on theſe ſubjects. With regard to myſelf, I wiſh that you would not meddle, in any reſpect, with whatever may have the leaſt regard to an invitation or to an annual penſion. As to the reſt, if your own buſineſs will oblige you to remain ſtill in England, you may do ſo; but without taking any ſtep whatſoever in my affairs. I am, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough:

He undertakes the Command of the Army of the Empire.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 216.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, July 26, 1707.

"I Thought I ſhould not delay to acquaint you, that I ſent baron Gortz to Metz, and to the army of the empire, in order to make an exact report to me of the ſtate of that army; and that, as ſoon as he ſhall make that report, I may take my final reſolution, with regard to the command which is ſo unanimouſly offered to me; I can aſſure you, that one of the ſtrongeſt reaſons which can determine me to undertake it, is the deſire which her Majeſty, the Queen, ſhows for it, and the perſuaſion in which I am, that you will always contribute, by your great influence, to the meaſures which it will be neceſſary to take in concert, for the good of the common cauſe. I have too many proofs of your zeal for the public and of your affection for me, to be able to doubt of this. It is, therefore, with an entire confidence that I write to you this letter, to inform you, that, by the liſts which the Elector of Metz and the Elector Palatine communicated to me, of the ſtate of the army, and of the reinforcements which it may receive, it appears, that there will be nearly a ſufficient

number

1707. July. number of infantry, but that cavalry and dragoons will be wanted: ſo that, even though one could be aſſured of the goodneſs of the cavalry which there are, (a thing which does not appear to me) it is certain, that they are not ſufficiently numerous, for attempting to ſhow themſelves, before thoſe of Marſhal de Villars; beſides that, he is within reach of being joined, by the reinforcement which the duke of Vendôſme ſent him.

It is this very apparent neceſſity, which obliges me, my lord, to order, as ſoon as poſſible, Bothmer's regiment of dragoons to march to the Rhine; and to be ſo good as to ſend us beſides, 1000 good cavalry. The reinforcement is ſo much the more indiſpenſable, that it is certain, that the cavalry which King Auguſtus offers, is not in a condition to ſerve this campaign, and that there are no more cavalry remaining in Germany which one can employ. I ſhall be very particularly obliged to you for this; and I entreat you to be perſuaded, that if I undertake the command, I ſhall do myſelf a very great pleaſure, in maintaining an exact correſpondence, and in acting with you in the moſt perfect concert. I am always very ſincerely, &c."

The Earl of Sunderland to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

September. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 186.

SIR, Whitehall, September 30, 1707.

"I Have been long in the country, this Summer, for my health, which hindered me from thanking you ſooner for the honour of your letter which I received ſome time ago; but I could not prevail with myſelf not to take this opportunity of congratulating you, on his Electoral Highneſs's ſucceſsful beginning on the Rhine, where he no ſooner arrived, than we have had greater ſucceſs, than we have had, for many years, on that ſide. I conſider this as a good omen of what will follow; and I doubt not, but the Elector will recover affairs, which have ſuffered ſo much by the bad ſucceſs of this year.

I am very well pleaſed, that Monſieur Shutts does not leave us, as he propoſed to do; nevertheleſs, if you will honour me, from time to time, with your correſpondence, you will do me a very great pleaſure. I hope you do me the juſtice to believe, that I am, with great eſteem, Sir, &c."

The Electoral Prince to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for compliments on recovering from ſickneſs.

1707. September. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 217.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, October 7, 1707.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing me, the 15th of the laſt month, and for the part which you ſhew me you take in my recovery. It is to me a very great ſatisfaction to learn, that the nation intereſts itſelf in it, ſince, on my part, I ſhall never have any thing more at heart, than to contribute as much as ſhall be in my power, to render them happy.

I cannot blame the French for ſtationing themſelves, all the campaign, in inacceſſible camps. They know what it hath coſt them, not to have had always the ſame prudence.

The princeſs is very ſenſible of the honour of your remembrance; and I entreat you to believe the perfect regard I have for your perſon, and the deſire which I have to be able to give you proofs of it. I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

The Elector to Queen Anne.

He undertakes the command of the Army of the Empire, at her deſire.

October. Copy in Robethon's hand. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 71.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, October 26, 1707.

"I Receiv'd with the utmoſt gratitude the letter with which your Majeſty honoured me: the goodneſs you have to intereſt yourſelf in the misfortunes of the Empire, ſhould give us hopes of a redreſs of them: I venture to aſſure your Majeſty, that I ſhall ſpare neither my pains nor my perſon, in order to contribute to this, and to make a ſuitable return to the obliging ſentiments which you diſcover to me. I entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded, that I have nothing ſo much at heart, in the command which I have undertaken, as to acquit myſelf in it, in a manner which will merit your approbation, and give you new proofs of my zeal for the good cauſe, and of the profound reſpect with which I am, Madam, &c."

The

1707. November. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 218.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Military operations.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Hague, November 9, 1707.

"ON my arrival at the Hague, I communicated to the grand Penſionary all that paſſed at Francfort, and particularly the ſentiments of your Electoral Highneſs, with regard to the operations on the Moſelle; whence he immediately comprehended the neceſſity of being, in that caſe, on the defenſive in the Low Countries; and as he was of opinion, that this propoſal may have a bad effect, by diſcouraging the gentlemen here, who will believe themſelves too much expoſed thereby, he adviſed me not to make the propoſal at preſent: ſo that I have not ſpoke of it to any, but to the count de Wrattiſlow and to Monſieur de Bothmar, who are inſtructed in the particulars of all that paſſed, during my ſtay at the Hague. The firſt is to give an exact account of it to your Electoral Highneſs, when he will have the honour of ſaluting you at Hannover; as M. de Bothmar will do by writing.

I am ſorry, however, to be obliged to tell you, that I do not find the minds of people ſo well diſpoſed for the augmentation of their troops, as in the laſt journey I made to this place: but I continue to do every thing in my power to incline them to it; and I flatter myſelf, that when they will reflect maturely upon the great efforts of France, and upon the new levies which they propoſe to make, they will return to their former ſentiments, and take ſalutary meaſures, according to the neceſſity of the conjuncture.

I have put every thing on board, and I wait only for the firſt fair wind to go over to England, from whence I will do myſelf the honour of writing to your Electoral Highneſs, beſeeching you to acccept of my very humble acknowledgments, for the kindneſs which you ſhewed me at Francfort; and to be perſuaded of the reſpectful attachment with which I ſhall always be, Sir, your Electoral Highneſs's, &c."

A George Murray, who is afterwards mentioned in the correſpondence of the houſe of Hannover, wrote a letter to the Elector, dated, at London, October the 7th, 1707, requeſting his Highneſs to recommend him

him to the duke of Marlborough, for a commiſſion, in a regiment of cavalry, to be raiſed, during the winter. The following is the Elector's anſwer. 1707. November.

The Elector to George Murray.

Tranſlation.

November 20, 1707.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 74.

"I Received, Sir, the letter which you wrote to me. I ſhall always be well pleaſed to contribute to your advancement; but as the Electreſs has already written in your favour to the Duke of Marlborough, I doubt not, but, if what you demand is practicable, he will pay regard to her recommendation, and that mine will not be neceſſary: beſides, that he might find it ſtrange to be urged, upon the ſame buſineſs, by two ſucceſſive letters. I ſhall wait, therefore, for ſome other occaſion, of ſhewing you the eſteem which I have for you, and a deſire which I have to do you a pleaſure. I am, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Anſwer to the Duke's Letter of the 9th.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 219.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, November, 25, 1707.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the trouble you was at in writing to me, from the Hague. I was willing to delay thanking you for it, until I had converſed with the count de Wrattiſlaw. I ſee, by the report which he made to me, and by that of Monſieur de Bothmar, that things are ſtill in a ſtate of uncertainty, with regard to an augmentation of the troops and the operations of the next campaign. I chuſe to hope, my lord, that your preſence in England will produce ſuch effects, that the parliament will give the example to the other allies, by vigorous reſolutions, and that Holland cannot refuſe to follow it. I wiſh that the empire may do the ſame, on their ſide; and I ſhall neglect nothing that depends upon me, for diſpoſing to this, the minds of men. I entreat you to be perſuaded of this, and of the ſincerity with which I am, my Lord, &c."

STUART PAPERS.

1708.

1708. February.

THE attempt made towards an invaſion of Scotland, in the beginning of the preſent year, ſeems to have been, in a manner, extorted from the French miniſtry, by the repeated and earneſt ſolicitations of the court of St. Germains. Aſcribing the flattering accounts, received from Scotland, to the zeal of the Jacobites in France, they were unwilling to hazard either their ſhips or their troops upon ſo ſlender a foundation. The diſcontents, in Scotland, though, perhaps, not magnified beyond their real bounds, were repreſented as too great to be implicitly believed. This caution, on the part of France, has been, upon many occaſions, highly fortunate for Great Britain; but at no period more fortunate, than in the year 1708. Towards the beginning of February, Mr. de Chamillart and his brethren in office began to iſſue orders, for an expedition from Dunkirk. The Pretender, when he perceived, that ſomething ſerious was intended in his favour, reſolved to acquaint his friends in Scotland, of the intentions of the court of France, and to give them directions to prepare themſelves for an inſurrection. The perſon appointed for this ſervice, was Charles Fleming, brother to the earl of Wigton. The following were the inſtructions given him upon this occaſion.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 41.

"*Inſtructions to* ————, *going by our order to Scotland. Given at our court, at St. Germains, the 24th day of February*, 1708; *and in the ſeventh year of our reign.*"

In Nairne's hand.

"AS ſoon as you have received theſe our inſtructions, you are forthwith to repair, with what convenient ſpeed you can, to our ancient kingdom

kingdom of Scotland; and there, to addreſs yourſelf to ſuch of our friends, as we have named to you; but cannot ſafely name them here, for fear of accidents. 1708. February.

1ſt, You are to aſſure them, that we are coming, with all poſſible diligence, to aſſert our right, and to protect our ſubjects, in their religion, liberties, and trade, conform to their laws; and that we bring with us a ſufficient force, a good ſum of money, arms, ammunition, and other proviſions, as was required in their memoir.

2dly, You are likewiſe to aſſure them, that, upon our being put in poſſeſſion of the throne by their aſſiſtance, our deareſt brother, the moſt Chriſtian King, will reſtore the Scots to their ancient privileges in France, and will alſo uſe his endeavours to have them included in all treaties of peace.

3dly, You are to give our poſitive orders to a ſelect number of the nobility and gentry, to ſeize ſuſpected perſons, with their horſes, arms, and other proviſions for war; and to tell them, that we do hereby allow and authorize them, to grant warrants to others for the ſame effect, when they judge the proper time to do it, without diſcovering the ſecret which we recommend to them above all things.

4thly, You are to tell thoſe who are truſted, that upon the firſt appearance of the fleet, that brings us, or upon the firſt account they have of our landing, we order them to cauſe to proclaim us King, in all the countrys where they have any intereſt, and to raiſe all their fenſible men, with their beſt horſes and arms, and that they hinder all meetings, that may be made by thoſe who dare continue in their rebellion, and ſeize as many of them as they can.

5thly, That thoſe of our friends, who have had any correſpondence in the north of England or in Ireland, may renew it, by ſending ſome truſty perſons, to perſuade our friends, in thoſe parts, to take arms, at the ſame time, which will be of great advantage, for many reaſons that are obvious.

6thly, You are to give orders from us to our friends, to have a gentleman ready, on the eaſt coaſt of the Lothians, and others on the coaſts of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, that upon a ſignal, which ſhall be agreed on, and will be given from the firſt ſhip that appears, they may be ready

1708. February. to come off with full accounts of the ſtate of the country, and may bring along with them ſome knowing pilots, who underſtand the depth along the coaſt.

7thly, You are alſo to tell our friends to give orders, that all the public moneys be kept within the ſhires, as alſo proviſions of all kinds unſold, and not ſent away; and, that they inquire what proviſions may be about Edinburgh or Leith, or in any of the ſhires above mentioned; but with great precaution in regard to the ſecret.

8thly, Thoſe who are truſted, may take their own private methods, to renew any correſpondence they have had within the forts and garriſons; and to ſecure, upon the landing, any places of ſtrength fit for magazines. All which is to be conſidered, with a ſpecial regard to the keeping of the ſecret, it being much ſafer that ſeveral things be omitted, which might be very uſeful, than that any thing be recommended, which may be a means of diſcovery.

9th, Laſtly, you are to tell our friends, that we could not, with ſafety, truſt to theſe written inſtructions, the name of the general who is to command our forces under us, nor the particular places where we intend to land; but that, as ſoon as it ſhall be proper and neceſſary, we will fully ſatisfy them upon theſe two heads, as well as upon all other matters."

April. The Pretender ſailed from Dunkirk, on the 17th of March, N. S. 1708. Lockhart, in his Memoirs, ſuppoſes, with great probability, that Lewis the XIVth never deſigned he ſhould land in Scotland; and that Fourbin had ſecret orders from his maſter, which he did not communicate. It is, at leaſt, certain, that there are many circumſtances which ſeem to juſtify this ſuppoſition; and that, if they had landed the troops, as they might have done, the greateſt part of the nation would have joined the ſtandard of the Pretender. Their pretended excuſe for returning, as they received no ſignal from ſhore, is either a proof of this, or of the happy ignorance of the French, in every thing regarding Britain, in the only period in which they could hurt this iſland. The fleet returned to Dunkirk, on the 7th of April. The Pretender, before he went to Flanders to ſerve the campaign, renewed his correſpondence with his adherents in Scotland.

"*Inſtructions to Charles Farqwharſon, going by our Order to* SCOTLAND. *Given at our court, at St. Germains, the* TWENTY-FIFTH *day of* APRIL, 1708; *and in the ſeventh year of our reign.*" 1708. April. Nairne's papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 22.

They are the original inſtructions, and in Nairne's hand. The words in capitals are in the Pretender's own hand. For Charles Farquharſon, he had firſt inſerted James Ogilvie of Boyne: but the pen is drawn through Ogilvie's name, by Nairne, and Charles Farquharſon written above. The inſtructions are ſigned by the Pretender, and his ſeal ſtill remains.

JAMES R.

"YOU are to ſhow theſe inſtructions to ſuch as we have ordered you, and whoſe names, for their ſecurity, we will not here inſert.

1ſt, You are to aſſure them of the concern and trouble we are in, on their account, as well as on our own, that this laſt enterprize has failed, occaſioned by our ſickneſs, the miſtake of the pilates, and other unforeſeen accidents, which gave the enemy the opportunity of preventing our landing, in the firth; while, on the other ſide, violent contrary winds, the diſperſing of the fleet, the ignorance we were in of the coaſts, and want of proviſion, hindered our landing in any other place.

2dly, You are to aſſure them of the concern and pain we are in for them, to know their preſent condition, fearing they may have been brought into trouble after this enterprize has failed.

3dly, You are to aſſure them, that far from being diſcouraged with what has happened, we are reſolved to move heaven and earth, and to leave no ſtone unturned to free ourſelves and them; and to that end, we propoſe to come ourſelves into the Highlands, with money, arms, and ammunition; and to put ourſelves at the head of our good ſubjects, if they are in arms for us; and if not, we do exhort them to riſe, with all convenient ſpeed, upon the expectation of our arrival, which we intend ſhall be as ſoon as poſſible, after we have had an anſwer to this, by this honeſt meſſenger, who is entirely truſted by us; and ſince we are ſo deſirous of venturing of our perſon, we hope they will follow our example, this being a critical time which ought not to be neglected.

4thly, The moſt Chriſtian King has likewiſe promiſed to ſupport this undertaking, with a ſufficient number of troops, as ſoon as they can be tranſported.

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1708. tranſported with ſecurity. In the mean time, we will ſtay in the Highlands, unleſs we be invited and encouraged by our friends in the Lowlands, to go to them.

5thly, We deſire they would conſider this project, and with all diligence ſend back this bearer, well informed of their opinion concerning it; as alſo with an account of the ſtate of the nation, of what troops are in it, of what country, and how inclined, and what number of men they can bring into the field for us.

6thly, And in caſe they approve this our project, and promiſe to ſtand by us, we deſire that all means may be uſed to get poſſeſſion of the fort of Inverlochy, and that they would inform us of the fitteſt place in the Highlands for our landing, and ſend along with the bearer two or more able pilots, who know theſe places and can conduct us into them.

7thly, And, in caſe they prove inſtrumental to our reſtoration, by doing what is here propoſed to them, we promiſe to give them particular and eſſential marks of our kindneſs, and of the ſenſe we have of all they have done and ſuffered on our accounts.

J. R."

April. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 51.

"*A memorial concerning the inſtructions which the King of England propoſes to give to the perſon his Majeſty intends to ſend to the Highlanders of Scotland.*"

This is a French copy, in Nairne's hand, of only a part of theſe inſtructions; which was probably intended for the information of the French miniſtry. The name of the perſon ſent to Scotland this year was Ferguſon.

Tranſlation.

April, 1708.

"IT is evident, that it is the intereſt of his Majeſty, as well as of the King of England, to do every thing that is poſſible for fomenting a civil war in Scotland; ſince the very rumours of the laſt enterpriſe had already ſuch an effect in England, that, from the eagerneſs of every one to withdraw his money, the princeſs of Denmark would have had great difficulty to play the game, if the affair had been prolonged for never ſo ſhort a time: at leaſt, it is certain, that far from ſending any ſuccours to the allies, ſhe would have been obliged to recall the greateſt part of her troops for her own defence.

The ſignatures of the moſt conſiderable Scotch noblemen are an evident proof of their loyalty, and they have given no room to call it in queſtion, although the public may think otherwiſe, being ignorant of the orders which his Majeſty had given them, to undertake nothing before the arrival and landing of the King of England, and eſpecially to keep the ſecret, preferable to every other conſideration. 1708. April.

The King of England, far from being diſcouraged by the laſt enterpriſe, finds himſelf more animated and determined by it never to ſpare his perſon; but to leave no means untried for recovering his dominions. It is with this deſign that he prepares immediately to ſend one to the Highlanders of Scotland with the following inſtructions:

"To aſſure them, in caſe he finds them in arms, that his Britannic Majeſty will come immediately to put himſelf at their head, and to bring them arms, ammunition, and money. If they are not in arms, to propoſe to them to riſe, with the like aſſurances, that the King of England is ready to go in perſon to join them, in expectation that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may ſend ſome troops to follow him, which will be done the inſtant they can be tranſported with ſafety. Laſtly, to know, from them, what they can do, and what they wiſh may be done here to aſſiſt them.

The ſame perſon muſt likewiſe concert the different places of landing, and bring pilots along with him."

The Pretender appears to have had great hopes at this time that his next attempt would be more ſucceſsful, and began already to exerciſe acts of ſovereignty. In the month of May he iſſued orders to his attorney-general or ſolicitor-general for the time being, to prepare a bill in due form of law, containing a grant to Herbert Roettiers to be engraver-general of the mint in Scotland, and gave Roettiers his orders about the ſeveral ſpecies of gold and ſilver which he was to coin. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 71, & 76.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College.

"I Find that, having had lately a conference with Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough], you are ſtill left in your former doubts and uncertainties of that merchant's real intentions of paying the old debt. He May 20.

hath

1708. hath no reaſon to complain that his partners went ſhares in the Manly galley [the King], without acquainting him therewith, ſince he himſelf formerly told Mr. Eagle, that they ſhould not neglect any good bargain offered to them for advancing their trade, though they ſhould not have an opportunity of conſulting him about it. And he has great reaſon to be well pleaſed with what has been endeavoured to do, for had not this voyage by croſs accidents been rendered unſucceſsful, it would have put him in a way of more eaſily paying thoſe debts, of which he has ſo long and ſo often promiſed payment. None ought to miſtruſt Maning's [the King of France] upright inclinations, in joining ſtocks with Pleſſington [the King]; for it was his intereſt to be juſt to him: and all that know that young merchant and have been witneſs of his actions, give him this character, that no man of his age, upon the whole Exchange, is better qualified, than he is, as to capacity, diligence, and upright dealing, or more likely to prove an eminent dealer."

An Anecdote concerning a letter of Lord Godolphin's to the court of St. Germains, and Lord Wharton's machinations thereon.

Mr. Carte's Memorandom-book, marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 27.

"MArquis of Annandale having got into his hand an original letter of lord treaſurer Godolphin to the court of St. Germains, he, about 1708, petitioned againſt the election of the earl of Sutherland, one of the 16 peers returned; and the latter was turned out to make room for him. Lord Wharton treated with him for this letter, and got it into his hands, and then forced lord Godolphin to make him lord lieutenant of Ireland, &c. Ch. Cæſar had at this time been ſent to the Tower, for ſaying, in the houſe of commons, that lord Godolphin kept a correſpondence with the ſaid court; and this letter being a proof thereof, Lord Godolphin durſt refuſe the junto nothing; but, at the latter end of the ſeſſion, preſſed, in March, lord Wharton to go for Ireland; and the other expreſſing a deſign to ſtay till the end of the ſeſſion, he aſſured him all the buſineſs was over, and nothing but form left, ſo that there was no occaſion for his ſtay. Upon which, Wharton went; but the firſt news he heard there, was, that an act of grace was paſſed in the parliament of England, where few things were pardoned, but all correſpondence with the court of St. Germains was very particularly. Then he ſaw himſelf bit, and lord Godolphin got out of his clutches."

HAN-

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1708.

THE correſpondence of the houſe of Hannover, during the preſent year, conſiſts entirely of letters, concerning tranſactions already publickly known. The military operations, mentioned in the letters, are the Pretender's attempt to invade Scotland in the month of March, the battle of Oudenarde on the eleventh of July, the ſurrender of the city of Liſle on the twenty-third of October, the paſſage of the Scheld and the raiſing of the ſiege of Bruſſels in November, the ſurrender of the citadel of Liſle on the eighth of December, and the retaking of Ghent on the thirtieth of the ſame month. 1708.

The duke of Berri and the Pretender, who, ſince his expedition to the coaſt of Scotland, aſſumed the name of the Chevalier de St. George, ſerved the campaign, under the dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme. George Auguſtus, Electoral Prince of Hannover, ſerved, at the ſame time, under the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. Prince George of Denmark, the huſband of Queen Anne, died on the twenty-eighth of October, in the preſent year. This abridgment of the facts, to which the letters relate, will throw all the neceſſary light on the correſpondence of the year.

February. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 221.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Affairs of the Empire.

Tranſlation.

SIR, St. James's, Feb. 14, 1708.

'YOUR Electoral Highneſs will have been already informed by Baron Schutz, how much the Queen has the affairs of the Empire at heart; and that her Majeſty wiſhes, that means may be found of furniſhing

1708. February. niſhing the million of crowns for the operations on the Upper Rhine. It is not therefore neceſſary that I ſhould write on that ſubject to your Highneſs.

I do myſelf the honour, now, of writing to you this letter, by major general Palmes, whom the Queen ſends to the duke of Savoy. He is to paſs through Hannover, to converſe with your Electoral Highneſs about the orders with which he is charged; and, at the ſame time, to receive your inſtructions concerning every thing which may contribute to the advancement of the intereſts of the common cauſe, as well at Turin as at Vienna, and other courts of Germany through which he is to paſs. I am ſure he will acquit himſelf, in every thing which your Electoral Highneſs will think proper to give him in charge, with all the zeal and application which you can wiſh. He has likewiſe orders to maintain an exact correſpondence with the perſon whom your Highneſs ſhall appoint; in order that your Electoral Highneſs may be informed, from time to time, and directly, of the ſucceſs of his negociations; being perſuaded that you will be ſatisfied with his conduct. I am, with great reſpect, &c."

Original. Hannover papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 84.

Queen Anne to the Elector.

She ſolicits him to accept the command of the army of the Empire.

Tranſlation.

BROTHER, Kenſington, Feb. 16, 1708.

"THE public will feel ſuch beneficial conſequences from your preſence with the army on the Upper Rhine; and there is ſo much to fear, unleſs you join it ſoon, that I cannot refuſe to join my entreaties to thoſe of ſo many princes and ſtates, who deſire earneſtly that you were upon the ſpot, to exerciſe there with more advantage the neceſſary functions of your important command. I leave to Mr. Palmes to tell you, more fully, how much I have that at heart. I have nothing to add, but aſſurances that I am, very truly, &c.

ANNE, R."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 220.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Public affairs.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, Feb. 28, 1708.

"I Received your obliging letter of the 23d of January, with the memorial of the Emperor's Reſident at London, and the anſwer

which was made to it. You know, my lord, that I wiſhed very much, at Francfort, that a concert for the operations of the next campaign might be agreed upon; that we reaſoned a good deal upon the ſubject, and that Mr. Hartch committed to writing what appeared feaſible to us. I communicated this project to the prince of Savoy, who ſhewed to me, that he believed it was the beſt that could be done. 1708. February.

As you could not make them reliſh that plan at the Hague, I believe, my lord, it will be very difficult to find another, whatever trouble we may give ourſelves to reaſon upon the ſubject; ſo that all the ſatisfaction that would accrue to me from our interview would be that of embracing you. It appears to me, from the anſwer which you gave to Mr. Hoffman, that it is likewiſe the opinion with you, that the conference would be of no great ſervice. I ſhall, however, be much obliged to you, if you will be ſo good as to take the trouble of informing me of whatever you judge neceſſary to be done the next campaign.

As to the reſt, my lord, you know already, that it is impoſſible to break the reſolution which the Imperial court has taken of ſending the count Starenberg into Spain, and that he has received his laſt inſtructions, with orders to ſet out in a few days.

I entreat you, my lord, to be perſuaded, that it is impoſſible to be more ſenſible than I am of the marks of affection and confidence which you give me; and that I ſhall always anſwer them by ſuitable ſentiments, being very ſincerely, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 222.

An anſwer to his letter of the 28th of Febuuary.—The duke is to go to meet prince Eugene at the Hague.—French preparations at Dunkirk.

Tranſlation.

SIR, St. James's, March 2, 1708.

"I Received the letter which your Electoral Highneſs did me the honour of writing to me the 28th of laſt month. You will have learned, ſince that the prince of Savoy, according to the Emperor's orders, is to repair immediately to the Hague, in order to concert the operations of the campaign. And as his Imperial Majeſty's miniſter has juſt now given us notice, that the prince may arrive there toward the

1708. March. 26th inſtant, the Queen has been pleaſed to permit me to go over, for four or five days. Accordingly, I propoſe to repair thither at the ſame time; and I entreat your Electoral Highneſs to be pleaſed to make M. de Bothmar acquainted with your ſentiments; that I may the better conform myſelf to them. I will not fail likewiſe to give to your Highneſs an ample detail of whatever will be agreed upon for the intereſts of the common cauſe, in order that I may receive your Highneſs's ultimate orders.

We were a little alarmed by the preparations of the enemy at Dunkirk; but as we have, at preſent, a ſuperior force at ſea, we doubt not, with the bleſſing of heaven, to defeat their deſigns very ſoon. I am, with all poſſible reſpect, Sir, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 223.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of 2d of March.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, March 27th, 1708.

"I Received very thankfully the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me $\frac{1}{2}^{3}$ inſtant, by which you was ſo good as to inform me of the time fixed for your interview, at the Hague, with the prince of Savoy. I ſhall not fail, on my part, to give inſtructions to the Baron de Bothmar; and I ſhall be very much obliged to you, if you will be ſo good to hear with attention what he will have the honour to tell you, and to ſpeak to him with confidence concerning what will be concerted in that interview; aſſuring you, that it ſhall be kept as ſecret as you could wiſh.

It is with great pleaſure I have ſeen with what diſpatch the Queen has oppoſed a numerous fleet to the French ſquadron, deſtined to tranſport troops to Scotland. It is impoſſible to be more ſincerely intereſted than I am, in all that happens advantageouſly and glorioufly to her Majeſty. I flatter myſelf, that ſhe is perſuaded of this, and that you are ſo likewiſe of the diſtinguiſhed ſentiments which I have for you. I am very ſincerely, &c."

The

The Elector to Queen Anne.

An anſwer to her Majeſty's letter of 16th February.

1708. March. Copy in Robethon's hand. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No 85. And in the Elector's; penes Sir John Dalrymple.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, 28th March, 1708.

"I Received, with the utmoſt gratitude, your Majeſty's letter, which was delivered to me by major general Palmes. I ſee, with great pleaſure, the goodneſs you have, to intereſt yourſelf in what regards the operations on the Rhine. I entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded that I neglect nothing of what depends upon me, to put matters there on a proper footing; and that the moment they are ſo, I ſhall not fail to repair thither, with all poſſible diſpatch; being determined to ſpare neither my pains nor my perſon to ſerve the public, and to merit the approbation of your Majeſty. I am, with a profound reſpect, Madam, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of the 14th February.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 224.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, 29th March, 1708.

"I AM much obliged to you, for your letter of the 14th February, which was delivered to me by major general Palmes. I am very ſenſible of the Queen's goodneſs, in ordering him to paſs through this place; and to ſecond, at the courts to which he is to go, the buſineſs which I negociate there at preſent. I take the liberty to make uſe of the permiſſion which her Majeſty gives me in that reſpect. The correſpondence which ſhe chuſes that he ſhould maintain with me, when he is with the duke of Savoy's army, will be very agreeable to me. I ſhall preſerve, all my life-time, the utmoſt gratitude for the attention which her Majeſty condeſcends to give to whatever concerns me, and to whatever may contribute to the good of the allies; and to eſtabliſh a perfect concert between the commanders of their armies. I ſhall neglect nothing that depends upon me, for contributing thereto likewiſe, on my part; and for ſhewing you the entire confidence with which I ſhall always make the ſuitable returns to the marks of affection which you give me. I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

The

1708. April. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 88.

The Earl of Peterborough to the Elector.

Mentions the threatened invaſion.—Propoſes to wait in perſon on the Elector.

Tranſlation.

3d April, 1708.

"IF the French has given us uneaſineſs, by their very extraordinary enterpriſe, they have alſo given us this pleaſure, that all men of honour are of the ſame opinion, with regard to the only remedy againſt ſuch deſigns.

I ſhall look out for the firſt opportunities of aſſuring you in perſon of my inviolable attachment to your ſervice. It is of importance that your *Royal* Highneſs ſhould provide for your own intereſt and ours. Matters are upon a very changeable footing with us. This is properly the country of inconſtancy. I hope that your *Royal* Highneſs's campaign will produce happy effects for Europe, and of thoſe who flatter themſelves, one day, with the happineſs of being your ſubjects.

Of your *Royal* Highneſs,

The very humble, and very obedient ſervant,

PETERBOROUGH."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. 90.

The Elector to the Earl of Peterborough.

Thanks him for his apprehenſions from the French invaſion.—Diſſuades him from coming to pay him a viſit.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, May 26th, 1708.

"I Received the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me; and I read that which you wrote to the Electreſs. I am much obliged to you for the new proofs which you there give me of your attachment to the intereſts of my family; and of the fear which you ſhew you have had, that the enterpriſes of the French againſt Scotland might be of ſome prejudice to it. As to the reſt, you might have diſcovered, my lord, during your ſtay here, that I have adopted, for a conſtant maxim, to take no ſteps concerning the affairs of Great Britain, but in concert with the Queen and with her miniſtry; being perſuaded that nothing can be more contrary to the deſigns of the diſaffected, than a perfect underſtanding between her Majeſty and my family. I leave you then to judge, my lord, if there would be no reaſon to fear, that, having

having as much merit as you poſſeſs, the journey which you would make to Hannover, and to the army which I command, would not give umbrage, and be a ſubject of ſiniſter interpretations: otherwiſe, I would have a very ſenſible pleaſure in ſeeing you, and in giving you marks of the regard which I have for you. I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c. 1708. May.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Recommending the Electoral Prince to the Duke.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 225.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, May 27th, 1708.

"I Would not permit the Electoral Prince, my ſon, to go to make the campaign with you, without recommending him to you; and without ſhewing to you the joy which I have in ſeeing him beginning the art of war under ſo great a captain. You will oblige me much, my lord, if you will be ſo good as to give him advice, when he ſhall have occaſion for it; it being juſt that he ſhould conduct him according to the advice of a perſon ſo well enlightened as you, and ſo well affected to the intereſts of my family. I ſend, along with him, baron d'Eltz, one of my miniſters of ſtate, in whom I entreat you to place an entire confidence, when he ſhall ſay to you any thing from me, or when you ſhall have any thing to communicate to me, during the courſe of this campaign. I wiſh it may be as glorious to you as any of the preceding; and I always am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

Lord Halifax to Sophia, Electreſs of Hannover.

Congratulates her on the bravery ſhewn by the Electoral Prince, at the battle of Oudenarde.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

MADAM, July 6th, 1708.

"I AM not willing to trouble your Royal Highneſs upon many occaſions; but I cannot forbear congratulating your Royal Highneſs upon the glorious victory in Flanders, and the brave part the Electoral Prince had in it. We know not all the particulars of that great action yet, but lord Stairs, who brought the news, is very full of the praiſes of the Electoral Prince, and the bravery he ſhewed at the head of the Elector's troops.

It

1708. July. It is with the utmoſt joy and ſatisfaction that we talk of this here, and make a compariſon between the behaviour of his Highneſs and of the Princes of France and the Pretender, who, as we hear, never came into danger, but were ſpectators of their own diſgrace at a diſtance. I hope this laſt ſtroke will finiſh the work, and help us to a good peace and a firm ſettlement of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in a little time: and I hope the defeat of this army will oblige the French to make ſuch great detachments from the Rhine, that his Electoral Highneſs may make a glorious campaign.

We were here under great uneaſineſs upon the taking of Ghent and Bruges; but the French have paid very dear for thoſe towns. Since we are ſucceſsful abroad, we have nothing to apprehend at home; for the new parliament is entirely well inclined to the intereſt of the allies and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. I am, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 226.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

After the taking of Liſle.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp at Rouſlear, 25 October, 1708.

"I Make uſe of the opportunity offered by Mr. Craggs, who has an ardent deſire of throwing himſelf at the feet of your Electoral Highneſs, to give you the news of, and to congratulate you, at the ſame time, upon, the ſurrender of the important town of Liſle. I have likewiſe opened myſelf to him, upon the preſent ſituation of our affairs here, in order that he may have the honour to inform your Electoral Highneſs of it more amply, by word of mouth, than I dare do by letter. I therefore entreat your Highneſs to approve, that I refer myſelf to what he ſhall tell you from me; and to be perſuaded of the very ſubmiſſive attachment and reſpect with which I am, Sir, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 227.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of 25th October.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, 12th Nov. 1708.

"MR. Craggs delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me from the camp at Rouſlear, the 25th of October;

tober; and he did not fail to make me an exact report of the ſtate of affairs, and of every thing with which you judged proper to truſt him. I took a great part in ſuch an important conqueſt as that of Liſle; and I hope for the ſpeedy ſurrender of the citadel. Mr. Craggs will have the honour to give you an account of what I ſaid to him, concerning the propoſals with which you had charged him. I entreat you, Sir, to approve that I refer myſelf to what he will write to you about them. I wiſh you a happy concluſion to ſuch a glorious campaign; and I always am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c." 1708. November.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

After the paſſage of the Schelde and relieving Bruſſels.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 228.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp at Oudenarde, 27th Nov. 1708.

"MOnſieur de Bulau will inform your Electoral Highneſs, that we have juſt forced the paſſage of the Scheld, notwithſtanding all the menaces of the enemy, who were obliged to retire with loſs. I take the liberty to congratulate your Highneſs on this happy beginning, which, I hope, will prove the way for us to a happy concluſion of the campaign. To-morrow the prince of Savoy will return, with the troops which he brought, to continue the ſiege of the citadel of Liſle; and we advance, at the ſame time, to relieve Bruſſels; where we hope to arrive Thurſday evening. I am, with a very reſpectful attachment, Sir, &c.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Anſwer to the Duke's letter of 27th November.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 229.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, December 7th, 1708.

"I AM very much obliged to you, for the trouble which you was ſo good as to take, the very day you paſſed the Scheld, in communicating to me an event ſo important to the common cauſe. It was not poſſible to finiſh ſo fine a campaign in a more glorious manner. You ought, by no means, to doubt that I ſhare greatly in it; and that all that heightens your glory, does me a real pleaſure. I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

1708. December. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 230.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the ſurrender of the citadel of Liſle.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp Beirleghem, 10 Dec. 1708.

"I AM very happy, that, after waiting ſo long, I can have the honour of congratulating your Electoral Highneſs upon the taking of the citadel of Liſle. The prince of Savoy, writing to me juſt now, that the Mareſchal de Boufflers is to deliver up to him one of the gates to-day; ſo that the ſiege being happily finiſhed, I march to-morrow to draw near to Ghent, which we are determined to attack, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, in the hopes of being able even to retake Bruges before the troops are ſent to quarters; having, for their greater relief, erected magazines of hay and oats, which will be delivered to them, during the reſt of the campaign. I am, with great reſpect, Sir, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 89.

The Electoral Princeſs to Queen Anne.

Compliments of condolence upon the death of the Prince of Denmark.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, December 12th, 17..

"I Would think I failed in the reſpect which I ſhall have all my life for your Majeſty, and in the gratitude which is due to you for all you have done for this family, if I did not take the liberty to ſhew you, that I intereſt myſelf very ſenſibly in the loſs which you have lately ſuffered. That piety of which your Majeſty has given ſo many illuſtrious marks, could not have been put to a more melancholy trial. I pray God, that he himſelf may be the comforter of your Majeſty; and that he may long preſerve a life ſo precious to England, and ſo neceſſary to the good of Europe. I am, with a great deal of reſpect, Madam, &c."

Ibid. No. 231.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of the 10th December.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, December 24th, 1708.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the trouble which you took to inform me of the ſurrender of the citadel of Liſle. I ſee that, after the happy ſucceſs of this famous ſiege, the advanced ſeaſon does not

hinder

hinder you from forming new enterprises. I doubt not but, under your directions, they will succeed as speedily as one should wish. It was impossible to finish more gloriously so fine a campaign. I entreat you to be persuaded of the part which I take, in whatever will heighten the lustre of your glory, and of the sincerity with which I am, my Lord, &c." 1708. December.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the surrender of the town of Ghent.

Translation.

Original Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 232.

SIR, Camp at Meerlebeck, Dec. 31st, 1708.

"I DO myself the honour to congratulate your Electoral Highness upon the recovery of the town of Ghent, the garrison of which is, according to the capitulation, to go out the day after to-morrow. It is a success so important, and so necessary to the success of the High Allies, that I flatter myself that they will be satisfied with the length of the campaign, which it has occasioned. Your Electoral Highness will permit me to refer myself to Monsieur de Bulau, for a detail of what passed, and for the share which your troops have had in this enterprise. I am, with a very submissive respect, Sir, &c."

STUART PAPERS.

1709.

1709. THE violent Jacobites in Scotland complained, without reaſon, that they were deſerted by the prince whom they called to the throne. The Pretender was not his own maſter, when he was carried to the coaſt of Britain, in a French bottom. He had, with tears in his eyes, ſolicited M. de Fourbin, to land him on the coaſt of North Britain, were it even with his domeſtics only. But it ſeems, that the French admiral had received ſecret orders, not to permit the Pretender to ſlip from his hands, though it is difficult to ſay what uſe the court of Verſailles could make of that unfortunate prince, except the making a diverſion, for a few months, to the Britiſh arms. When the pretended prince returned to France, he accompanied the duke of Burgundy into Flanders, and ſerved the campaign. The diſcontented Scots continued their ſolicitations to the perſon whom they called their King, and he and his ſervants were equally earneſt with the court of Verſailles, to prepare another expedition into North Britain.

Lewis, for ſome time, liſtened with attention to the repreſentations of the Pretender. But a winter uncommonly ſevere, which deſtroyed the fruits of the earth, added the misfortune of famine to the numerous diſtreſſes brought on his people by the war. He, therefore, plainly told the Pretender, that he was ſo far from being in a condition to invade the territories of his enemies, that he was afraid he could not defend his own. The diſcontented Scots were ſtrangers to the low ſtate of France; and they endeavoured, as in the following ſtate of the Highland clans, to induce Lewis the Fourteenth to ſend aid, by repreſenting their own power. Nothing in the paper appears to have been exaggerated, though its manifeſt deſign was to encourage a French invaſion.

" *An*

1709. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 23.

"*An account of the Highland clans in Scotland, with a ſhort narrative of the ſervices they have rendered the crown, and the number of armed men they may bring to the field for the King's ſervice.*"

"THE Highlanders are uſed to arms from their infancy, and may be reckoned as good as their equal number of the beſt regular troops in Europe; and they have, on all occaſions (particularly under the command of the Marquis of Montroſe for King Charles the Firſt, and the viſcount of Dundee for King James the Seventh) in ſeveral battles defeated above double their number of old regular troops; and it is hardly poſſible to ſuſtain their charge, if they be rightly led on; they being ſuperior both in their arms and manner of fighting to any other troops.

The clans are here mentioned, with five hundred men to a regiment. It is true, that ſome of them can bring more men to the field, and others fewer; but, computing them one with another, they may be reckoned ſo.

The three great branches of the M'Donalds, viz.

CLANRANALD.—GLENGARIE.—Sir DONALD M'DONALD of Sleat.

The captains of Clanranald's family have ſtill been loyal, and had a good regiment in the fields for King Charles I. and II. and this preſent captain, at fourteen years of age, was, with 500 men, at the battle of Killicranky for King James VII. This family has ſuffered much for their loyalty, by the oppreſſions of the family of Argyle, who have been rebels for four generations by-paſt.

Clanranald's family and their followers are Catholics.

Glengarie his predeceſſor, the late lord M'Donald, had ſtill a regiment for the ſervice of King Charles I. and II. and this preſent Glengarie had the ſame for King James VII.

This family has ſuffered much alſo by the family of Argyle. Both he and his followers are Catholics.

Sir Donald M'Donald of Sleat was with his regiment at the battle of Killicranky, for King James VII. and continues ſtill very loyal.

Theſe three branches of the M'Donalds, including other leſſer branches of that name, may bring to the field, of very good men, 1500.

The

1709. The three great branches of M'Duff or Clanchattan, viz.

FARQUHARSONS.—M'INTOSHES.—M'PHERSONS.

The Farquharſons have ſtill been loyal: for Findlay Farquharſon of Braemar and Inverey was killed carrying the royal banner at the battle of Pinkie, in the year 1547, againſt the Engliſh. His grand-child, James Farquharſon of Inverey was, at 70 years of age, kept two years priſoner at Edinburgh for his loyalty; and was forced to pay a conſiderable fine before he was releaſed. His ſon, colonel William Farquharſon of Inverey, had ſtill a good regiment for the ſervice of King Charles I. and II. under the command of the marquiſes of Huntley and Montroſe, and the earls of Glencairn and Middleton; and being ſtill without pay, and at his own charges, mortgaged all his eſtate for the ſaid ſervice, worth about 500*l.* ſterling a year. Yet his ſon, colonel John Farquharſon of Inverey, was among the firſt who took arms for King James VII.; and after all the other Highlanders had given over coming to the field, he raiſed betwixt eight and nine hundred men, and ſuſtained the ſmall party of the King's officers a whole campaign, acting offenſively as well as defenſive; for which he had ſix pariſhes (belonging to him and his relations) entirely burnt and deſtroyed, which was procured by the lord Forbes and his family; one of the moſt rebellious in Scotland, and their next neighbours. Witneſſes of their laſt ſervices and ſufferings are colonel Rattrey, major Holmes, lieutenant colonel Fitzſimons, and ſeveral others preſent in France. Many of the name of Farquharſon and their followers are Catholics.

The M'Intoſhes and M'Pherſons, although they did not riſe to arms all of them, yet they ſtill ſent men to the field, both for the ſervices of Kings Charles I. and II. and for King James VII.; and are all of them at preſent loyal. Theſe three fore-mentioned branches, including others leſſer about them, can bring to the field, of very good men, 1500.

The M'Leans have ſtill been loyal; their chief and 500 of his name being killed at Inverkething, for King Charles II. by Cromwell. They have been alſo in the field for King Charles I. and they had, at the battle of Killicranky, for King James VII. five hundred men, and will be found very ready, when the King ſhall have uſe for them. They are mightily oppreſſed by the family of Argyle. They can bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The

The Camerons have ſtill been loyal, and have ſtill had a good regiment in the fields, for Kings Charles I. and II. and for King James VII. and continue very loyal; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500. 1703.

The Stuarts and Robertſons of Athol have ſtill been loyal, and have ſtill taken the field for the Kings Charles I. and II. and for King James VII. notwithſtanding the preſent marquis of Athol who was ſuperior to the moſt part of them, was then for the prince of Orange; but it is now the better, that he himſelf is loyal at preſent. They may bring to the field, of good men, 1000.

The M'Naughtons and Stuarts of Appin have ſtill been loyal to the Kings Charles I. and II. and to King James VII. and were in the fields for them: as was alſo M'Neil of Barra, who, with his men, are all Catholics. They may raiſe, of very good men, 500.

The Drummonds' loyalty is not to be doubted; ſince they will certainly follow their chief the duke of Perth, or his ſon the earl of Drummond. They may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Kenzies are neither to be doubted; ſince they will follow their chief the marquis of Seaforth. They, with other little names about them, may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 1000.

The Fraſers are loyally inclined; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Leods are loyally inclined; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The Sinclairs are eſteemed loyal; and may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 500.

The M'Kays and the Highlanders of Strathnaver; their ſuperiors are not loyal; yet their commons can be brought to the field, and may do good ſervice, being joined with others; they may make, of very good men, 500.

The Roſſes of Balnagowan; their chief is not loyal, yet his clan might be brought to the field; and they may make, of none of the beſt men, 500.

The Grants; their chief has been very violent againſt the late King, and raiſed a regiment againſt him, and entertained it three years at his own charges; yet his clan muſt be called to the field, and joined to

1709. others of unqueſtioned loyalty. They may raiſe, of none of the beſt of men, 500.

The Campbells of Breadalbin; their ſuperior, the earl of Breadalbin, is a very cunning man; yet ſtill pretends to be very loyal. They may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 500.

The Grahams of Montieth and Stuarts of Down are loyal; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Neils of Galchyle, M'Lauchlans, M'Kinnons, M'Aulays, M'Nabs, M'Gregors, M'Gibbons, M'Echins of Dumbarton; Argyle and Stirling ſhires are loyal; and may bring to the field, amongſt them all, of very good men, 1000.

The number of all the men is 12,000.

That which is commonly objected againſt the Highlanders is, that they do not keep diſcipline, and that they plunder.

To which it may be eaſily anſwered, that at all the times the Highlanders were in the fields, they neither had pay nor proviſions, but what Providence ſent them from day to day; and each ſoldier being obliged to go and ſearch for himſelf, it was impoſſible to ſend an officer with each of them: ſo abuſes could not be prevented; and, were the moſt regular troops in Europe in the ſame circumſtances, they might be found as ill, if not worſe, than the Highlanders.

Moſt part of all Lowlanders are their inveterate enemies, and ſeldom or never ſpeak or write favourably of them, and that from mere envy; becauſe a Highland clan is capable to render the King better ſervice than ſome of their firſt nobility; and, as to their leſſer, a dozen and more of them cannot bring ſo many men to the field as one clan.

The King might likewiſe expect from the low countries of Scotland, at leaſt, 20,000 men; for the King hath generally, all the nation over, three for him, for one againſt him. But ſuppoſing he hath but half, as certainly he hath more, the militia of Scotland being 22,000 men, that half has but to double their militia, which they may eaſily do, will make above 20,000 men. But the King muſt carry arms for them.

Whereas the Highlanders are generally well armed of themſelves; and, at moſt, will not want above a fourth part of their arms.

The Lowlanders will likewiſe want officers.

"*An anſwer propoſed to be ſent to the Scots in April* 1709."

1709. April. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 25.

Tranſlation.

"THE King of Great Britain has been very ſenſibly chagrined that his friends in Scotland have been kept ſo long in ſuſpenſe, concerning a ſecond expedition into that country; but it was impoſſible to come to any certain determination about it ſooner, although the affair was preſſed with all poſſible earneſtneſs. At laſt, his Majeſty has received, within a few days, a deciſive anſwer, and he commands me to communicate it to you from him.

I ſhall tell you then, that the project of a ſecond expedition into Scotland has been propoſed to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in a very ample memorial, in which nothing was omitted to engage him to enter into the ſcheme, and to convince him, that the enterpriſe was as much for his intereſt as for the intereſt of his Britannic Majeſty. That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has been pleaſed to enter very cordially into the affair when it was propoſed to him; and that he has taken time to conſider the project, and has teſtified a ſincere deſire to make every effort for putting it in execution: but, after having duly weighed all things, and conſidered the preſent ſituation of his affairs, his laſt anſwer has been, that, in the preſent conjuncture, the thing was not practicable, conſidering that it was abſolutely impoſſible for him, at this time, to furniſh all that was neceſſary for ſuch an expedition.

It is his Britannic Majeſty's deſire that you communicate this to all the well-affected in Scotland, in order that they may take their meaſures to preſerve themſelves to a more favourable time. The King did not demand of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty but 8000 men, with money, arms, and ammunition in proportion. But that could neither be granted nor tranſported, with ſafety, in the preſent ſtate of the affairs of France. When they are in a better ſituation, I hope the King of Great Britain will feel the effects of it. But whatever may happen, he is determined never to diſcontinue his efforts for the recovery of his dominions; and, I doubt not, but ſoon or late he will ſucceed, although it is not eaſy to foreſee either the time or the manner. In the mean time, he recommends to all his loyal ſubjects to take as much care as they can of their own preſervation. Every one knows the ſtate of his own affairs, and what is

1709. April. moſt ſuitable for him to do for his own ſafety in this conjuncture; therefore, in that reſpect, there are no rules to be preſcribed to them. But his Majeſty always depends upon the continuance of their loyalty; and he is thoroughly perſuaded, that he will always find them well diſpoſed to give him proofs of their zeal and affection, every time he ſhall have occaſion for their aſſiſtance."

The States General having informed the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, that the preſident Rouillè was come to them from France, with general offers of peace, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough were ſent, by their reſpective courts, to the Hague, in the beginning of April, 1709. To theſe generals, who were buoyed up with the hopes of penetrating into France the next campaign, the overtures made on the part of Lewis XIV. ſeemed not to be ſatisfactory; and the duke of Marlborough came back to London on the 17th of April. His profeſſed deſign was to acquaint the Queen that the French overtures were rejected, and that the allies were determined to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. In the mean time, Rouillè diſpatched a courier to Paris for further inſtructions; and Lewis immediately ſent the Marquis de Torcy, his ſecretary for foreign affairs, with freſh offers to the Hague. In all the conferences held to ſettle the preliminaries of peace, it was demanded by the allies, and granted by Lewis, that he ſhould abandon the Pretender, and diſmiſs him from his dominions. This produced the following letter and memorial to the Marquis de Torcy, about a place of ſecurity for the Pretender, a dowry for his mother, and an indemnity for their adherents.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 28.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

A copy in Middleton's own hand.

Tranſlation.

St. Germains, April 30, 1709.

"I Have the honour to ſend you a memorial concerning the intereſts of the King, my maſter; and I hope you will approve of the method which I have taken, of inſerting nothing in it but what might ſerve for an inſtruction to your negociator, in caſe the King approves it,

reſerving to myſelf to explain to you here the ſentiments of the King of England, becauſe that mixture might occaſion ſome confuſion. 1709. April.

Although France is the only country in which his Britannic Majeſty can find any conſolation, out of his own country, yet, ſince the enemy inſiſt upon his leaving it, he aſks the King's permiſſion to do ſo, as the only means of giving him a teſtimony of his gratitude. The eccleſiaſtical ſtate is excluded, for reaſons too evident to be ſpecified; and likewiſe the Swiſs Cantons, becauſe there he would be deprived of the ſociety of men, and at too great a diſtance from what he ought never to loſe ſight of; and he would have no neighbours there but goats, who could walk out and reſiſt the rigour of the winter. The Spaniſh Low Countries are named only in preference.

I acknowledge that ſentiments are divided here about the article of the indemnity. Some ſay that thoſe who are at home will complain, with juſtice, that they are abandoned to the fury of their enemies; and that thoſe who are here, will exclaim that they are neglected, that they might ſubſiſt at home, if they could return in ſafety, and that this court will be delivered from a number of troubleſome people, who will die of hunger after our departure. Others think, that a ſecurity for the paſt will render them uſeleſs for the future; that ſelf-love is a powerful motive for exciting the generality of men to perform their duty; that ſeverals may return from thence full of ill-humour, and in order to be well received, will become informers, which would produce very bad effects; and alſo, that this would weaken the Iriſh regiments in the ſervice, many of whom will be ſeized with the ſickneſs of the Swiſs. It is hoped the King will be pleaſed to decide upon this diverſity of opinions.

With regard to the Queen's dowry, her Majeſty orders me to tell you, that after her death, and the reſtoration of the King, her ſon, ſhe gives the million in the town-houſe to his Majeſty, to refund, in part, ſome ſmall ſhare of his bounty. But above all, his Britannic Majeſty inſiſts moſt earneſtly not to be named in the article which concerns the Queen; for, although there ſhould be no expreſs condition, all the world will ſuppoſe that his honour will be deeply wounded by it. He will be abandoned by all his good ſubjects, and will find himſelf expoſed to the contempt of every one, which ſuch ſuſpicion will infallibly draw upon him."

1709. April. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 29.

A Memorial ſent with the preceding letter to the Marquis de Torcy.

Tranſlation.

"ALL that regards the King of England's intereſt in the preſent conjuncture, may be reduced to three articles.

In caſe the enemy inſiſt that the King of England leaves France, nothing will be more natural and reaſonable than to aſk them a ſecurity for him. It is to be wiſhed it may be general. If, however, this meets with difficulties, let them grant it, at leaſt, in a country that ſuits them. For there are countries where he will never put his foot, ſuch as the Pope's territories, and the Swiſs cantons. The Spaniſh Low Countries appear to be the moſt commodious, from their ſituation, and becauſe there will be no occaſion for a ſecurity but from the Dutch, and from the ſovereign of the country, who muſt oblige himſelf to allow the King to live at full liberty, with a permiſſion of travelling through all his dominions, of chooſing the place of his reſidence, and of changing it, and of leaving his territories and coming back again, without being obliged to take paſſports, or to give any explanations of the motives of his journies. A prince cannot be too delicate in ſuch a caſe; and they cannot, if they act ſincerely, refuſe him the privileges which the law of nations gives to private perſons in time of peace.

It is propoſed likewiſe, that his Majeſty may be pleaſed to ſolicit earneſtly for an indemnity to all thoſe who have followed the late King of England, and the King's ſon, as well as for thoſe who find themſelves expoſed to troubleſome inquiries at home, for having done their duty ſince the Revolution in England. If they make the ſame demand for the Hugonots, it will be a mere evaſion; for they are deſirous of keeping them, deſigning, by a general act of naturalization, to draw to them every one who is not a Roman Catholic.

It is not believed that they will make great difficulty about the Queen's dowry for the future, but about her arrears, although they cannot deny but they are due for upwards of twenty years. If that cannot be obtained, we muſt propoſe the time of the peace of Ryſwick, when the dowry was granted, and when the prince of Orange broke his word; although he received from his parliament a fund for keeping it, he always found pretences for doing ſo. There is another term, which is common

to

to all widows, and that is the death of their huſbands, and the right ceaſes at the death of the Queen. But when the worſt comes to the worſt, we muſt accept it as they will chooſe to give it. It may be likewiſe propoſed, that in caſe they pay the Queen all the arrears, which amount to a million ſterling, her Majeſty will renounce abſolutely her dowry, the revenue of that ſum being preciſely 50,000 l. ſterling, at five per cent. By this means ſeveral embarraſſments will be avoided, her Majeſty will be aſſured of her revenue, without authorizing any one in England to receive it, and without diſputing about the form of diſcharges; for they may exact ſuch as ſhe never will grant, much leſs will ſhe ſeek redreſs in their courts of juſtice; and to anſwer the chicane, which was uſed after the peace of Ryſwick, that this money might be employed againſt them, his Majeſty may oblige himſelf to place the ſum immediately in the town-houſe of Paris." 1709. April.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College.

"HERE we talk much of a peace likely to be ſoon concluded. I ſhould be glad to know, whether you, in England, be of the ſame opinion. Upon this occaſion I muſt not omit to let you know, that I find your friend Mr. Pleſſington [the King] in ſome doubt, whether or not, in caſe of a peace, it would be beſt for him to continue his trade, in Amſterdam [Paris], where there are ſo many dealers in his way of trading, or to remove to ſome other town, where he may find more buſineſs. I am of opinion, that none could adviſe him better in this matter, than his old partners, Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] and Mr. Goûlſton [Godolphin]: ſo that, if you could conveniently meet with theſe two merchants, or with either of them, and learn their opinion in this matter, you will certainly very much oblige your friend Pleſſington [the King.] March 21.

The marquis de Torcy came to the Hague in the beginning of May: but he could make no progreſs in a negociation with the States, until the duke of Marlborough returned from England. Conferences were then begun; and in proportion as the French miniſter made conceſſions, in the name of his ſovereign, the deputies of the States and prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough became exorbitant in their demands. May.

1709. May. mands. The part of De Torcy's negociation, which concerned the court of St. Germains, is contained in the following letters.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iii. 4to. N. 50.

"*Copy of a Letter from the Duke de Beauvilliers to the Earl of Middleton, May 27, 1709.*"

In Nairne's hand.

Tranſlation.

"I Imagined I had the honour of ſeeing you after the council yeſterday; but not being able to join you, I delayed to write to you, until the arrival of a courier, which we expected in the courſe of the day. His departure from the Hague being delayed, as he is not yet arrived here, I muſt inform you, Sir, of the contents of Mr. de Torcy's diſpatches to the King, which were delivered to me the day before yeſterday, in order that you may give an account of them to the King, your maſter, and to the Queen. He had a long conference with lord Churchill and Mr. Townſend, about the intereſts of the King of England. After great difficulties, which they imagined to find in obtaining payment of the Queen's dowry, which they allege is contrary to the laws of England, they confined themſelves, at laſt, to ſay, that they would deſiſt from their demand of the King's changing his place of abode; or, if they were obliged to inſiſt upon his leaving France, that it would be juſt, in that caſe, his expence ſhould fall upon them, and that his Majeſty might chooſe his place of abode, remain there in all ſecurity, and change from place to place, as would ſuit his conveniency *. Having now complied with my duty, in giving you this account, I ſhall finiſh, with aſſuring you, of the profound reſpect with which I am, &c."

"*Copy*

Memoirs of the Marquis de Torcy, vol. i.

* De Torcy himſelf, in a letter to Lewis XIV, dated from the Hague, the 12th of May, gave the following account of his conference with the duke of Marlborough on this ſubject.

"He, the duke of Marlborough, added, that this ſame lord (meaning lord Townſend) had orders concerning the King of England, whom he ſtiled Prince of Wales. He expreſſed a ſtrong deſire of being in a capacity to ſerve him, as the ſon of a King, for whom, he told me afterwards, he would have ſpilt the laſt drop of his blood. That he believed it was his intereſt to remove out of France; and when I aſked him, to what country he ſhould retire, and in what manner he was to ſubſiſt, he agreed, in reſpect to the firſt article, that this prince ſhould be at liberty to fix his reſidence whereever he choſe, ſhould enjoy perfect ſecurity, and be his own maſter, to go whereever he judged proper.

The

"*Copy of Lord Middleton's Anſwer to the Duke de Beauvilliers, May* 27, 1709." 1709. May. Nairne's Papers D. N. vol. iii. 4to.

In Nairne's hand.

Tranſlation.

"I Have ſhown to the King, my maſter, and to the Queen, the letter which you did me the honour to write to me, to-day; upon which their Majeſties have commanded me, to beg of you to remark three things:

1ſt, With regard to their ſaying, that they cannot pay the Queen's dowry, as being contrary to the laws of England. In that they are not ſincere; for, although they have converted the fund to other purpoſes, there never was any legal deciſion againſt her Majeſty or her pretenſions; and the parliament, after the peace of Ryſwick, acknowledged them ſo fully, that they granted, without any difficulty, the whole ſum, which the Prince of Orange received, and detained upon an ill-founded chicane.

2dly, Their offer to charge themſelves with the maintenance of the King, my maſter, in caſe he leaves France, is to be ſuſpected; and indeed one may eaſily perceive, that the malicious deſign of it, is to make the world believe, that he renounced his pretenſions, on account of this penſion, and at the ſame time, to have it in their power to reduce him to the laſt extremity, which his Majeſty will rather endure, than expoſe himſelf to be ſuſpected of ſuch meanneſs. I had ſet forth in a memorial all I now ſay, and explained it more fully in a letter I ſent to M. de Torcy, the evening before he ſet out.

3dly, The King of England is highly pleaſed, that a general ſecurity is agreed to, in caſe they inſiſt on his changing his place of abode. But it ought to be conſidered, whether the word of theſe two Engliſh gentlemen

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The article of his ſubſiſtance met with greater obſtacles. I propoſed to him the expedient of the Queen's dowry. He ſaid, that the laws of England rendered the payment of that ſum extremely difficult: however, he begged of me to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly on this article, when my lord Townſend and he came to ſpeak to me about it, in the conferences. This lord, he ſaid, is a kind of an inſpector over me; though he is a very honeſt man who has been choſen through my means, and of the Whig party, before him I muſt ſpeak like an obſtinate Engliſhman; but I wiſh, with all my heart, I was able to ſerve the Prince of Wales, and that your ſolicitations afforded me an opportunity of doing it."

may

1709. May. may be depended on: for, it would be better to have a written deed, ſigned by all the confederates, to be inſerted by the mediator, among the acts of the treaty.

I am very unhappy, Sir, to have miſſed the honour of ſeeing you, every time I have been at Verſailles; and I entreat you to believe me to be, Sir, &c."

June. The French Miniſters pretended to ſubmit to the preliminaries, which were to ſerve as a foundation for a general peace; and before it was publickly known that their maſter would refuſe his ratification of them, the court of St. Germains concerted the meaſures which they were to follow, during the negociation, and propoſed to ſend an agent to appear for them, in the congreſs at the Hague.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No 50. "*A minute of what was propoſed at St. Germains, in caſe the congreſs at the Hague was continued. June*, 1709."

"THE firſt ſtep to be made, is to endeavour to perſuade the King of France, to uſe his intereſt, by his miniſters, at the treaty, to have leave and ſecurity for a perſon to appear there from the King, only to give in a memorial in the King's name to the mediator, repreſenting his juſt pretenſion, and proteſting againſt any thing that may be agreed upon in the general peace, contrary to the right and title he has to his crown; which, as it will not hinder the plenipotentiaries to conclude the peace, as they ſhall agree upon it together, ſo it is hoped they have no intereſt to refuſe to an injured prince, the ſatisfaction, at leaſt, of giving this public teſtimony to the world, of his not renouncing his right, or acquieſcing to any thing that may be done in this treaty to his prejudice, which is all the benefit required. To facilitate his demand, it may be repreſented, that the King does not require the perſon he ſends ſhould be owned as a plenipotentiary in form from the King of England; but only that he ſhould have ſecurity to go and return, and not be refuſed acceſs to the mediator, to deliver his meſſage and proteſtation from the King and in the King's name, leaving to the mediator the liberty, in his anſwer, to give or refuſe the title to the King, as he ſhall think fit, only that he be obliged to enter the fact in his protocole, that ſuch a meſſage, memorial, or proteſtation was delivered to him,

ſuch a day, by ſuch a one, in the name of the Pretender to the crown of England, if he will not directly give the King his title. 1709. June.

If this cannot be obtained, at leaſt it may be propoſed, that the proteſtations be given by one of the French plenipotentiaries, and entered, as given by him in the name of the King, becauſe he could not have leave and ſecurity for a miniſter of his own to go and deliver it.

If even that be refuſed, there is no other method left, but to ſend the proteſtation in blank covers, by the poſt, to all the plenipotentiaries, and publiſhing it in gazettes and otherwiſe, and mentioning, at the ſame time, that the King aſked a paſſport, for a perſon to go in his name to proteſt in the formal manner, and was refuſed.

As for any thing that may be treated about the Queen's jointure, or other things relating to the ſecurity of the King's perſon, in caſe of his memorial from France, if Monſieur de Torcy pleaſes, he can always obtain a paſs for a private agent of the King's, to attend Mr. Rouillé, and be at hand to repreſent the King's intereſt to him, and anſwer the objections the Engliſh may make to him, and furniſh him with memorials and arguments, according as ſhall be concerted with the court of France; and this perſon being an Engliſhman, and a perſon of known truſt, prudence, and integrity, may be of uſe as an interpreter with the French miniſter, and may alſo, being under the ſecurity of public faith, be able to inſinuate and diſperſe fit memorials, to move and perſuade the Engliſh or others, that it is neither theirs nor the public intereſt of Europe, to exclude the King from his right, and prefer Hannover."

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.

Lord Caryll's letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch college. June 13.

"THE account which captain Gourdon's relation has brought of what paſſed, in a conference between him and Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough], about paying the debt ſo long due from that merchant, ſhews, at leaſt, the captain's zeal and concern, that juſtice may be done to our friend Mr. Mathew [the King]; and, though nothing was concluded upon, at that meeting, as to the ſpeedy payment of that debt, yet there is, at leaſt, an entrance made towards it, and I know the captain will let ſlip no opportunity of bringing that matter to a fair concluſion."

1709. June. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 30.

"*A Memorial, ſhewing the advantage of ſending a perſon, in whom confidence may be placed, to the Hague, to take care of the intereſts of his Britannic Majeſty.*"

In Nairne's hand.

Tranſlation.

June 4, 1709.

"THE King of England believes that it would be neceſſary for his ſervice, and uſeful to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to ſend to the Hague, in the preſent conjuncture, one of his ſubjects who is a man of abilities and fidelity, who is well inſtructed in his affairs, and capable of carrying on a negociation, who would have a communication with the French plenipotentiaries, and act in concert with them in all things, for the common intereſt, and in conformity to the inſtructions with which he ſhall be intruſted, without giving him any character.

This man, having no public character, would not be ſubjected to ceremonies, and might inſinuate himſelf and have acceſs every where as a private man, without being ſuſpected to be of any party; and underſtanding the language, laws, cuſtoms, and manners of the Engliſh, he might, by frequenting them, diſcover their ſecret ſentiments, and inform the French plenipotentiaries of many things very uſeful, in the courſe of the negociation, it being very much the humour of the greateſt part of the Engliſh, who may be very reſerved with the French, to open themſelves to, and place their confidence willingly in, a countryman, who will appear to enter into their ſentiments, and have the addreſs, by diſcovering their different tempers, to inſinuate himſelf into their favour prudently and reaſonably.

This ſecret agent, by going early to the Hague, before the opening of the congreſs, will have time to renew the old acquaintances he formerly had in that country, and to form new ones, to contract intimacies, and manage intrigues and ſecret cabals, with the public miniſters and other men of credit of all the different nations, who may meet there in the preſent conjuncture, and of whom he may contribute to gain over ſome to the intereſt of France, and to abate the violent oppoſition of others, by undeceiving them in many wrong impreſſions with which they are poſſeſſed. He will be able to inform himſelf, thoroughly and at leiſure, of the different intereſts of the plenipotentiaries, and of their cabals and

diviſions among themſelves, that he may take the advantage of them; and, being of the ſame nation, he will have a more particular facility in diſcovering the inclinations, deſigns, and ſchemes of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, of whatever ſect of religion they are, whoſe creatures they are, and to what party in England they are attached; and, thus, knowing their ſtrength and their weakneſs, he will be able to give, from time to time, excellent memorials concerning theſe things to the French plenipotentiaries. 1709. June.

And when the concerns of the King of England are in agitation, he will be at hand to give informations to the ſaid plenipotentiaries, concerning the intentions and real intereſts of his Britannic Majeſty; and, when the Engliſh object the difficulties and chicanery of their laws, as they have done already, without any foundation, in the affair of the Queen's dowry, he will be able to tell the French plenipotentiaries, with certainty, what is true or falſe in the allegations of the Engliſh, concerning their laws, or the facts, which ſhall be conteſted, and to give them ample explanations, on the ſpot by memorials, which will refute the chicanery of the Engliſh, and hinder them from impoſing ambiguous expreſſions and advancing as truths facts which are notoriouſly falſe.

The advantage of ſending this man early to the Hague is evident; for, in order to negociate with ſucceſs, he muſt be on the ſpot before they begin to treat in form, in order to acquaint himſelf thoroughly with the different characters of thoſe with whom he may have to do, to ſtudy their humours, their public and private intereſts, and to tamper with thoſe who have credit with the principal miniſters, endeavouring, in that manner, to diſcover their ſentiments, and to find means of gaining them, or at leaſt of appeaſing them, on ſeveral articles, from motives of perſonal intereſt, joined to all the other reaſons of juſtice and equity which can be ſuggeſted to them. Now, all this cannot be done, but ſlowly and by degrees. Their minds muſt be previouſly diſpoſed, and their prejudices removed, and a number of emiſſaries muſt be employed, in order to be well inſtructed in every thing that happens, and to be always ready to ſeize every favourable opportunity. He muſt begin in time, and ſpare nothing to gain over favourites, in order that he may have free acceſs to their ſuperiors, and find means of inſinuating himſelf into their confidence, and of diſpoſing them inſenſibly for a favourable

1709. August. vourable treaty; and, if all theſe intrigues and attentions are not begun, and even carried ſome length before the congreſs opens, it will be very difficult to begin them, with any hopes of ſucceſs, during its continuance: for then all the plenipotentiaries will be ſo occupied, with receiving and ſending of diſpatches, with attendance on all the public and private conferences, with receiving and returning viſits, and diſcharging the ceremonial and eſſential duties of their commiſſion, that they will have ſo little ſpare time as will render acceſs to them very difficult; and as the part they are to act will be determined by that time, and all or moſt of the eſſential articles agreed upon, it will be too late then to hope to carry on a negociation of any importance for the ſervice of France, or for that of his Britannic Majeſty."

When the congreſs broke off at the Hague, the court of St. Germains began to think again of an invaſion; and lord Lovat found means of ſending intelligence of their deſigns to Scotland.

Lord Lovat to the Earl of Leven.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 51.

My moſt dear Lord, Auguſt 20th, N. S. 1709.

"THOUGH you neglect me very much, and that you never ſend me any anſwer to my letters, yet the love I have for your perſon and intereſt makes me embrace all the occaſions I can find to ſerve you. As I told you laſt year to take care of your affairs in Scotland, ſo I tell you now not to be leſs diligent. I am informed by ſeveral perſons, that there is a deſign of going to ſee you towards the latter end of the campaigne; but I believe that depends upon the peace. If it is done, you will ſee nobody; but if the war continues, you will moſt ſurely have the viſit that you miſſed laſt year. If that happens, be fully perſuaded, that you will ſee me ſoon after, to live and die with you, at the head of ſome brave fellows, that will follow me in ſpight of all mankind. I wrote, two months ago, to your lordſhip by a French officer of the Engliſh guards. This letter is only to acquaint you of the deſign in hand. If I have entire certainty of the time it ſhould be executed, I will ſend off the young lad to acquaint you, who was ſeven years ago in your houſe, with a belted plaid, with whom you left my dear lord Balgony to keep company to, till you came home. I think my letter will be plain enough to your lordſhip; and I beg you may believe me your faithful ſervant,

ſervant, and that I will be ſtill ready to venture, to the laſt drop of my blood, for you." 1709. Auguſt.

In France,
20th Auguſt, 1709, N. S.

Lovat's letter was intercepted, and returned to St. Germains *. The earl of Middleton ſent a tranſlation of it to the Marquis de Torcy, in the following letter, dated the 8th March 1711. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 51.

Tranſlation.

"IT is long ſince my ſentiments of the pretended lord Lovat were known to you. An original letter, written by him to lord Leven, is come back to us from England. We have compared the hand-writing with that which we have from him; there is an exact reſemblance, and the ſubject and ſtyle do not belie their author. I ſend you a literal tranſlation of it. Balgony is my lord Leven's ſon; the young man in the Highland dreſs, is Lovat's brother, who I believe was in France. Here, Sir, is a ſpy of conſequence unmaſked, and we know very well the means of preventing this correſpondence for the future."

Nairne, who was under-ſecretary of ſtate at St. Germains, from the Revolution until the ſeals were given to Sir Thomas Higgons upon the reſignation of the earl of Middleton in December 1713, kept regular entries of the letters written from the office. There is a thin quarto volume, entitled, "Entries of ſome letters writ to England to Abram and Berry, &c.; from 1709 to 1713 incluſive." D. N. vol. ii. fol. vol. i. & viii. 4to. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to.

Theſe letters are in Nairne's hand. He generally gives the earl of Middleton's letters entire; but he, ſometimes, recites only the contents of his own. They are moſtly allegorical; but ſome of them are explained, and ſerve as a key to the meaning of others.

Berry carried on the duke of Marlborough's correſpondence with the court of St. Germains. His name, which appears to be a real one, hath already occurred, and will frequently occur again in this volume. The

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* This is the letter mentioned in Nairne's Entry-book of letters: "Nairne to Abram, 8th March, 1711. To return to him Lovat's letter, and anſwer his of the 19th of February." Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 18.

1709. November. real name of Abram, as appears by a letter from Middleton to the Abbé de Polignac, was Menzies.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 2.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

November 28th, 1709.

There are cant names in this letter, which are no where explained in the courſe of the correſpondence; but it appears from it, that Middleton had an apprehenſion "of Abram's falling under Edgebury's [the Emperor's] diſpleaſure, which may prevent the viſit he deſigned to make to him, which was thought neceſſary, by their beſt friends, though never ſo ſhort. But it is by no means adviſeable to expoſe himſelf to an affront, but to be ruled by the advice of his friends in that family;" and that if there was to be a congreſs for Mr. Phipps [a peace], Abram was to be employed to take care of the King's intereſt.

Ibid. page 4. It is ſeen plainly, by another letter from that lord to Abram, of 8th December, 1709, that Eliot [Sir William Ellis] was not truſted, at this time. Lamb † and others are deſired to write him nothing but public news, and to conceal this caution from himſelf. This is repeated in Page 7. another letter the firſt of May, 1710.

Page 4. December 26th, 1709.—Nairne wrote to Abram "to tell him, that 1200 livres *per annum* were ſettled upon him, to which he muſt conform his expence; but if the factory ſucceeded the King would augment his allowance."

† The famous Mr. Leſley.

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1709.

1709. THE Hannover correſpondence of the preſent year is connected with the following facts. The lord Somers, who had been raiſed to the office of preſident of the council, moved for an addreſs to the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to ſtipulate in the projected treaty, that the French King ſhould own the title of Queen Anne, and remove the Pretender out of his dominions. The miniſter, the earl of Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough, who divided with his lordſhip the power of government, were not averſe from this motion. They ſeem to have ſecretly wiſhed his removal, as the ſureſt means of giving him the eventual ſucceſſion of the throne, after his ſiſter's death; as they knew the unſurmountable averſion the people had to the receiving a ſovereign from France.—The Electoral Princeſs, afterwards Queen of Great Britain, was delivered of a princeſs who was baptized, by the name of Anne, in compliment to Queen Anne. The King of Sweden was ſtopt, in the career of his victories, by the total defeat of his army, in the fatal battle of Pultowa, which was fought on the eighth of July. Tournay ſurrendered to the Allies on the thirtieth of the ſame month. The bloody battle of Blaregnies or Malplaquet was fought, on the eleventh of September; and Mons ſurrendered, in the end of October. Theſe are the tranſactions to which the letters to and from the houſe of Hannover principally relate.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 234.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Ghent, 3d January, 1709.

"THREE days ago, I did myſelf the honour of communicating to your Electoral Highneſs the capitulation of the town of Ghent.

The

1709. January. The garriſon went out of it yeſterday; and, on my arrival here, laſt night, I had the pleaſure to learn, that the enemy had left Bruges, the magiſtrates having come to make their ſubmiſſion. I cannot forbear to congratulate, very humbly, your Electoral Highneſs upon this laſt event, which finiſhes our campaign to our wiſhes, and makes ample amends for its length. The troops have orders to ſeparate, and your Electoral Highneſs may be aſſured, that I have all poſſible regard and attention to ſatisfy and preſerve thoſe of your Highneſs. I have the honour to be, with the moſt perfect reſpect and attachment, Sir, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 95.

Sir Rowland Gwyne to the Elector.

SIR, Hamburgh, January 9th, 1709.

"I Beg leave to return my moſt humble thanks for your Electoral Highneſs's moſt gracious letter.

It is the greateſt human ſatisfaction that I can have in this world, to find that your Electoral Highneſs does believe my wiſhes for your happineſs moſt ſincere. My whole life ſhall convince your Electoral Highneſs of my truth and fidelity; for I will ever maintain the good opinion your Electoral Highneſs is graciouſly pleaſed to have for me. It is, now, more than three years ſince the miniſters of England took an occaſion to complain in parliament of a letter publiſhed under my name.

If my zeal for ſupporting the intereſt of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion did happen to carry me too far, yet I hope that your Electoral Highneſs will pardon it; it being well meant, and I may be ſuppoſed to know the conſtitution of our government.

But ſince that time, there hath not been the leaſt thing laid to my charge, upon that account, or any other that I know of. And, if I had been guilty of high-treaſon, I muſt have been proſecuted within ſix months, after the fault committed.

I am not guilty of any crime againſt her Majeſty, or the laws of England; and I hope, that my fidelity to your Electoral Highneſs will never be looked upon as ſuch.

If the miniſters of England were then offended with me, without reaſon, I cannot help it. They have their time, and their power and influence will laſt no longer than the Prince's pleaſure upon the throne.

This

This is my caſe, and I moſt humbly ſubmit it to your Electoral Highneſs; for next to God's, ſubjects ought to depend upon their ſovereign's will and pleaſure. 1709. January.

Your Electoral Highneſs ſees, my lord Somers being made preſident of the Queen's council, though impeached by parliament, that he can be and is employed, in a place of the greateſt truſt. I could give many inſtances of the ſame nature.

I am content to live in ſolitude and retirement as long as it ſhall pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs that it ſhould be ſo. But I wiſh to live under the protection and warmth of your favour and preſence.

I moſt humbly beg pardon for preſuming to trouble your Electoral Highneſs with ſo long a letter; and am with all duty and fidelity, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to his letter of December 31, 1708.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 233.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, January 11th, 1709.

"I AM very much obliged to you, for the trouble you was at in informing me yourſelf of the capitulation of Ghent. It is a place ſo important, that the length of a campaign, the great ſucceſſes of which are ſo glorioufly crowned by this, ſhould not be complained of. I can aſſure you, that I take all poſſible intereſt in it, as I ſhall always do in whatever may heighten your glory; being very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of the 3d of January.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. 235.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, January 21ſt, 1709.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the trouble which you took in informing me of the evacuation of Bruges. It was the only event which remained to be deſired. It ought to be a conſolation for the length of a campaign, which has been ſo ſucceſsful. I take all poſſible intereſt in the glory which you have thereby acquired. I am very ſenſible of the attentions, which you are ſo good as to give to the preſervation of my troops. I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

1709. March. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 98.

Lord Halifax to the Elector.

He ſends him the parliament's addreſs to the Queen.

Tranſlation.

SIR, March 4th, 1709.

"YOUR Electoral Highneſs having viſibly ſhewn, as always appeared to me, that you did not deſire to enter, at preſent, into the particulars of the affairs of Great Britain, I imagined that I conformed myſelf to your inclinations, by depriving myſelf of the honour of informing your Electoral Highneſs of them, as often as I ſhould have wiſhed. But ſince, in the houſe of peers, I had the honour of making a motion, which may become a ſolid foundation for ſecuring, more powerfully, the proteſtant ſucceſſion, in the family of your Electoral Highneſs, I could not deprive myſelf of the ſatisfaction of being among the firſt to ſend you the addreſs, which has been the reſult of this motion, and which has paſſed, unanimouſly, in the two houſes of parliament.

Your Electoral Highneſs may remember, that I employed the time which I paſſed in Holland, and all my attentions to conclude there, with the States, a treaty which might ſecure our ſucceſſion and their barrier. But they rendered the concluſion of it impracticable for me, by the demand which they made then of being put in poſſeſſion of Oſtend. Since my return, there was little or nothing done in that affair. I hope that the addreſs of to-day will ſet on foot again that negociation, and produce a league, for that effect, between moſt of the high allies. The two houſes concurred ſo unanimouſly in this addreſs; the Queen received it with ſo much ſatisfaction, and it has the public approbation to ſuch a degree; that I do not ſee that the nation can hear a peace mentioned, until France is humbled, and obliged to admit ſuch terms, that the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line will remain thereby certain and permanent. And, for my part, I have nothing ſo much at heart, as to ſecure to my country ſuch a benefit, which I conſider as a bleſſing of heaven; and to give, on all occaſions, certain proofs of the reſpectful attachment with which I am, Sir, &c."

S.

The

The Elector to Lord Halifax.

An answer to his letter of the 4th of March.

1709. April. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 100.

Translation.

My Lord, April 2, 1709.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I have read it with a great deal of satisfaction as well as the address, presented to the Queen by the two houses, and the favourable answer which her Majesty made to it. After all that you have done, my lord, for establishing and confirming the protestant succession, it must be acknowledged, that you not only know to take the advantage of the opportunities which present themselves for forwarding this great work, but likewise, that you are ingenious in producing them. I conceive all the importance of this last resolution of the parliament; and I conceive equally the share which you have had in it. There is reason to expect a similar success from all that is proposed by a minister who joins to a superior genius upright and sincere intentions. I approve, with all the nation, of an address, which they consider as your work; entreating you to be persuaded, that I am very sensible of the attachment, which you discover more and more, for the interests of my family; and that I am, very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

Original. Hannover papers, vol. marked Miscell. d'Etat. 2. No. 191.

SIR, April 26th, 1709.

"I Am very glad that I can congratulate you upon a new mark of favour his E. H. has paid to your great merit, at the same time that I return you a thousand thanks for the honour of your letter, and the good opinion you express of me. I should be very false to my principles, and very unworthy of the favours and honour I received at Hannover, if I was not inviolably attached to the interest of that family, to whose service my whole life shall be devoted. Lord Townsend is going over to settle the guarranty of the succession, and the barrier upon concluding the war; we shall procure as great security for it as human prudence can provide. I shall be highly obliged to you to recommend my services to his E. H. and to let me hear sometimes from you.

I am, &c."

1709. May. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 104.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

He recommends the Marquis de la Forreſt to her Majeſty.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Hannover, May 30, 1709.

"I Take the liberty of repreſenting to your Majeſty that the late marquis de la Forreſt, who had the honour of ſerving the late King in quality of lieutenant general, obtained by his interceſſion with the King of France, after the peace of Ryſwick, the permiſſion of entering again into poſſeſſion of all his eſtates in France; and even that of diſpoſing of them, which was granted to him by an arreſt of the council of ſtate, bearing date the tenth of April, 1699. In this there was the leſs difficulty, that the ſaid marquis de la Forreſt had left the kingdom with the late count de Roy, by an expreſs permiſſion from the King of France, bearing date the tenth of May, 1683. Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to ſee this by the copies incloſed.

In conſequence of this arreſt, the ſaid marquis de la Forreſt enjoyed his eſtates in France, from the peace of Ryſwick to his death. But his eſtates having been ſeized anew, on the commencement of the preſent war, and given to his neareſt relations in France, it appears to me, that, after the concluſion of the future peace, his only ſon has reaſon to demand the reſtitution of it; and as he is one of the gentlemen of my bedchamber, I could not refuſe him to write in his favour to your Majeſty; and to entreat you to be ſo good as to order your plenipotentiaries at the treaty of peace to demand for him, from thoſe of the King of France, the ſame favour which was granted to his deceaſed father; hoping that the recommendation of your Majeſty will produce, on this occaſion, the ſame effect with that of the King your predeceſſor, and be to me a freſh proof of the valuable friendſhip with which you honour me; which engages me to be, with great reſpect, Madam, &c."

King

King Staniſlaus to the Elector.

After the battle of Pultowa.

Tranſlation.

1709. Auguſt. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 108.

SIR, Camp at Opatneéce, Auguſt 5, 1709.

"I Do not find a greater relief in my misfortune than by communicating it to your E. H. being certain that you will enter into my juſt grief, on account of the friendſhip which I know was well eſtabliſhed between your E. H. and his Majeſty the King of Sweden. That great prince, by his too great courage, has lately drawn on himſelf that misfortune which will be already known to your E. H. and which will be very fatal to the intereſt of his crown and of his allies, if I was not perſuaded that in his abſence, your E. H. will redouble your friendſhip for him, and your attention to his intereſt. God has preſerved his ſacred perſon to render him uſeful to his friends, and grateful to thoſe who will ſhew themſelves, at preſent, in the ſtate in which our affairs are. As for myſelf, I ſhall be very happy to ſee them redreſſed, by your E. H. and to be under obligations to him, of whom I am, with all poſſible eſteem and friendſhip, the affectionate couſin,

STANISLAUS."

The Elector to King Staniſlaus.

An anſwer to Staniſlaus's letter of the 5th Auguſt.

Tranſlation.

October. Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 109.

SIR, October, 1709.

"I Received the letter of the 5th of Auguſt, with which your Majeſty honoured me. You are in the right to believe, that having always done juſtice to the great qualities of his Majeſty the King of Sweden, I was touched with the misfortune which happened to him. It is of ſuch a nature, that it may be ſaid, the divine providence which choſe to put that prince to ſuch a melancholy trial, can alone apply the remedy to it. I wiſh that the ſituation of the affairs of Europe may take ſuch a turn as may procure him ſome relief, as well as to your Majeſty; aſſuring you, that whatever happens, I ſhall always be with reſpect, &c."

The

1709. November. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 110.

The Electoral Prince to Queen Anne.

On the birth of the Princeſs Anne.

MADAM, November, 1709.

"AS, by the bleſſing of God, the Electoral Princeſs, my wife, is happily delivered of a daughter the ſecond inſtant, I do myſelf the honour to inform your Majeſty of this, and to entreat you to be pleaſed to be god-mother to the child, and to permit a name to be given to her which your Majeſty has rendered ſo illuſtrious. I ſhall receive, with all poſſible acknowledgments, this new favour, added to ſo many others, with which your Majeſty has loaded me. I hope that you will do me the juſtice to be perſuaded that no one makes ſincerer vows than I do, for the preſervation and for the glory of your reign.

I entreat your Majeſty to be ſo good as to give credit to what the baron de Schutz, who will have the honour to deliver this letter to your Majeſty, will tell you from me on this occaſion; and to be perſuaded that I am, with profound reſpect, Madam, &c."

Copy. Ibid. No. 236.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, November, 1709.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken of informing me of the capitulation of Mons. Such an important conqueſt, made in ſo ſhort a time, and with ſo little loſs, is a glorious period to ſuch a brilliant campaign, and a valuable fruit of your victory. It is very juſt, after ſuch fatigue, to ſend the troops into quarters, where attention may be early given to recruit them. I ſhall, on my part, give all my attention to this. I entreat you to be perſuaded that I ſhare, as much as poſſible, in this addition to your glory; and that I ſhall always be very ſincerely, &c."

STUART PAPERS.

1710.

THOUGH the operations of the Confederates were not ſo deciſive as they expected in the preceding campaign, the diſtreſſes of France, and conſequently her earneſt deſire for peace, continued. Pettekum, the reſident of Holſtein at the Hague, a buſy man who hoped to derive advantages to himſelf, from appearing eager to furniſh Lewis XIV. with the means of obtaining that reſtoration of the public tranquillity, ſo much wanted by his kingdom, found means to obtain leave, in the end of the year, to make a journey to Paris, to forward that important buſineſs. Though the propoſals which he brought back to Holland were not reliſhed by the Dutch, who were entruſted with the negociation by the reſt of the allies, the French King was permitted, at length, to ſend plenipotentiaries to treat about a peace. Theie were the Mareſchal d'Huxelles, and the Abbé de Polignac. The States appointed Buys and Vander-Duſſen, their deputies to treat with the commiſſioners of the French King; and the conferences were opened at Gertruydenberg, on the nineteenth of March, in the preſent year. The Abbé de Polignac, whoſe intrigues had almoſt placed the late King James on the throne of Poland, was inviolably attached to the family of the Stuarts. The Earl of Middleton, therefore, as ſoon as he underſtood that the Abbé was to be one of the plenipotentiaries, began to recommend to him the intereſts of his maſter. 1710.

The Abbé de Polignac to the Earl of Middleton.

He profeſſes attachment to the Pretender and his mother.—He is ſorry for the preſent untoward circumſtances.

January. Original. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 23.

Tranſlation.

"I Am ſorry, my Lord, that I am not to be in a place where I could pay my reſpects to your lordſhip; for I would not be behind in that

1710. January. that care, nor in the ſentiments which I have always ſhared with you, for the ſervice of their Britannic Majeſties. You will imagine, that I do not think of ſetting out without taking leave of them and of you. I would have been, before now, at St. Germains, if I had not preſſing and indiſpenſable buſineſs here. I long mightily to diſcourſe with you, about the paſt and the preſent time. The difficulties which you have had, were not, in my opinion, bad prognoſtics. The change comes from another quarter, and from a very common cauſe. I regret this more than you do; and God grant that we may not repent of it too late. We ſhall ſpeak more about it *tête à tête*; and, in the mean time, believe always, I entreat you, that there is none who is with more reſpect and attachment, than I am, your lordſhip's, &c."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram *.

January 30, 1710.

"I Received yours, Sir, of the twenty-third inſtant, by which you inform me of the reaſon of your delaying your return to your own houſe and family [to St. Germains], who long to ſee you; which encourages me to write to you, though I am ſorry, at the ſame time, that you have loſt ſo fair an opportunity of purſuing your deſign. I am glad you have ſent your friends away; but are ſtill in apprehenſion of their being ſeized by the ſearchers of the cuſtom-houſe: for the product of our colonies, that are imported from foreign parts, are confiſcated †.

Our landlord [the King of France] here knows nothing of your buſineſs. He allows us only to follow the law of nature, to do what we can for ourſelves, ſince he can do nothing; and this is what you may aſſure your friends."

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. March 7.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.

"WHAT you ſeem to hint of Mr. Goulſton's [Godolphin's] giving over his trade [to reſign] will ſurpriſe moſt people; he underſtanding it ſo well, and no leſs thriving in it. Should he lay down, I

* Abram, it ought to be remembered, was one. Menzies, a Scotchman. He was a man of ſome addreſs, as appears throughout the correſpondence of the family of Stuart.

† Their letters were probably intercepted.

am of your opinion, that no merchant is likelier to take it up than Mr. Trevers*. It is probable that if Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] gives it over, his former partner, Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough], will do ſo too; and yet, in one of your letters, (if I miſtake you not) you ſeem to ſay, that there is at preſent no good underſtanding between theſe two merchants, the certainty whereof I ſhall be glad to know in your next. I hear it from many hands, that there has been of late ſome wrangle between Mr. Young [princeſs Anne] and Armſworth [Marlborough], which I believe is patched up again. What advantage or diſadvantage our friend Mr. Pleſſington [the King], who has had dealings with theſe merchants, will have by all this, is hard to determine. I can more frankly give my opinion concerning that young merchant Mr. Frier, mentioned by you, that he wants parts to carry on ſuch a trade as was deſigned for him; for (if your information be true) in the firſt place, he never had any credit with Manly [the King], who, though he was kind to him, always looked upon him to be too ſhallow to be truſted in any buſineſs of weight." 1710. March.

"As to our partners, if we believe Mr. Brag [the parliament], the credit of Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] upon Change is greater than ever it was, and much greater, I fear, than his honeſty; for if he can ſhift off his old debts, nothing but the force of law and abſolute neceſſity will make him ſatisfy them. The proceedings of his copartner are more cloſe and myſterious; and I can hardly bring myſelf to believe that there has been any real breach between them [Godolphin and Marlborough]; it being ſo contrary to each of their intereſts, which thoſe merchants are thought to underſtand better than any upon Change." Without a date.

It is neceſſary to trace Abram's motions, in order to confirm the account he gives of his intrigues. Nairne ſets down, in his book of entries, on the twentieth of March: "I writ to Abram, and owned the receipt of his laſt letter from Holland, with the memorial of the 22d of February, N. S. and his firſt from London of the 21ſt, O. S. with his note from Colcheſter of the 16th." Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 6.

* He probably means Harley.

1710. March. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 6.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

March 27th, 1710.

"I Heard but once from you, ſince you came to your journey's end. I am glad that you met with your wallet, but that Freeman was peeviſh I am ſorry, but not ſurpriſed. The letters from Mr. Holloway have miſcarried, which ſhould have brought accounts from your parts of the 11th, N. S. If you writ at that time, let us have it again, with what has occurred ſince: for your correſpondents expect to hear frequently from you, in ſuch a critical conjuncture. Tell Morley, that this is the time to beſtir himſelf, and to conſult the college of phyſicians about John Kennaird's [the King's] health: no cure no money. They may have what they pleaſe on that condition; but, otherwiſe, they may drive him to the neceſſity of putting himſelf into the hands of quacks, which would be much againſt his inclination. If Mr. Atterbury [Queen Anne] could be perſuaded to diſmiſs Proby [the parliament], it would be a great point.

While the plenipotentiaries of France were on their way to Gertruydenberg, the earl of Middleton wrote a letter to Mr. Regner Leers, bookſeller at Rotterdam, and ſent him a memorial, to be communicated privately to ſome of the members of the States-General. The letter is dated, at St. Germains, the 12th of March, 1710 *.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 26, 27.

AFTER ſtrong profeſſions of perſonal affection and eſteem, Middleton deſires him to make what uſe of the memorial his own diſcretion ſhould dictate to him; but enjoins him ſecrecy, as he had ſent it without the knowledge of the court of France. He thinks that the excluding the King of England, and ſo many of his neareſt heirs, from ſucceeding to the crown, will, for a long time, continue diſſenſions and wars in Europe, which his reſtoration alone can prevent; and to which he thinks the neighbouring ſtates, and particularly the Dutch, are, in common prudence, bound to contribute. He aſks a paſſport for a truſty perſon, whom his maſter might ſend privately to them, to aſſure them of his attachment, and to cultivate a good underſtanding with them.

Nairne's papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 5.

* "12th March, I," Nairne, "ſent away the French letter and memorial, directed, A Monſieur Regner Leers, libraire ſur le Nieuhaven a Rotterdam."

In the memorial, the Pretender ſets forth, that, as he will continue his efforts for his own reſtoration and the deliverance of his people, a ſolid peace can never be eſtabliſhed, while ſo many millions of his ſubjects were well affected to him. A ſtrict union with England was neceſſary for the United Provinces. His Majeſty was ſincerely diſpoſed to cultivate a good underſtanding with the States; and, from their great wiſdom and penetration, he hoped to meet with correſponding ſentiments in them, and that they would find acts of friendſhip towards a prince who ſuffers unjuſtly, and never was their enemy, conſiſtent with their own intereſt, and with the principles of honour and juſtice. England is the only rival of Holland in commerce, which will often occaſion animoſities, that will often terminate in open wars. It is the intereſt of the States to ſecure the friendſhip of the ſovereign of that country. A Catholic King will be leſs in a condition to carry on a war againſt them, than a Proteſtant; and if he is but King of England, he can only carry on a war by ſea; whereas a Proteſtant prince, who has conſiderable territories on the continent, and in their neighbourhood, can attack them by land, as well as by ſea. 1710. March.

He then recommends two points to their conſideration. He aſks their good offices at the enſuing treaty of peace, in obtaining a ſecurity for the payment of the dowry of the Queen his mother; and alſo a ſecurity for his own perſon, and for thoſe who will follow him when he leaves France. He gives the ſame reaſons for theſe demands which are contained in the memorials preſented to the court of France laſt year.

It appears, that Leers wrote ſeveral letters, after receiving this memorial, to the earl of Middleton. There are copies, in Nairne's hand, of all his lordſhip's anſwers.

He writes to him, on the third of April, that it was not his intention to propoſe, that the States ſhould, at this time, openly ſupport all his maſter's pretenſions. He only meant, that they ſhould obtain favourable terms from the Engliſh, concerning his mothers dowry and his own perſonal ſecurity. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 5.

In another letter to him, of the ſame date, he writes: "I am ordered, in the firſt place, to thank you for having informed me, that your friends beyond the ſea have conſented to the payment of the dowry. I hope Ibid.

1710. April. this payment will comprehend what is due for, at leaſt, nine years back, as well as what will be due for the future. But with regard to the place to which the King is to retire, I am ſurpriſed, Sir, to ſee that Rome or Avignon is propoſed; and that Cologne or Liege are thought too near. I entreat you to conſider, that his Majeſty, by removing to too great a diſtance, would appear to renounce his pretenſions. Now there is no hardſhip which he is not determined to ſuffer, rather than give room to ſuſpect him of ſuch meanneſs; and, though Avignon was ſituated near Oſtend, his Majeſty would never ſet his foot in it; becauſe his enemies would contrive to make the general hatred to the Pope fall upon him. I can aſſure you, that the duke of Marlborough explained himſelf, laſt year, to Monſieur de Torcy, in ſuch a way, as to make him conclude, that the King would be under no reſtraint, in chooſing the place of his abode, nor obliged to confine himſelf to any particular place; and even that the Engliſh, by inſiſting that he ſhould leave France, were obliged to provide for his ſubſiſtence."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 33.

"*Inſtructions to our truſty and well-beloved Colonel Nathaniel Hooke, going, by our order, to Holland. Given at St. Germains, the day of* 1710, *and in the ninth year of our reign.*"

"1. OUR will and pleaſure is, that you repair forthwith to the French plenipotentiaries in Holland, to receive and obſerve ſuch directions as they ſhall give you, in purſuance of their inſtructions from the King their maſter, in matters relating to our intereſts in the preſent negociations of peace, and to give them full and clear informations in our concerns.

2. That you ſhould endeavour, with all poſſible diſcretion and caution, to become acquainted with the miniſters of the principal confederated princes, or ſuch as may influence them, to convince them of the juſtice of our cauſe, and the intereſt their maſter may have, in not oppoſing, at leaſt, the general ſecurity which will be neceſſary for us at our retreat from France.

3. That you ſhould labour, in an eſpecial manner, with the Engliſh and Hollanders, for the Queen our Mother's eſtate, of which ſhe has been ſo violently deprived for above one and twenty years; that it may be ſecurely

curely ſettled and paid for the future; and to take care that no form of acquittances be required, by which her Majeſty may ſeem to own the preſent government of England. Nine years arrears may be aſked; but not inſiſted on. 1710. April.

4. If the Engliſh propoſe to the French, that they may pay what is neceſſary for our maintenance in foreign parts, it may be accepted, provided the article of agreement be clearly and abſolutely expreſſed, without any reſtriction or doubtful clauſe, which may imply our departing from our right, or ſuſpending our claim; and that the ſecurity and acquittances may be the ſame as the Queen our mother's, nor can the ſum be leſs.

5. You are likewiſe to remind the French plenipotentiaries to demand an indemnity for thoſe who followed the King our father and us, conform to the memorial you have on that ſubject.

6. We hereby authoriſe and require you to publiſh, at the ſigning of the treaty, our proteſtation; leaving wholly to your prudence the manner and method of performing of it.

7. You are to inſinuate yourſelf amongſt perſons of all countries, eſpecially our ſubjects, and to endeavour to remove all the fears and prejudices they may have conceived of us; in order to which, beſides the arguments that occur to yourſelf, you may make uſe of the Scotch declaration, and what is contained in a paper called "Reaſons againſt the Succeſſion of Hannover;" and if any unforeſeen important matter happens on your repreſentation, you ſhall have our orders concerning it.

8. You are to give full and frequent accounts of what paſſes to us, or one of our principal ſecretaries of ſtate."

The Abbé de Polignac to the Earl of Middleton.

Nairne's Papers, D N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 23.

In his own hand.

Tranſlation.

Gertrudenberg, 9th April, 1710.

"I do myſelf the honour, to-day, to write to their Britannick Majeſties, to aſſure them of my moſt profound reſpects; and to tell them, that it has not been poſſible, as yet, to enter upon what concerns their

1710. April. their intereſts, as the marquis de Torcy will give you to underſtand much better than I can tell it you. You may believe, if any thing could have been done, I would not have failed to have informed them of it; as I ſhall never fail in any thing which ſhall be for their ſervice. I entreat you to help me to convince them of this truth. An officer, who ſays he is an Iriſhman, and who calls himſelf, if I am not miſtaken, Johnſton, is come to ſee us in this town, in order to aſk a paſſport from us, and from me perſonally a letter for you, my lord; ſaying, that he is going to France to communicate to you things of great importance. As he had no letter of recommendation, which would make us farther acquainted with his religion, morals, and intentions, than from what he ſays himſelf, and as men whom one meets with in this way, are often of very doubtful characters, we contented ourſelves with giving him a letter to the count de Saillant, who commands at Namur, telling him, that we did not know him; and as for me, I gave him the letter which he aſked to your lordſhip, leſt you ſhould be deprived of that aſſiſtance, if he ſpeaks the truth; but in caſe he lies, I am very well pleaſed to give you notice before-hand.

I preſume to entreat you to offer my reſpects to the duke of Berwick, to my lord Perth, the abbé Innes, and all your court. I am, &c.

The letters which Polignac informs Middleton he wrote to the Queen and her ſon are as follow.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 35.

The Abbé de Polignac to the Chevalier de St. George.

Tranſlation.

Gertruydenberg, 9th April, 1710.

"I Would have done myſelf the honour of writing, long before now, to your Majeſty, if the leaſt opportunity had offered of mentioning your intereſts in this caſe. But the firſt ſtep, which would pave the way for all others, has not yet been taken; and we cannot ſay when the difficulties attending it ſhall be ſurmounted, which, however, we muſt neceſſarily wait for, before we can enter upon any other ſubject. Your Majeſty may readily believe, that I ſhall never fail in attention; and that I deſire nothing with more ardour, than to render you all the ſmall ſervices in my power, as I would be extremely happy if the conjuncture

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of the times could make them eſſential. I flatter myſelf, that your Majeſty is convinced of my zeal, and of the very profound reſpect, as well as lively gratitude, with which I am, and will be all my lifetime, Sire, your Majeſty's, &c." 1710. April.

The ſame to the Queen.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 35.

Tranſlation.

Gertruydenberg, 9th April, 1710.

"THE difficulties with which we have met, in entering on this negociation, not having permitted us yet to carry it farther in this town, your Majeſty's intereſts, nor thoſe of the King your ſon, could not hitherto be mentioned. This is the reaſon why I have not ſooner taken the liberty of writing to both the one and the other; and I take it now, only in order to expreſs to your Majeſties my impatience to ſee an opportunity in which I can give you proofs of my zeal for your ſervice. In the mean time, I preſume to entreat your Majeſty to be thoroughly convinced of my wiſhes for your proſperity, as well as of the profound reſpect and perfect gratitude with which I am, Madam, your Majeſty's, &c."

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé de Polignac.

An Anſwer to the preceding.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 44.

Tranſlation.

April 15th, 1710.

"I Have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me, on the 9th inſtant, with the two letters addreſſed to their Majeſties, which I have delivered to them; and they have ordered me to aſſure you of their eſteem, and of their joy for having ſo able and ſo affectionate a friend to take care of their intereſts. We know, from the printed propoſals on both ſides, that our affair was put off to the general treaty. I ſhall, therefore, ſay nothing about it at preſent. When you ſummon Mr. Hooke to repair to you, he will be intruſted with a particular detail.

We have had no news yet of Johnſton. It is evident, that he is unknown to me, ſince he demanded ſuch a ſtrong introductory letter from you, as you wrote to Mr. de Saillant. But, if that adventurer does not explain

1710. April. explain himſelf more clearly here, he will not be ſent back for ſome time.

I am very impatient, that you ſhould leave your Lazaretto, ſince your quarantine is finiſhed. This gives an idea of the penance which was impoſed in the firſt ages of the church.

I have no news. I don't meddle in politics. We ſubmit ourſelves to Providence. I entreat you, Sir, to be perſuaded, that no one honours you more than your, &c.

I entreat you, Sir, to make my compliments, with Roman ſuperlatives, to the mareſchal de Huxelles."

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 6.

The Chevalier de St. George to the Earl of Middleton.

In his own hand.

[Some cant names occur in this letter, which could not be explained.]

June. From the Camp at Arlieu, June the 2d.

"AT laſt, thanks to the irreſolution of our generals, I have got a moment to write to you, and to acknowledge the receipt of all yours, which I have anſwered in the Queen's letters; not having time to write to any body elſe. As for news, you have it from her; ſo I have little to ſay of it. We are here, we know not why, knowing we are not well, always diſputing and never reſolving, juſt as at *

One would think our heads were turned; at leaſt, Hector † ſeems to be near it: for there is neither rhime nor reaſon in all he does, theſe three days paſt. You know, I ſuppoſe, of Coridon's conceſſion, which was a very agreeable ſurpriſe to me. I have a little couſin here, who ſeems to be a pretty young man. But I find *neips* and *raſades* is the etiquette of the family. My equipage is in great order, and Booth looks after the accounts mighty well. I find it is enough to be out of St. Germains to have one's health; for I don't remember ever to have had it better than it is now. The Queen finds it ſo too, and I hope you do

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* Probably Verſailles.

† The Chevalier de St. George, in his letter to lord Middleton, generally calls the mareſchal de Villars by this name. Hector was the mareſchal's Chriſtian name. He had a great affection for the Chevalier.

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the ſame in your hermitage. Our general has a *guinguette*, in which I go every where. He manages himſelf; but not enough. If Coridon were left alone, he would do much better. He has no equipage, and ſo is forced to ſpring upon us by turns. Hooke is arrived, with a poſt-horſe, and has got a brigade of 600 men. Mrs. Heries has a poſt in the army. But the King of Clubs doth not ſerve this year, nor Legal neither. We have ſeveral general officers you don't know; and, though we have near four-ſcore, we make a ſhift to want more. Our friend Albergotti doth wonders *. Jammon Agipin ſays the bombs have quite cured him of his ſpleen. Adieu. We are going to dinner, and to go abroad a gazing to no purpoſe. If you ſee Mr. Sheldon [de Torcy], remember me very kindly to him. I hope he is out of his mouldygrubs. For Mr. Dorington [French King], I ſuppoſe, he out-doth us in irreſolution." 1710. June.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Chaillot, 13th June, 1710.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 9.

"HE writes to him, that he could not anſwer Mr. Lamb's two letters, as they were written in a language he did not underſtand, and perſons mentioned abſolute ſtrangers to him; and that no prudent means were omitted, in relation to Honyton and Morſtein."

Honyton is Mr. Harley. It is not known certainly who is meant by Morſtein, but perhaps it may be Mrs. Maſham. Mr. Lamb, who gave the long memorial on the ſtate of affairs in Britain, inſerted among the papers of this year, will be found, in the courſe of the correſpondence, to be the famous nonjuror clergyman, Mr. Leſley."

James Ogilvie, the writer of the following letter, was one of those intereſted perſons who wiſhed to derive ſome advantage to themſelves, from betraying the ſecrets of the court of St. Germains to the Britiſh government. Ogilvie, however, was ſuch a clumſy impoſtor, that he was detected by the Pretender himſelf, as well as by his ſervants, before he could glean any intelligence worthy of reward.

* He commanded at Doway then beſieged by the Allies.

1710. June. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 18.

James Ogilvie to the Earl of Middleton.

Concerning the ſituation of affairs in Scotland, where they are impatient for news from St. Germains.

My Lord, Verſailles, 16th June, 1710.

"I Had letters from Scotland, of the 9th of May, from the North, and of the 19th from Edinburgh, wherein all your friends mark their impatience to have ſome comfortable accounts from this ſide, conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs, both in England and Scotland, that were never ſo favourable. They aſſure me, that all our friends continue firm, and more zealous than ever; and wants nothing but an opportunity to ſhew their good inclinations; and that there are ſeverals of note, that have never yet declared their intentions, that would join them, if they could hope for the leaſt encouragement, or knew any thing from this ſide of his Majeſty's deſigns or reſolutions.

I am informed the earl of Errol is very much recovered of his diſtemper, and that the earl Mariſchal, who has been in a moſt dangerous condition, is much better; ſo that they begin to have hopes of him.

All your lordſhip's friends in Angus and Perthſhire are very well, and wiſh nothing more than to hear from this ſide; being a little ſurpriſed that they are advertiſed of nothing of what may be reſolved in the preſent favourable conjuncture, from thoſe they truſt in.

I thought it my duty to give your lordſhip this account; which, if your lordſhip thinks fit, may be made known to the Queen; and, if her Majeſty has any commands for me, either as to what I am to anſwer to theſe letters or any thing elſe, I hope your lordſhip will do me the honour to acquaint me; being, with all profound reſpect, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

JAMES OGILVIE.

Chevalier

Chevalier de St. George to the Earl of Middleton.

1710. July. Original. Nairne's papers, D. N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 8.

This letter is in the Pretender's own hand.

He had ſeen Ogilvie and ſuſpected him.—He wiſhes he had Middleton along with him.—He writes about his own health, and inquires about that of his ſiſter.

Arras, July 4, 1710.

"I Have juſt ſeen Ogilvie, who ſent me word yeſterday he had more to ſay to me, than was in his paper, which you have. This more was no great matter, though much more than I believe; he pretends to have ſeen lord Athol, Braidalbin, &c. and that they ſay, that, if the King of France cannot be brought to help them, they will do my buſineſs themſelves, provided I come to them. But then he brings no other ſecurity of what he ſays, but his own word, and an ample credential from lord Drummond, whom he affirms to be ſent by the reſt. How improbable all this is, you may eaſily ſee. However, not to ſeem to ſuſpect the man, I was very civil to him, and took all he ſaid as argent comptant, for fear he ſhould think to be diſcovered, and diſappear before the Queen's anſwer comes, which I ſhall expect before I do any more in the matter. In the mean time, he ſays, lord Drummond won't ſtir from Gand, where he now is, till he receives my farther orders. This man is certainly employed by the government, to betray my friends; ſo that when he comes to you (for I ſuppoſe the Queen will think that neceſſary) one cannot have too great an eye over him, till one can, at leaſt, hear from Scotland, what ground there is for what he affirms. But I refer to the Queen, to do, in this matter, what ſhe thinks fit. She has yourſelf and a few others to conſult, and I am here alone, which is far from eaſy to me, upon many accounts. But neceſſity has no law; and that alone could have made me not carry you along with me; though, at preſent, I really begin to believe I ſhall not be long from you; for the enemies immobility looks very like a truce. I am ſure we want it, for we have no money, bread but hardly, though hitherto exactly enough, and our liſt not above half complete. I ſhall ſay nothing of my health, for you know from the Queen how that goes with me; but am now at eaſe, that I am well enough to go to the army, if there be appearance of action. My ſiſter is charmed with your complaiſance in being her conductor in all her ſorties, and, by what I can find, ſhe is as

1710. July. well pleaſed to be at Chaliot, as you are to be out of St. Germains. 'Tis a fine evening, ſo I muſt end, to go and take a walk in a prettier place, I believe, than you have in your palace at Chaliot, though I hear it is very magnificent."

Nairne's papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 45.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

About James Ogilvie who wrote the preceding letter.—He was ſuſpected to be ſpy from England.

Tranſlation.

July 5, 1710.

"SOME years ago, Mr. Ogilvie was accuſed of being a man who had ſold himſelf to the government of England, and we expect him here to-morrow. He paſſed through Ipres, and from thence to Arras, where he preſented himſelf to the King, my maſter, who recollected directly, the informations he had of him; however, he heard him favourably, though he advanced tales equally falſe and ridiculous. He has named ſeveral perſons of known probity, but without proofs, except my lord Drummond, the eldeſt ſon of the duke of Perth, a man of ſtrict honour. But he is not the firſt, who has allowed himſelf to be ſurpriſed by the artifices of a rogue *. The Queen believes it will be neceſſary to ſend him to the Baſtile. He ſhall be ſent to you, as if it were to give you an account of his buſineſs. He will have a letter from

* Lord Drummond's father appears to have had a different opinion of Ogilvie, for he writes to the Earl of Middleton about him, on the 14th of Auguſt.

Ibid. D. N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 9.

The Duke of Perth to the Earl of Middleton.

My Lord, Auguſt 14, 1710.

"THE Queen will ſhow Monſieur de Torcy's letter, for my ſon, to your lordſhip. If my ſon ſaw the other that is for me, he would ſoon be with us. But he muſt not know, that they would wiſh him here. I cannot imagine what they mean, by further and more clear informations. If they want pilots, they ſhall have them, both for the Weſt and Eaſt. The diſpoſition of the country has been laid before them again and again. If they intend any thing, what would they know, that is not already fully made plain. Your lordſhip will let the Queen know, that if O—— be thought the fitteſt to carry the letters, he is ſtill at Paris; and one may ſay more by word to him, than is fit to be put in writing. I hope I need not uſe many aſſeverations to aſſure you, that I am, my Lord, &c.

PERTH."

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me to introduce him, in order that you may diſpoſe of him as you chooſe. But I hope you will reflect upon the miſchief which his return may occaſion to a number of honeſt men. 1710. July.

The proſecution of Sacheverell having deſtroyed the influence of the Whig-miniſtry with the people, the Earl of Sunderland, the ſon-in-law of Marlborough, was diſmiſſed from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, in June. A total change, in the ſervants of the crown, was no longer a matter of doubt with the nation; though the perſons who compoſed the adminiſtration, uſed all their art to intimidate the Queen, that they themſelves might retain their power. The monied intereſt in the city, in particular the governor and directors of the bank, repreſented the danger of turning out the lord-treaſurer, and ſuch perſons as he could truſt. The duke of Marlborough had influence ſufficient with the allies, to induce them to interfere in the cauſe of his party. The comte de Galas, ambaſſador for the Emperor and King Charles the Third, together with Vrybergen, the Dutch ambaſſador, repreſented to the Queen, the danger of making any change among her ſervants. She however, though ſhe anſwered them politely, ſeemed determined not to comply with their demands, except in the article of the duke of Marlborough's continuing in the command of the army. The duke himſelf, with his uſual addreſs and coolneſs, affected to acquieſce in the Queen's pleaſure. But he ſeems to have entered privately in to a ſcheme of revenge, by his renewing, with more warmth, his correſpondence with the court of St. Germains. The following letter from the earl of Middleton, will throw a complete light upon this ſubject.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Incloſing a Letter from the Queen to the Duke of Marlborough.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 46.

Tranſlation.

SIR, 6th July, 1710.

"MY lord Churchill, having begun to make ſome advances to ſerve the King of England, in his letter to the Mareſchal de Berwick, to which no anſwer hath been made; and altho' he is not a man to be depended upon, yet it was always your opinion, that it was neceſſary to treat him with attention, and his preſent ſituation induces us to do ſo

1710. July. now more than ever; becauſe, being obliged to form new engagements for his own ſafety, there is reaſon to fear, that if we neglect him, he will attach himſelf to the family of Hannover, which would be ſuch a fatal blow, that we muſt employ all poſſible means to parry it. Theſe ſeveral conſiderations have induced the Queen to write him a letter, of which I incloſe to you a tranſlation, and her Majeſty begs of you, Sir, to write to the Mareſchal de Villars, to put under his cover, the letter which the chevalier de St George will give him, and to ſend it to his adverſary by the firſt trumpet, in order to avoid the difficulty of ſending it contrary to orders. I am, Sir, &c."

The copy of this letter among Mr. Nairne's papers is indorſed, "To Mr. de Torcy, with the tranſlation of a letter to Gurney [Marlborough]," Immediately after it, there is a paper, entituled, "Heads of a letter to Gurney."

It appears to be the firſt draught of the Engliſh original, of which Middleton ſent the following tranſlation to de Torcy.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 46.

A Letter from the Queen to Gurney [*Marlborough*], *July*, 1710.

Tranſlation.

"WHAT you wrote to your nephew, on the 13th of the laſt month, is of ſo great importance to Mr. Matthews [the King] and yourſelf, that I think myſelf obliged, for your intereſt and his, to write to you my opinion of it, with my own hand; your nephew, who ſet out from this place ſuddenly, being now at too great a diſtance.

I ſhall tell you, in the firſt place, that as I was glad to find you ſtill continue in your good reſolutions towards Mr. Matthews [the King], I was ſurpriſed, on the other hand, to ſee that you had a deſign of quitting every thing, as ſoon as the peace was concluded; for I find that to be the only means of rendering you uſeleſs to your friends, and your retreat may prove dangerous likewiſe to yourſelf; you are too large a mark, and too much expoſed for malice to miſs; and your enemies will never believe themſelves in ſafety, until they have ruined you. They will reduce the army, and the troops that are allowed to ſtand, will be all compoſed of their own creatures. All the civil offices and military employments will be filled by men who are of their party. They will change the officers of the

the revenue, and the credit of theſe new officers, with the influence which the preachers of their party have over the people, will not fail to produce a new parliament of a very different temper from the preſent: thus your enemies will have all the power to hurt you, and you know well, they will not want the inclination. 1710. July.

I beſeech you, therefore, to reflect well, before you deprive yourſelf of the means you have in your hands, to ſupport yourſelf and to aſſiſt your friends.

But, as you are loſt, if you quit your employments, I ſee likewiſe, on the other hand, that it will be very difficult for you to keep yourſelf in office, as things are now ſituated, ſo that your intereſt itſelf declares now for your honour. You cannot be in ſafety without doing juſtice, nor preſerve your greatneſs without diſcharging your duty, and the time is precious to you as well as for us.

The advice you give us, in ſending us to the new favourite *(lady)* is very obliging; but what can we hope from a ſtranger who has no obligation to us? Whereas, we have all the reaſons in the world to depend upon you, ſince we have now but the ſame intereſt to manage, and you have the power to put Mr. Matthews [the King] in a condition to protect you. Lay aſide then, I beſeech you, your reſolutions of retiring. Take courage, and without loſing more time, ſend us a perſon in whom you have an entire confidence; or if you have not ſuch a man with you, allow us to ſend you one whom we may truſt, in order to concert meaſures for our common intereſt, which can never be properly done by letters. We ſhall know, by your ſpeedy and poſitive anſwer to this letter, what judgment we can form of our affairs.

I muſt not finiſh my letter, without thanking you, for promiſing to aſſiſt me in my ſuit at the treaty of peace. My cauſe is ſo juſt, that I have all reaſon to hope I ſhall gain it; at leaſt, I flatter myſelf, that Mr. Matthews's ſiſter [princeſs of Denmark] is of too good a diſpoſition to oppoſe it."

Marlborough's letter, to which the preceding is an anſwer, is referred to in the following to the earl of Middleton. It is in the chevalier de St. George's own hand. Captain Gray and the Pratler, are ſuppoſed to be James Ogilvie and lord Drummond. But it is not clear who are the

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1710. July. ycung Hollander and Mordecai, unleſs the latter is the duke of Marlborough.

The Chevalier de St. George to the Earl of Middleton.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 8.

Marlborough correſponds about him with the Duke of Berwick and the Mareſchal de Villars.—There are rumours of a peace.—The campaign inactive.

Arras, July 25, 1710.

"I Received, this morning, yours of the 22d; but have not yet heard of the young Hollander, who is, I ſuppoſe, at Peronne, waiting for a convoy to come hither, by opportunity. The more I hear of captain Gray, the worſe I like him. I am ſure I don't believe one word he ſays; but ſince there is nothing to be done out of hand, there is yet no harm done, though I confeſs I am ſtill of opinion, that, if it were poſſible, he ſhould be kept in France, for fear of the worſt. In the mean time what you propoſe of writing to Mordecai is abſolutely neceſſary, and the ſooner the better. When I receive the Queen's packet, I ſhall, I ſuppoſe, know the end of the buſineſs; and, till then, can ſay no more of it.

I ſhall not write to the Queen to-day, having nothing to ſay to her more than what is above. Preſent my duty to her. I am ſorry my ſiſter's bleeding ſucceeded ſo ill: but I hope now ſhe is well, ſhe will not want it. I have, at laſt, quite done with phyſick, and I hope, with my ague, and that with only ten doſes of quinquina; but ſhall ſtill keep poſſeſſion of my gate-houſe, till the army removes, which muſt be ſoon. Our Hector [Villars] doth talk of fighting in his chariot; but I don't believe him, eſpecially now that the conferences of peace are certainly renewed. M. de Vauban, who came from Bethune, on Wedneſday, was told ſo by ſome of the enemy's generals. Letters from Tournay ſpeak of it, and now even the gazettes themſelves. I cannot but hope now they will break off no more. I am ſure Mrs. Betty [himſelf] heartily wiſhes it, that ſhe may quit Mr. Williams's country [France], of which ſhe is quite weary, on all accounts. You will have ſeen, before this, Gurney's [Marlborough's] letter to Daniel* [duke of Berwick, and another

* There is very little about Marlborough's correſpondence with the duke of Berwick in Mr. Nairne's papers; but it appears by a letter from the marquis de Torcy to Lewis

another to Hector [Villars], in which Follett's [the Queen's] children are ſpoke of. I find Hector very willing to do any thing in his power for them. If you have any thing to propoſe, I will ſpeak to him, that he may do it by the next opportunity. I ſhall go to the King's quarters † to-day, where, by contrarys, I ſhall know more concerning peace. I was laſt night at M. de Rohan's, who gave a great *feſte*. There was play, muſick, a very great and good ſupper, and then dancing and maſks. I left them at 12 o'clock, with the reſolution of ſitting up till day-light. There were there about a dozen generals, who, if it were not for a *feſte* now and then, would be very much *ennuie*, in this place, where they have but one day in three weeks to be employed in the army. You need not ſend me the duke of Berwick's *fuillet*, for he ſends it me *en droiture* in eight days; if he is not here in ten days, I ſhall reckon the peace ſure. Adieu. My compliments to lady Middleton. 1710. July.

I am in amaze, that Prattler doth employ ſuch people as Gray, though I am glad to find he doth not believe him now, in all things. Your anſwer to Gray's pumping queſtion was very right. If the weight of the nation lays in the Bubble's head, it is the lighteſt weight that ever was."

Lewis XIV. dated from the Hague, the 12th of May, 1709, that letters on ſome intereſting ſubjects paſſed between them.

"After he (the duke of Marlborough) had conſulted the penſionary, and made a number of excuſes and compliments for the liberty he took, in appointing me an hour and not paying the firſt viſit, I went to him after dinner: were I to relate all the proteſtations he made, of his profound reſpect and attachment to your Majeſty, and of the deſire he has one day of meriting your protection, I ſhould fill my letter with things leſs eſſential than thoſe I am going to mention. His ſpeeches are florid: I obſerved, in what he ſaid to me, a great deal of art, in naming the duke of Berwick and the marquis of Allegre. I availed myſelf, Sir, of this circumſtance, to make him ſenſible, in the courſe of our converſation, that I was not ignorant of the particulars of their correſpondence with him, and that your ſentiments were not changed. He bluſhed, and proceeded to the propoſals of peace." Memoirs of the Marquis de Torcy, vol. i. p. 303. Engliſh tranſlation.

† He means the quarters of the Maiſon du Roi.

1710. Auguſt. Original. Nairne's papers, D.N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 8.

The Chevalier de St. George to the Earl of Middleton.

He wiſhes he had Lord Middleton along with him, but his Lordſhip was more neceſſary where he was.—The campaign would finiſh ſoon.—The Mareſchal de Villars forwarded the Queen's letter to the Duke of Marlborough.

Camp of Fornu, Auguſt 2, 1710.

"YOU know very well it was far from my inclination not to carry you along with me to the camp; but, at the ſame time, the reaſons which hindered me from doing it, have not hindered me often from regretting the want of your company: ſince I am here, I ſaid ſomething of it in my letters to the Queen; and I find, by what ſhe ſaid, you underſtood I ordered you to come down, which was a miſtake, as ſhe will have told you before this; for as much as I deſire your company, and to have at leaſt one wiſe man with me, yet I think you will be more neceſſary where you are than here, and therefore I muſt prefer my intereſt to my private ſatisfaction, eſpecially now that I am half ſeas over. I thought to have gone out this evening, but the weather is ſo hot, that I ſhall take this day's reſt, after the two laſt days work. Booth tells you our news; ſo I ſhall only add, that we begin now to hope we ſhall end the campaign on the banks of the Canihe. Our general doth all he can to end his with the enemy; and I left him juſt now in hopes of at laſt compaſſing that work: but I ſaid too much on that article yeſterday, and am reſolved to ſay no more of it, but mere matter of fact; but I own it is hard not to loſe patience, when other people loſe their reaſon. I was ſurpriſed to find, by my ſiſter's letter of the 30th, that the Queen had been ill at Marli, but am mighty glad it is ſo well over. Preſent her my duty.

I gave the Mareſchal this day the Queen's packet, which I reckon gone by this time. Though Follette has ſaid nothing of her children, yet Hector has again writ about them. I could not put off his writing about them till I heard from you, becauſe he had now no other pretence, as I thought he had. Pray ſend me back Gourney's [Marlborough's] letter to him, for he wants the name of the colonel that is in it. I ſuppoſe my journey in *querpo* is out of doors, and I hope the man that pro-

poſed it is in priſon *. If it is to be, we ſhall at leaſt not want cowards." 1710. Auguſt.

After this letter, there is a paper in the earl of Middleton's hand. It alludes to the diſturbances occaſioned in England by Sacheverel's trial. It mentions an advice which Marlborough gave the court of St. Germains, and a propoſal to be made to the court of France.

The paper is as follows:

" SINCE it has pleaſed God to ſpread the ſpirit of confuſion amongſt the King's enemies, whereby they both concur for his miraculous reſtoration; the church, by proving the monarchy to be hereditary; the conventicle, that on that principle which they cannot confute, the revolution was a rebellion, and the princeſs Anne has no title, but a violent uſurpation; there is no preſumption to rely on providence, rather than to embark in a deſperate affair, which may ſerve only to reconcile your enemies, and verify what Gurney [Marlborough] ſays. Nairne's papers, D.N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 8.

The great is not to be hoped for from hence, and the little ought not to be accepted, without all his own ſubjects †; therefore, his Majeſty may order this to be told to Monſ. de Torcy; if it is refuſed, the caſe is too plain to need an explanation ‡."

The demand referred to here is made in the following letter and memorial, which are both in Nairne's hand.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy. Ibid. vol. ii. fol. No. 32.

Sends him a memorial—the reaſon why—the ſubject—and its importance.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Chaillot, Auguſt 29, 1710.

" YOU would have received the incloſed memorial ſooner, if it had not been neceſſary to ſend it firſt to the King, my maſter, in order

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* He probably means Ogilvie, and the expedition to Scotland propoſed by him.

† He means all the Iriſh troops in the French ſervice, which were computed to amount to between three and four thouſand men.

‡ The court of St. Germains had long doubted the ſincerity of France in their cauſe.

1710. August. to have his approbation, and receive his orders concerning it. Although we were unwilling to repeat over again former memorials, it was, however, judged neceſſary to put you in mind of ſome principal points. You will find in it again the word Capital; for if you begin with this project, you will find every thing that is neceſſary to make it ſo. But, if, in preference, you mean to execute every other deſign, and to put off this as ſuperfluous, I own, before hand, you will find nothing in it.

All that is new in this memorial is, the ſtate of England, and the demand made of the Iriſh troops. As to what regards England, it is a matter of indifference to you whether the parliament be diſſolved or not; or whether the high or the low church prevail. You will always find they are your enemies; and I am very ſorry, Sir, to tell you, that even our friends will do nothing for you, while you do nothing for them. They don't believe you are diſpoſed to do any thing; and there is nothing but an actual landing which can cure them of their credulity. That will contribute to conceal the deſign in that country; but it will be more difficult to conceal it here, becauſe all converſations at the Thuilleries, and in Coffee-houſes, run upon this project; and the voice of the people deſire it, as the only remedy to their calamities.

With regard to the demand of the Iriſh troops, I conſider it as granted, becauſe it cannot be conjectured from what motive it can be refuſed; ſince, beſides the convincing reaſons of the memorial, the Iriſh making but half the number of troops which was propoſed, the armies will be leſs diminiſhed by it, and they will be tranſported with leſs difficulty, and at leſs expence; and it is eſſential to the ſervice to do every thing which humanly may ſecure its ſucceſs, ſince thereby we ſhall gain our cauſe.

If the bad news from Spain are confirmed, they ſhould forward this project, becauſe he will be more preſſed on all ſides, and you will have no favourable proſpect from any other quarter. In ſhort, it is neceſſary to determine upon ſomething. Even though this project ſhould be difficult, a peace is impoſſible: therefore there is no choice. I am, Sir, &c."

A Memorial to the marquis de Torcy, dated at Chaillot, the 29th Auguſt, 1710, and ſent with the preceding letter.

1710. Auguſt. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 32.

A recapitulation of former memorials.—The preſent diſpoſition of the Scotch, and of the Iriſh.—The preſent ſtate of England;—and the opinions of the oppoſite parties.—The King offers to make a deſcent in Scotland with the Iriſh troops.—The place of embarkation.

Tranſlation.

"IN the ſeveral memorials which have been formerly preſented to the court of France from his Britannic Majeſty, concerning his re-eſtabliſhment, it hath been ſhown, that a well-concerted enterpriſe againſt Scotland would be the moſt certain means to accompliſh it; and that that enterpriſe would, at the ſame time, be the moſt efficacious, not to ſay the ſole means, to break the confederacy of the enemy, and to re-eſtabliſh France in its former ſuperiority: that all the other means tried till then, whether by force of arms or by negociations, had produced no effect: that the enterpriſe againſt Scotland had been tried only once: that it was evident to all the world it would have ſucceeded, if ſeveral obſtacles had not occurred; and that both friends and enemies acknowledged that, if his Britannic Majeſty had landed then, all Scotland would have declared for him, the bank of England would have been ſhut up, and conſequently the government of England overturned, and the league diſſolved.

It hath been ſhown, in theſe memorials, that the changes which happened in Scotland ſince that time, were all advantageous to the King; that the people were irritated more than ever againſt the preſent government, on account of the bad treatment they had received from it: that, at the ſame time, no one had deſerted the King's party, even after the bad ſucceſs of that enterpriſe: that no ſecret had been ever kept like this one; ſince, of ſo great a number, both of the nobility and of the principal perſons among the commoners, there was not one who would acknowledge any thing, or accuſe any of thoſe who had been apprehended, notwithſtanding all the threatenings and all the promiſes of the government; and that witneſſes could never be found to condemn any one of thoſe who have been apprehended, whatever efforts were made by the-

1710. August. ſervants of the government for that purpoſe; ſo that there can be no doubt of the good diſpoſition of the Scots.

With regard to the Iriſh, it hath been likewiſe ſhown, in theſe memorials, that their diſpoſition hath been always the ſame with regard to their lawful ſovereign, founded upon intereſt, liberty, and religion; and it may be added, that the Catholics, who are at leaſt ſix to one Proteſtant, are reduced to ſuch deſpair, by the laſt perſecution of the Engliſh government, and are more diſpoſed than ever to hazard all, and to undertake every thing, in order to free themſelves from the oppreſſion they ſuffer.

It is very true, that in the memorials which have been hitherto preſented, the ſame aſſurances could not be given of the diſpoſition of England; all that could be ſaid of it, with certainty, was that an inſurrection in Scotland, in the King's favour, would have thrown the affairs of England into confuſion. But now, it is very evident, that the ſurpriſing changes which have for ſome time appeared in the affections of the people of England, and which are ſeen to increaſe every day, leave not the ſmalleſt room to doubt of their being well diſpoſed towards their lawful ſovereign.

Two parties, animated to an extreme againſt one another, evidently eſtabliſh the right of that prince in their public writings. The high church maintain, as a principle of their religion, that it is never allowable to reſiſt their King for any cauſe whatſoever; and that the hereditary ſucceſſion is a law ſo fundamental, that the parliament itſelf cannot change it. The low church, to ſhow the high to be enemies to the preſent government, maintain, that the conſequence of the firſt of theſe principles is, that the government, ſince the Revolution, hath been but a continued uſurpation, and that the princes who have occupied the throne, have been but uſurpers; and that the conſequence of the ſecond principle is, that the Pretender muſt be acknowledged as lawful King. The people, attentive ſpectators of this diſpute, have no difficulty in concluding that both the one and the other are in the right; and the princeſs, who is in poſſeſſion, by taking the high church into her confidence, and giving them the beſt employments, ſeems to declare intelligibly enough, what are her inclinations towards her brother. Thus far the inviſible hand of Providence

Providence hath already conducted this affair; employing even its greateſt enemies to advance it, without their perceiving it. 1710. Auguſt.

It is therefore very evident, that the preſent ſituation of his Britannic Majeſty's affairs is more favourable than ever; and that, according to all appearances, he need only have patience for a little time, as ſeveral of his Majeſty's friends in that country adviſe him, and leave Providence to act, in order to enter into the poſſeſſion of his right, by the means of his own ſubjects alone.

But, however well founded theſe hopes of his Britannic Majeſty from his own ſubjects may be, he is not the leſs ſenſibly affected with the bad ſtate of the affairs of France; and this is what induces him to offer now again to expoſe his perſon in a ſecond attempt in Scotland, in order to procure to France a peace, of which ſhe has ſo much need, providing the Iriſh troops are given to him to attend him in the enterpriſe. This he judges ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the intereſt of France, as well as his own, that, without it, he believes it is needleſs to think of ſuch a project.

His Britannic Majeſty would wiſh that he had no occaſion for any troops for this expedition. But, however well aſſured he may be of the good will of the greateſt part of Scotland, yet, as all the fortreſſes, as well as the regular troops of the country, are in the hands of the government, and ready to act by their orders, it is abſolutely neceſſary, for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon, as well as for the ſucceſs of the enterprize, that he ſhould have a ſufficient number of troops with him at landing, to oppoſe the enemy, until his faithful ſubjects have time to aſſemble and to join him. The prince of Orange, although he was ſure, before hand, of all the moſt conſiderable men in England, and even of the chief officers in the army of the late King of England, as appeared ſufficiently by the event, judged, however, that it was improper to undertake the enterprize without being attended with fourteen thouſand regular troops.

In the former memorials, the King of England could never demand leſs than ſix thouſand men; his ſubjects having always aſked eight thouſand men to ſecure the ſucceſs of the expedition. It is true, in lord Drummond's laſt memorial, three thouſand men only are mentioned.

But

1710. August. But it is likewiſe true, that that nobleman does not deny, but he has concerted his projects with the Highlanders alone, without the knowledge of the chief men in the low country, who compoſe the greateſt part of the nation. Yet his Britannic Majeſty, conſidering how difficult it would be to tranſport a greater number, has limited his demand to the Iriſh troops, his own ſubjects; who, at the end of the campaign, will be ſcarce three thouſand effective men. What abſolutely determines his Majeſty to aſk the Iriſh is, that they ſpeak the ſame language, and are accuſtomed to the hardy manner of living of the country; and that, of each Iriſh regiment, two or three may be formed, by incorporating with them the new levies of the country: beſides, that it will be impoſſible to keep the Iriſh in France, after they know that the King is landed in Scotland.

But there is likewiſe a reaſon, which his Majeſty thinks he ſhould not paſs over in ſilence, and which appears to him to be very eſſential; namely, that the allies will no ſooner ſee the landing ſucceed, than, dreading the conſequences with which it muſt be infallibly attended to their diſadvantage, they will make fraudulent propoſals of peace to France, in order to ward off the blow. One of theſe propoſals will be, to deſire the moſt Chriſtian King to withdraw the troops who may have followed that prince; and, as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will not chooſe to do ſo, he will have a very juſtifiable excuſe, in ſaying, that they are not his ſubjects, but the ſubjects of the King of England, which he could not ſay if they were native Frenchmen.

With regard to the tranſport of troops and other neceſſaries, in which the greateſt difficulty conſiſts, thoſe who have experience in maritime affairs are the beſt, or rather the only judges of that affair. What is very certain and neceſſary to be remarked here, is, that, unleſs this enterpriſe is conſidered as a capital object to the ſtate, difficulties will occur on all hands to diſcourage, and imaginary dangers, which will become real when things are done by halves: ſo that, to attempt it, in any other view, will be uſeleſs to France and hurtful to the King of England. But, if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will find this expedition of importance enough to conſider it as a capital object; in that caſe, money, arms, and ammunition, as well as ſhips and troops, will be found without any difficulty; and he will likewiſe find ſea-officers, who will undertake it, and who, with God's aſſiſtance, will accompliſh it.

The

The port of Dunkirk has its advantages for the embarkation, on account of the neighbourhood of the troops and the ſhortneſs of the paſſage. But the ſecret can never be kept: for every thing that is done there is known the next day at Oſtend; and when once the Engliſh and the Dutch have diſcovered the deſign, they will be always in a condition to thwart it. 1710. Auguſt.

It appears then, that Breſt would be more ſuitable, becauſe the enemy could not eaſily hinder the veſſels from ſailing from that port, as was ſeen by experience, during the war in Ireland. In caſe the preference is given to that port, the Iriſh troops ſhould be put into winter-quarters in the neighbouring provinces.

It might be likewiſe examined, whether Portpaſſage, near Fontarabia, was fit for embarkation. In that caſe, the Iriſh regiments might be ſent to that quarter, as if they were to go to ſerve in Spain; and his Britannic Majeſty might repair thither, under the ſame pretext, and his removing at a diſtance from his kingdoms would conceal the deſign.

In the caſe the troops embark at Breſt or at Portpaſſage, they may land anywhere on the weſt coaſt of Scotland, from Kirkcudbright to the mouth of the river Clyde. It is true, there is no fortified harbour there, nor in any other part of Scotland, which would render the landing more eaſy. But, at the ſame time, the ſhips could not remain there afterwards, in ſafety, in caſe they were purſued by a ſuperior force.

With regard to pilots, they might be had from that country, though not without giving ſome ſuſpicion of the deſign. But, as ſhips from Glaſgow, Air, and Kirkcudbright, come ordinarily towards the month of November, to Nantz and Bourdeaux, ſailors to ſerve as pilots might be taken out of them, on different pretences. Beſides that, ſome might be found among the French privateers, who cruize frequently on that coaſt; as five or ſix of theſe privateers, not long ago, made a deſcent in Scotland, near Air, from whence they carried away ſome cattle and alarmed the country. It may be known from them, where they got their pilots, and their method may be followed.

The ſquadron, ſailing from Breſt or from Portpaſſage, may ſteer their courſe through St. George's channel, or round the weſt of Ireland: the firſt is the ſhorteſt courſe; but is eſteemed the moſt dangerous. Yet the Engliſh merchant-ſhips daily paſs through that channel, at all ſeaſons.

1710. August. In ſailing along the coaſt of Ireland, ſome Iriſh officers may be landed, with arms, &c. in order to put the inhabitants in a condition to riſe.

But, without entering into a more ample detail of the meaſures which ſhould be taken to ſecure the ſucceſs of the expedition; and referring, for that purpoſe, to former memorials, we ſhall only repeat, in concluding, that the ſucceſs will entirely depend on the manner in which the enterpriſe is conſidered, as of greater or leſs importance to France. It is the buſineſs of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to judge of this, by his conſummate prudence, and to determine according to the intereſt of his own affairs."

The following anecdote deſerves credit, from collateral proofs. There is no doubt but Marlborough and Godolphin had talked about a ſcheme of reſtoring the Pretender ſome time or other, without the aſſiſtance of France. Godolphin was probably ſincere; ſo would Marlborough have been, ſhould the thing itſelf happen to ſuit his intereſt.

Carte's Memorandum book, marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 38.

"LORD Godolphin had certainly the beſt head and capacity for a miniſter of ſtate of any man in England; and was a man that no country in the world might be aſhamed of. He had not the leaſt tincture of avarice, and was the uncorrupteſt man in his time, in the management of the treaſury and diſcharge of his offices. He was lord chamberlain to King James's Queen, who had always (as Mr. Dillon told me, April 22d, 1724) a very great opinion of him; and Mr. Dillon believes he really intended to ſerve the King. He has ſent many of his letters to that Queen; and the letters are ſtill in being.

One reaſon, perhaps, why he did not execute what he projected, was his cowardice. Nobody could have more of that temper of mind; and he was ſo ſuſceptible of fear, that the Whigs could bully and frighten him into any thing.

This has made me remember what the E. of A., who was very intimate with him, told me, in 1716, viz. That lord Godolphin was the trueſt and ſincereſt friend to the King, that he ever had; and that, after his diſgrace, on Dr. Sacheverel's trial, about a month after he was turned out, making him a viſit, lord Godolphin expreſſed his concern at his being turned out, before he had reſtored the King: that he had been in unhappy circumſtances and diſtreſſed by the Tories: that all his miniſtry had

had been ſpent in a ſtruggle with the junto, whoſe hands the Tories had forced him into; but that he ſaw himſelf at laſt maſter over them, when he was turned out on occaſion of the trial, which he was no ways concerned at but on the King's account. That, however, he was of opinion, lord Oxford would reſtore him; but he would make France neceſſary to it, which himſelf would not have done; for he would have reſtored him alone, and made the French know how poorly they had treated him, and how little they deſerved at his hands; and the E. of A. believed him." 1710.

Mr. Charles Booth was groom of the bedchamber at St. Germains. He attended the Chevalier de St. George during the campaign of 1710, which is called "The King's third campaign:" from the 16th of May to the 8th of September, he wrote upwards of an hundred letters to the earl of Middleton, giving him the news of the campaign, and an account of his maſter's health and conduct. The following paſſages are extracts from theſe letters.—"May the 18th, Mr. Tunſtal * was here; he had a long conference with my lord Churchill, who aſked him ſeveral times, what was the reaſon your lordſhip was not with the prince of Wales. He made anſwer, it was to ſave charges. "One more would not augment it much." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 6.

June 20th. "The King went out to day to take the air, having none with him but us three; when we came to our out-guards, we ſaw the enemy and our people talking acroſs a very little river; he ſent me to inquire if there were any Engliſh. I found ſeveral Engliſh and Scots. I inquired after ſeveral of their people, and ſent my ſervice to them; they put my name and thoſe I inquired after in their tablets. I told them, I was there waiting on the Chevalier de St. George; by that time the King was come pretty near. I ſhewed him to them, then rode up to the King, and Mr. Hamilton was reſolved to ſpeak to them; they were gone from the bank of the river; but I called after one of them, who came back. Mr. Hamilton ſent his ſervice to lord Marlborough and lord George, and ſhewed them the King who was on the bank of the river."

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* Mr. Tunſtal ſigns his letters, and is frequently mentioned in Middleton and Carryl's letters, under the name of Trevers.

1710. June 25th.—"An officer of theirs came towards the river, (the Chevalier was reconnoitring with Mareſchal Villars, and Booth and Strickland were detached to ſee if the enemy would fire or talk to them) which made us puſh on. I inquired for all I knew, and ſome I did not. They anſwered me very civilly; I deſired my ſervice to them, which gave me an opportunity of telling my name. He ſaid, he knew my name and my employment. But juſt then came in Jack the Frenchman. I went a little lower, where was about fifteen Engliſh officers; we ſaluted one another.—Your Couſin Howarth is well, I ſaw him to-day. You may believe how many ſervices I ſent him, and all friends with them, and how gladly I ſhould be to ſerve any of them. Their anſwers were juſt the ſame."

June 26th.—"I found major Hamilton that your lordſhip ſaw it ——, Captain Murray was there before, and told his old acquaintance the Chevalier was not far off. Will he not come this way, ſays he, that we may ſee him: Mr. Murray told the King: the King came up. There were about ten or twelve officers. Mr. Murray aſked Hamilton, what news they had of a peace. He ſaid, they durſt not talk of it before prince Eugene; but when they were with the Dutch, they talked of nothing elſe."

July 13th.—"This day, I ſent by Lumney's trumpet ſix medals*, one to him, one to lord George, one to lieutenant general Withers, one to lieutenant general Wood, and one to the major I had the diſcourſe over the water with, and one to a friend of mine that will not hide it. I writ to Mr. Pitts, lord Churchill's maſter of horſe, about ſome buſineſs I have with him, and told him all here were perfectly well."

July 21ſt.—"The Mareſchal de Villars aſked what news from England; when I told him I knew none, he ſaid all things went well, and that there would be a new parliament, and that the doctor (Sacheverel) had a great party for him."

* The ducheſs of Gordon preſented one of theſe medals the next year to the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland. It had a head on the right ſide, with this legend, *Cujus eſt?* and on the reverſe, the Britiſh iſlands, with this motto, *Reddite*. Theſe medals were ſtruck upon the hopes which the manner of aſſerting the doctrines of hereditary right and paſſive obedience, during and after Sacheverel's trial, gave the Jacobites.

July

July 23d.—"The King commands me to give your lordſhip an account how I diſpoſed of the medals, after I had ſent ſome of them to the lieutenant generals by their own trumpets, that did not know what they carried. I propoſed to the King and Mr. Hamilton, to ſend one or two to lord Churchill's maſter of the horſe, becauſe I was in commerce of letters with him; they ſeemed not to like it, but left it to me, conditionally it might not appear the King knew of it. I told the King, thoſe I had already ſent were ſo ordered, that they could not ſuſpect he had any knowledge of it: ſo I had *carte blanche*. One of Nugent's rrumpets going to their army three days ago, I had occaſion to write to Mr. Pitts, and as a poſtſcript, I told him I had given the trumpet ſome new coin; that he would ſee none ſuch in the contribution money; if he were curious, he might ſee it, and keep it if he liked it; if not, ſend it back by the trumpet. After he had read my letter, the trumpet, as I had ordered him, was going away, to ſee if Pitts would call for them. What! ſays he, Mr. Booth writes, you have ſomething for me; ſo the trumpet gave them to him. The trumpet being an Iriſhman, Pitts did not ſpeak one word to him; but in the morning he called a trumpet of the guard-de-corps into his chamber, and ſhewed the medals to him, and bid him tell me, he would give the medals back when he ſaw me, but never before. The French trumpet came to me before the Iriſhman came home, and aſked me what thoſe medals were; for that above thirty Engliſh officers ſpoke to him to bring them medals. The fellow told them what was true, he did not know what they meant. When you come back, go to the Chevalier de St. George's, and deſire of the chamberlain (which is the trumpet's tranſlation of groom of the bedchamber) to ſend us ſome medals, for he has ſent many here, and he will give you more. The trumpet told me, lord Churchill enquired very particularly how the Chevalier de St. George did, and what was the matter with him.. 1710.

When the Iriſh trumpet came home, he brought me ſeveral letters, all directed for me with his Highneſs the Prince of Wales. Pitts ſaid in his, your coin does not go in this army, but it being fine, I ſhall keep it among my precious things. I ſhall anſwer Mr. Pitts, and tell him, I wonder they that fight for the Goſpel, ſhould not make that coin current, in as much as it is taken out of the Goſpel, that he and I know a man may make it current if he pleaſes. I told the enemy's trumpets, it was

1710. money I ſent to an Iriſh priſoner; and that the letter to lieutenant general Lomney would tell him how to diſpoſe of it. I put a paper on every medal, and directed it, one to lieutenant general Lomney, one to lord George, one to lieutenant general Wood, and one to lieutenant general Withers, others to inferior officers, all ſealed up in a purſe, and a note to them all in theſe terms: I take the liberty to ſend you a new coin, that is according to the ſcripture; the medal is good, for it bore ſix hours fire; you know it was hot, for you melted or blew the coals; pardon the freedom in your obedient ſervant,

GROOM.

The poſtſcript was thus:

You know it was well tried the 11th of September 1709."

Auguſt 2d.—" He (Mareſchal de Villars) is in the clouds and raptures, that doctor Sacheverel's people put white ribbons in their hats; he calls them our people, and ſays 6000 men is a brave body."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 12—15.

There are ſeveral letters from the earl of Middleton to Lamb and Abram in the months of October, November, and December, 1710; but they are all allegorical, and without a key. One can only underſtand from them in general, that propoſals were to be made to the new miniſtry: that Abram had a paper given him the year before, written all by John Jolly's [the King's] own hand, with a diſcretionary power to produce it when he thought neceſſary, which on the receipt of a letter from Lamb he had orders now to do, and that Lord Middleton invited Lamb, *i. e.* Mr. Leſley, to go over to France, and expected great ſatisfaction from his informations. Lord Duplin's marriage to the earl of Oxford's daughter is probably referred to in the following paſſage in one of his lordſhip's letters to Abram. " I was ſurpriſed to hear that *Miſs Hanyton* had married a myrmidon.—Ply the ſon-in-law with the moſt effectual promiſes for himſelf and his father-in law, he being foreman of the jury, and without him, we cannot hope for a favourable verdict."

HAN-

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1710.

THE Whigs frequently upbraided the Tories with being Jacobites, and abettors of an arbitrary power in the crown. The Tories charged the Whigs with being antimonarchical and republican. But if one was to form his judgment of their principles from their own profeſſions, it would be difficult to diſtinguiſh them, for both parties courted popularity by the ſame arts, and publickly profeſſed to eſpouſe the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. It will be ſeen by the correſpondence of this year, that each, as ſoon as they came into place, were equally ready to make their court to the preſumptive heirs of the crown. 1710.

To defend Queen Anne from being charged with inconſtancy, weakneſs, or ingratitude, for removing and diſgracing men, who had ſerved her long and faithfully, doctor Swift inſinuates, that the Marlborough family had loſt all favour with her Majeſty, upon her acceſſion to the throne, though ſhe poſſeſſed the art of diſguiſing her paſſions ſo perfectly, as to have been able to conceal, for a long time, the averſion ſhe had conceived for them. It is not probable, that her averſion began ſo early; and, tho' it is not eaſy to gueſs when ſhe began to be ſenſible of the haughty and imperious behaviour of the party which governed her and the nation, it is certain, that nothing contributed more to alienate her affections totally from them, than their conduct and ſpeeches in the courſe of doctor Sacheverel's trial. Godolphin began the proſecution more from private reſentment, than ſtate neceſſity, and imprudently furniſhed his enemies with an opportunity of ruining him and his friends, when he unwarily gave importance to a man and a cauſe, which he ſhould have treated with neglect and contempt.

1710. The Queen was preſent at the trial, and liſtened with great attention to the debates, in which a ſpirit of oppoſition betrayed both parties to advance principles, which probably neither of them would follow to their utmoſt extent. The Tories openly maintained the doctrine of hereditary right and non-reſiſtance; and the Whigs, in juſtifying the Revolution, aſſerted a nation's right to depoſe and dethrone their ſovereign, and laid down maxims of government more favourable to the privileges of parliament and the liberties of the people, than monarchs chooſe to adopt.

The Tories had not ſtrength to prevent Sacheverel from being found guilty of all the articles for which he was impeached by the commons; but they had influence afterwards to procure addreſſes to the Queen from all parts of the nation, avowing the very principles for which he was condemned. Theſe addreſſes aſſerted the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, and acknowledged the abſolute power of the crown. They condemned, as antimonarchical and republican, all doctrines which allowed ſubjects to reſiſt their ſovereigns in any inſtance, and declared the defenders of theſe doctrines to be advocates of blaſphemy and impiety: they affirmed that the Queen acceded to the throne by a hereditary, and not by a precarious parliamentary right or election: they entreated a diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and contained aſſurances that none ſhould be choſen in a new election, but ſuch as ſhould be loyal to the ſovereign and zealous for the church.

Theſe addreſſes could not fail to be more agreeable to Anne, a woman and a ſovereign, than thoſe preſented by the Whigs in a different, though dutiful and reſpectful ſtrain. In conſequence of the firſt, ſhe determined to emancipate herſelf, and to change her miniſtry, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs with which they had ſerved her, and an interpoſition in their favour by the miniſters of the Emperor and of the States general, who were directed to repreſent to her Majeſty what bad influence a change might have on affairs abroad.

This change furniſhes a new ſet of correſpondents in the courſe of this year, when the following perſons came into office. The duke of Shrewſbury was made lord chamberlain on the 13th of April, in the room of the marquis of Kent, who was gratified with a dukedom. Dartmouth was made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the

earl

earl of Sunderland, who was turned out, the 14th of June. The earl of Godolphin was diſmiſſed the 8th of Auguſt, and in his room, earl Powlet, Robert Harley, Henry Paget, Sir Thomas Manſel, and Robert Benſon, were appointed commiſſioners of the treaſury. Though Powlet was the firſt commiſſioner in form, it was well known, that Harley, who was made chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer, had the chief management of the treaſury, and preſided in every thing behind the curtain. 1710.

Mr. James Creſſet, who had been formerly envoy extraordinary at the courts of Zell and Hannover, was choſen by the new miniſtry to carry aſſurances of their attachment to the preſumptive heirs of the crown; and upon his death, which happened ſoon after his nomination, the earl of Rivers was ſent to Hannover, in the month of Auguſt, with the ſame commiſſion. He was authorized to aſſure the princeſs Sophia and her ſon the Elector, that the late changes, for which the Queen had ſufficient reaſons, were rather favourable to them, and a further ſecurity for their ſucceſſion to the crown.

On the 21ſt of September the Queen iſſued a proclamation to diſſolve the parliament. The earl of Rocheſter was made lord preſident of the council, in the room of lord Somers. The lord chamberlain's ſtaff was taken from the duke of Devonſhire, and given to the duke of Buckingham. Mr. Boyle was diſmiſſed from the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, and the ſeals were given to Mr. Henry St. John. The great ſeal, upon the reſignation of the lord chancellor Cowper, was given to Sir Simon Harcourt; and the lord lieutenancy of Ireland to the duke of Ormond, upon the reſignation of the earl of Wharton. The earl of Portmore was appointed commander in chief of her Majeſty's forces in Portugal, and the duke of Hamilton lord lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaſter.

Harley did not make ſuch an entire change as the Tories expected. But the numbers who were turned out of office now, and on another occaſion ſoon after, ſufficiently prove, that the Whigs had as carefully excluded the Tories from all places of honour and profit, as the Tories would have now excluded the Whigs in their turn. The military operations, mentioned in the correſpondence of this year, are the taking of Douay on the 26th of June, of Bethune the 29th Auguſt, of St. Venant the 30th September, and of Aire the 9th November. The baron

1710. January. de Bothmar was expected as envoy extraordinary from the Elector; and the Queen ſent the earl of Rivers again to Hannover, before the end of the year.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

He gives his reaſons for reſigning the command of the army of the Empire.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 111.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Hannover, Jan. 4th, 1710.

"HAving been obliged to throw up the command of the army on the Rhine, and having communicated to his Imperial Majeſty the reſolution I took of doing ſo, I did not chooſe to fail in acquitting myſelf of the ſame duty to your Majeſty; and in aſſuring you, that I was not brought to that reſolution, but by invincible reaſons; and after having made all the efforts, and all the remonſtrances poſſible, for putting things, on that ſide, in the ſtate which the good of the common cauſe required. I even propoſed effectual means for obliging all thoſe to furniſh their contingent, who had neglected it: but far from ſucceeding, that meaſure has only ſerved to draw on me their hatred. Beſides, ſome circles do not chooſe to permit their troops to be commanded but by their own generals. It was not in my power to diſpoſe of the command; ſo that ſeeing all ſubordination ruined, and the diſorder carried to ſuch a height, that it was abſolutely without a remedy, I thought I could not continue to command an army ſo ill provided in every thing, without expoſing my reputation; and I declared this early, leſt I ſhould occaſion any diſappointment.

I entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded, that this will not hinder me from ſhewing always the ſame zeal, as well in exhorting the different members of the Empire to do what they ought for their defence, as in giving them the example. I hope that your Majeſty will approve of my conduct, and that you will do me the juſtice to believe, that your approbation is the principal end which I propoſed to myſelf; and that I am, with great reſpect, Madam, your Majeſty's, &c."

The

The Elector to Queen Anne.

1710. February. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 111.

Repeats his reaſons for reſigning the command of the army of the Empire.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Hannover, Feb. 6th, 1710.

"I Received, with great gratitude, the letter of the 5th of January, with which your Majeſty honoured me. There is nothing more worthy of your zeal for the good cauſe, than the lively exhortations which you take care to make to all the allies, to induce them to act with more vigour than heretofore, againſt the common enemy; and nothing would be more juſt than to imitate the great example which your Majeſty gives in that reſpect. It does not depend upon my repreſentations that that does not happen in the Empire; but they have been hitherto ſo ineffectual, that I dare not promiſe myſelf a better ſucceſs for the future. This obliged me to diveſt myſelf of the command of the army, on the Rhine, as I did myſelf the honour of notifying to your Majeſty, by my former letter. I would imagine, that I encroached upon your time, if I repeated the reaſons which it contains. I flatter myſelf that your Majeſty will honour them with your approbation, and that you will acknowledge, that nothing but an abſolute neceſſity could induce me to adopt ſuch a meaſure; and that ſeeing my preſence uſeleſs with the army on the Rhine, and my reputation expoſed, I ought not to render myſelf reſponſible for the bad conſequences which the diſorders, that I endeavoured ſo ineffectually to redreſs, might have. I ſhall not ſpare, however, either my attentions or my exhortations to put things upon a better footing, and I ſhall give the example, as much as it depends upon me. I entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded of this; and that I am, with great reſpect, Madam, &c.

Queen Anne to the Elector.

Original. Ibid. No. 112.

Entreating him to reſume the command of the army.

Tranſlation.

BROTHER, St. James's, April 18th, 1710.

"I Could not obſerve, but with great regret, the reſolution which you took of diveſting yourſelf of the command of the army on the Rhine, as you notified to me, in your letter of the 15th of January; and confirmed again by another of the 6th of February. I am very ſorry

1710. April. that you have had ſo many reaſons to induce you to adopt that meaſure; but, as I am perſuaded that your preſence with that army is of the laſt importance, I cannot hinder myſelf from hoping, that matters will run in a better train: and that the ſtates of the Empire, ſeeing that they are to loſe ſuch a leader at the head of their troops, will exert themſelves to remedy the diſorders of which they complain: and for this purpoſe I wrote, ſome time ago, to the princes and circles of the Empire; and I preſſed ſtrongly his Imperial Majeſty to remove the difficulties which may hinder you: and I have reaſon to believe, that my repreſentations have had a good effect; for I own, that my confidence, with regard to that army, was always in your conduct and in your valour. And you appear to me to be the only one who is able to render it, in ſome meaſure, uſeful to the common cauſe; and if you abſolutely throw up that command, I ſee nothing that can keep the enemy at bay, on that ſide. The ſeaſon for the campaign advances, and a diverſion on the Upper Rhine will have an extraordinary effect to the advantage of the common cauſe. It is for this reaſon I continue to ſhew you ſtill the deſire I have that you may reconcile yourſelf to the command of the army on the Rhine for this year: and I aſſure you, at the ſame time, that there is no one who has your reputation more at heart than I. But I believe it above every thing that can happen on that ſide, where all the world muſt be convinced, that nothing will be wanting of what depends upon you for rendering the arms of the Empire more uſeful and more glorious than they have been heretofore. I am, with a great deal of affection and eſteem, Brother, your affectionate Siſter,

ANNE R.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2.

The Dutcheſs of Marlborough to Mrs. Howe.

Windſor-Lodge, May 8th, 1710.

"I AM really very much aſhamed, Madam, that this poor *gentleman has waited ſo long here for ſo inconſiderable a thing; for I hope nobody thinks it my fault. I can think him to blame to refuſe what he did; and ſince he is ſo far from his friends, that he cannot have any help from them, I deſire you will give him this little bill. I have writ to Mr. Walpole ſince I had the favour of your letter; and he ſays, that he hopes in a very few days, he ſhall be able to provide for this gentle-

* Mr. D'Ythier.

man.

man. I am, Madam, with a great deal of reſpect, your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant, 1710. May.

S. MARLBOROUGH.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

He gives further reaſons for declining the command.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 113.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, May 19th, 1710.

"I Received, with the utmoſt acknowledgments, the obliging letter with which your Majeſty honoured me. I doubt not but the intelligence which you will have received, after having written that letter, of the ſtate of affairs on the Rhine, have entirely convinced you, that none of the deficiencies of which I complained have been ſupplied; and that the army of the Empire will be leſs in condition than ever to act in the manner which the intereſt of the Allies would require. Accordingly his Imperial Majeſty has ſo well comprehended the reaſons which I advanced to him, for quitting the command of that army, that he has entirely acquieſced in them. This he has been ſo good as to notify to me, by his letter of the 3d inſtant; and to inform me, at the ſame time, that he conferred the command of that army upon prince Eugene of Savoy; and that, without leaving the Low Countries, he would command the army of the Empire. I entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded, that I ſhall do, in other reſpects, whatever depends upon me, for contributing to the good of the common cauſe, and for giving to your Majeſty, in particular, marks of the perfect veneration and reſpect, with which I am, &c."

The Earl of Rocheſter to the Elector.

Profeſſions.

June. Original. Ibid. No. 114.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Whitehall, June 22d, 1710.

"MR. Murray having told me, upon his arrival here, that he had received orders from your Electoral Highneſs to wait upon me, on your Highneſs's part, gives me the boldneſs to render very humble thanks, for the honour which your Electoral Highneſs was pleaſed to do me on this occaſion. This mark of your Electoral Highneſs's remembrance of a man ſo removed from the world, and deprived of the means of

1710. June. of rendering himſelf uſeful to your ſervice, obliges me ſo much the more to be ſenſibly touched with a goodneſs ſo extraordinary. Of this I humbly beſeech you to be entirely perſuaded, and to believe that I wiſh, with ardour, to have opportunities of aſſuring your Electoral Highneſs, that I am, with all ſubmiſſion, Sir, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 116.

The Earl Ilay † to the Elector.

Profeſſions.

Tranſlation.

SIR, London, June 26th, 1710.

"THE liberty which I take in addreſſing myſelf, after this manner, to your Electoral Highneſs, convinces me how the greateſt of our duties are, ſometimes, incompatible with one another. I had no means, at preſent, of aſſuring your Electoral Highneſs, with what zeal my brother and I are inviolably attached to the intereſts of your illuſtrious family, without being guilty, at the ſame time, of a preſumption which I would be afraid might deſtroy all the little merit I wanted to do myſelf the honour of eſtabliſhing, if I had not too well experienced formerly the goodneſs of your Electoral Highneſs to deſpair of it at this time. Mr. Murray will do himſelf the honour to inform your Electoral Highneſs of the ſtate of our public affairs here; which are, in reality, ſufficiently embroiled; although I doubt not but every thing will ſucceed for the intereſts of the kingdom, by ſecuring more effectually thoſe of your Electoral Highneſs; of whom I am, with all poſſible ſubmiſſion, Sir, &c."

Original. Ibid. No. 115.

Lord Howard of Eſcrick to the Elector.

Empty profeſſions.

June, 1710.

"GIVE me leave, great Sir, who, with ſo much paſſion, am devoted to your intereſt, to congratulate your Electoral Highneſſe upon the account of thoſe addreſſes which at preſent come from all parts of England, with one voice, expreſſing their zeal for her Majeſtyes rights and your moſt illuſtrious family.

Permit me alſo to aſſure your Electoral Highneſſe of my moſt dutyful ſervice, and that I ſhall ever eſteem any opportunity, whereby I may be enabled to ſhew my zeal, the happyeſt part of my life; being moſt ſincerely, &c."

† He was afterwards duke of Argyle.

The

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the taking of Douay.

Tranſlation.

1710. June. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 237.

SIR, Camp at Douay, June 28th, 1710.

"YOUR Electoral Highneſs will be ſo well informed, by Monſieur de Bulau, of what paſſed at the ſiege of Douay, that I did not think it neceſſary to trouble you with my letters on the ſame ſubject. But having at laſt ſucceeded, by the bleſſing of the Almighty, I could not avoid to make my very humble congratulations to your Electoral Highneſs on the event: and to do juſtice, at the ſame time, to ſuch of your troops as had a ſhare in it; and who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on all occaſions, and contributed greatly to this great ſucceſs, which may be conſidered as a ſort of compenſation for the unjuſt delays of the enemy, in agreeing to a reaſonable peace. I hope, likewiſe, it will not fail to inſpire France with ſentiments more equitable than thoſe which ſhe has hitherto diſcovered. I have the honour to be, with inviolable attachment and reſpect, Sir, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of the 28th June.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 238. July.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, July 11th, 1710.

"I AM much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, concerning the taking of Douay. It is a conqueſt ſo important, that it is juſt to expect the conſequences which you hope from it, with regard to a general peace. I greatly rejoiced to hear from yourſelf, that ſuch of my troops as were employed at the ſiege, ſerved there in a manner which merits your approbation. I wiſh you, my lord, during the reſt of the campaign, a continuance of the ſucceſs; taking always a part, very ſincerely, in the great things which you do for the common cauſe, and in the glory which accrues to you thereby. I am, very ſincerely, &c."

The

1710. Auguſt. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 117.

The Elector to the Earl of Rocheſter.

An anſwer to his lordſhip's letter of 22d June.

My Lord, Auguſt 4th, 1710.

"ALthough I did not give any commiſſion to Mr. Murray to wait on you from me, (which I ſhould have done very willingly, if I had known that he had the honour of being acquainted with you) I yet received, with no leſs pleaſure, the letter which you gave him for me. I did not chooſe to delay to thank you for it; and to aſſure you, that I am as ſenſible as I ought to be, of the civilities which it contains. I hope that my lord Cornbury will be ſatisfied with thoſe which he received during his ſtay at Hannover; and I entreat you to believe, that I was very happy to find that opportunity of ſhewing you the regard which I have for you, and for thoſe who belong to you; being ſincerely, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid.

The Elector to the Earl of Ilay.

An anſwer to his lordſhip's letter of 26th June.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Auguſt 4th, 1710.

"MR. Murray delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me; by which I was very happy to hear of you, and of the continuance of your attachment to the intereſts of my family. I read, with great pleaſure, what you add, that the duke of Argyle is in the ſame ſentiments. You will oblige me, by thanking him on my part; and by aſſuring him of the regard which I have for him. I entreat you to be perſuaded that I have not forgot you, ſince your departure from Hannover; and that I am ſincerely, &c.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid.

The Elector to Lord Howard of Eſcrick.

An anſwer to his lordſhip's letter of June.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Auguſt 4th, 1710.

"MR. Murray delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I did not chooſe to delay to thank you for it, and to ſhew you that I received, as I ought, the aſſurances which it contains of your attachment to the intereſts of my family. I ſhall

be

be very happy to ſhew you this, on all the occaſions that ſhall preſent themſelves of doing you a pleaſure. I am, &c." 1710. Auguſt.

Queen Anne to the Elector.

This letter was ſent by the Earl of Rivers.

Aſſurances of friendſhip and eſteem.

Original Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 124.

Tranſlation.

BROTHER, Kenſington, Auguſt 14th, 1710.

AS it is always my greateſt deſire to ſhew you, by all ſorts of means, the very particular friendſhip and eſteem which I have for you, and for all your family, which is ſo dear to me, and ſo ſtrictly connected with me; I thought proper to make choice of a man equally diſtinguiſhed by his abilities and his birth, for carrying to you proofs of this, on the preſent occaſion. It is my couſin and counſellor, the earl of Rivers, whom I have charged with this commiſſion; and as he is fully inſtructed in my ſentiments, I will not enlarge; leaving to him to explain them more at length; and entreating you only to give credit to what he will tell you from me; eſpecially when he will give you aſſurances of my attachment to your intereſts, and with how much truth I am, &c.

The Duke of Shrewſbury to the Elector.

Original. Ibid. No. 129.

Sent by the Earl of Rivers.

Aſſurances of attachment to his Highneſs, and to the ſucceſſion in his family.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Auguſt 18th, 1710.

"ALthough I have not the honour of being known to your Electoral Highneſs, but as I have that of being called to her Majeſty's council, I hold myſelf obliged to take this opportunity of aſſuring your Electoral Highneſs of my zeal, and of my attachment to your ſervice: and I conſider the intereſts of the Queen, my miſtreſs, ſo united with thoſe of your Highneſs, that, I believe, I cannot ſerve her Majeſty better than by contributing the little that ſhall be in my power, to the continuance of the good underſtanding which ſubſiſts between her Majeſty and your Electoral Highneſs; being perſuaded that nothing can more effectually deſtroy the cabals of thoſe who ſeek to diſturb the peace of the

1710. Auguſt. one at preſent, and the ſucceſſion of the other hereafter, than that all the world ſhould be convinced, not only that the friendſhip between her Majeſty and your Highneſs is perfect, but that there was an openneſs of heart and of ſentiments, for concerting whatever may be advantageous to both; that is to ſay, of the glory and repoſe of her Majeſty during her life, and afterwards to the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion in your illuſtrious family.

Your Highneſs will pardon me, if in the firſt letter which I have the honour of writing to you, I expreſs myſelf with ſo much freedom; but my heart is naturally open, and particularly zealous in theſe affairs. But as the earl of Rivers, my relation and my intimate friend, will have the honour to ſpeak more fully upon this ſubject, I ſhall finiſh, with aſſuring your Highneſs, that I am, with all imaginable attachment and reſpect for your perſon.

Your Electoral Highneſs's

Moſt humble, moſt obedient, and moſt ſubmiſſive ſervant,

SHREWSBURY.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 127.

The Earl of Rocheſter to the Elector.

Sent by the earl of Rivers.

Aſſurances of attachment. — Thanks for the reception given to Lord Cornbury at Hannover.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Auguſt 24th, 1710.

"THE earl of Rivers going from the Queen to your Electoral Highneſs, gives me a favourable opportunity of preſenting myſelf once more before you; and of ſhewing you, with all ſubmiſſion, the ſhare which I cannot hinder myſelf from taking in this circumſtance, that affairs, on our ſide, appear to me in a better train for the intereſt of your Electoral Highneſs than heretofore. This gives me a very particular joy and ſatisfaction, as a preſage of the great advantages which an entire confidence between her Majeſty and the ſerene family of your Electoral Highneſs ſhould produce to the common cauſe. At the ſame time I take the liberty of returning very humble thanks to your Electoral Highneſs for the honour which you did me, by your letter of the fourth of Auguſt, as well as for the extraordinary marks of your goodneſs to

my

my lord Cornbury, with which he was loaded, (as he wrote to me) during the time he had the honour of being in your ſerene preſence, and at your magnificent court. As to the reſt, I very humbly entreat your Electoral Highneſs to be entirely perſuaded, that I am, with a perfect ſubmiſſion, &c." 1710. Auguſt.

The following letter is a matter of ſome curioſity. The duke ſtrangely altered his opinion ſince the twentieth of June, when he wrote to the duke of Berwick a letter containing juſt ſuch other profeſſions to the pretended prince of Wales, whoſe reſtoration would deſtroy "the ſafety and the liberty not only of Britain, but of all Europe." He was even at this time in correſpondence with Villars about the Pretender.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 239.

He profeſſes attachment.—He charges Harley and his party with a deſign of bringing back the Pretender.—He promiſes his advice and aſſiſtance to the Elector's Envoy.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Auguſt 30, 1710.

"I Am not able to expreſs to your Electoral Highneſs how truly ſenſible I am of the great marks of confidence which you did me the honour of giving to me by general Bulau. I intreat your Highneſs to be perſuaded that I ſhall endeavour to deſerve them, by an inviolable attachment to your intereſts, with which I conſider thoſe of my country and of Europe as inſeparably connected. I hope there never will be found, in England, a conſiderable number of men who can be ſeduced to a degree capable of ruining it, by allowing themſelves to be impoſed upon by the artifices of Mr. Harley and others, who conduct themſelves, at preſent, in a manner to leave it no longer a doubt, that their views tend to bring back the pretended prince of Wales.

We feel but too much already the effects of their bad intentions, by the change of my lord treaſurer; this ſtep having ruined our credit in the kingdom; and having loſt us the confidence of our beſt allies. I deſire, with great impatience, to converſe with the baron de Bothmar; and I flatter myſelf that your Electoral Highneſs does me the juſtice to believe, that I ſhall act, in all things,

1710. Auguſt. after the manner which you will judge moſt conducive to your intereſt. I ſhall give to the baron de Bothmar, all the lights and explanations which I can, to aſſiſt him in the execution of his important commiſſion; in which I ſhall ever co-operate with him, as ſoon as I ſhall return to England, whither I ſhall repair, as ſoon as the operations of the campaign will permit me, with any appearance of decency. I hope to be able there to employ uſefully my attentions, my credit, and my friends, for advancing the intereſt of your Electoral Highneſs, and o your ſerene family; and for preventing, at the ſame time, the pernicious deſigns of thoſe men, who want to eſtabliſh principles, and to form cabals and projects which will infallibly overturn the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and with it, the ſafety and liberty of their country, and of all Europe. I am, with a profound reſpect, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 241.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the taking of Bethune.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp at Viler Brulin, Auguſt 31, 1710.

"I Very humbly entreat your Electoral Highneſs to accept of the congratulations which I do myſelf the honour of ſending on the taking of Bethune: the governor of which beat the Chamade on the twenty-eighth, at the very time that we were employed in firing a *feu de joye*, for the victory obtained by his Catholic Majeſty in Catalonia; and the garriſon left it this morning, to be conducted to St. Omers. I preſume to hope, that this freſh ſucceſs of the arms of the high allies, will open the eyes of the enemy, and contribute to render them more tractable, and to reduce within juſt bounds, to the ſatisfaction of your Electoral Highneſs, and of all thoſe who love the public good. I am, with an inviolable reſpect and attachment, &c."

Doctor

Doctor Hutton to the Elector.

1710. September. Hannover Papers vol. marked Princes. No. 121.

A violent party-man giving an account of the late changes, and of the ſtate of public affairs.—He juſtifies the miniſtry.—He is ſtrangely ignorant.—The letter contains the common talk of the times; and, in that light, it is a matter of curioſity.—But the length of it is moſt inexcuſable.—The moſt ſtriking paſſages, therefore, are only preſerved in this abridgment.

Tranſlation.

SIR, London, September 5, 1710.

'IT is with joy I preſume, once more, with the moſt profound reſpect imaginable, to addreſs myſelf to your Electoral Highneſs; and to tell you that her Majeſty begins to reign, and that the oligarchy which tyrannized and threatened ſo long the Queen and the Britiſh nations, begins to vaniſh in this kingdom; where a little cabal made obedience the duty of the ſovereign, and dominion the prerogative of two or three ſubjects for ſome years." He then tells him, that her Majeſty has placed herſelf on the throne and at the head of her treaſury. That ſhe has ſent bills of exchange to Holland, for paying her troops in Flanders and Portugal; "and ſhe has made ſufficient proviſion for their payment for the next ſix months, notwithſtanding the tricks and chicane of the lord Godolphin and his party."

"The nation in general adores her Majeſty, and commends extremely the conduct of the new miniſtry; who had the courage and loyalty ſo ſeaſonably to preſerve the Queen and the monarchy. It is very certain, that four years ago, the Queen thought of diſmiſſing her treaſurer and her general. But the corruption of the two laſt parliaments always prevented her." By Mr. Harley's good offices, he ſays, the Queen received the duke of Shrewſbury into her confidence, as well as Mr. Harley himſelf, "who was always very loyal and active, and religiouſly devoted to the intereſts of her Majeſty and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, in the illuſtrious family of your Electoral Highneſs."

"The Queen cannot avoid ſuſpecting all thoſe, who have a familiar correſpondence with her general, who had already ſet himſelf up as a protector; and his creatures had the inſolence, as well as the impudence, during all the laſt winter, to drink to his health under that fine title." He tells him, that the general and treaſurer, afraid of contributing to the advantage

1710. September. advantage of his Electoral Highneſs, and of reſtoring to the Queen the liberty, of which ſhe had been ſo long deprived, were induced to intrigue with their party in the houſe of commons, to take notice of ſome imprudent expreſſions of the ſpeaker; and, by that means to embarraſs her Majeſty's affairs, and prevent their own fall. When Shrewſbury, he ſays, was put in poſſeſſion of his office, without the knowledge of the treaſurer or the general, his ducheſs, with her uſual inſolence, began to quarrel with her Majeſty. But her Majeſty, wearied of hearing ſo much abuſe from ſuch a peeviſh woman, forbad her to appear in her preſence; ſince which time, her Majeſty has been allowed to tranſact buſineſs in peace.

"At length the earl of Rivers is gone to fulfil the office which Mr. Creſſet * had to execute. An individual ſhould never pretend to know what the commiſſions of his ſovereign contain, with regard to affairs of ſtate; of which, it is certain, the public is entirely ignorant. The cabal, and the public miniſters of the foreign potentates, who were always cloſely connected with lord Godolphin, and who were almoſt all ſeduced, or rather charmed and bewitched by him, for very ſtrong reaſons, no doubt, give out in their public walks and converſation, that lord Rivers is ſent by her Majeſty to offer the command of the army to your Electoral Highneſs; at leaſt, to come over to this country and pay a viſit to her Majeſty, &c. What! ſay they, will a great ſovereign prince, as the Elector of Brunſwick, leave his own dominions and viſit the Queen? or will he chuſe to command an army after a general who has triumphed ſo often, gained ſo many battles, and taken ſo many towns? Theſe wicked men have, for a long time, expoſed your Electoral Highneſs in this manner." He tells his Electoral Highneſs, that Charles V. viſited Henry VIII. and that King William viſited the duke of Zell and his Electoral Highneſs. That, ſince her Majeſty has thought proper to diſmiſs her general, he aſks, "if there is any one ſo proper to command the armies of the Queen and the Britiſh nation, as the proteſtant ſucceſſor? in which proteſtant ſucceſſor her Majeſty and her people place all their hopes," &c.

* Mr. Creſſet had been ſent in capacity of envoy from her Majeſty to his Electoral Highneſs.

He

He profeſſes his attachment to the Electoral family, and entreats his Electoral Highneſs to accept of the command of the army. He exclaims againſt the meaſures of the late miniſtry; and ſays, that her Majeſty had juſt reaſon to be offended with them: and he concludes with praying "God to preſerve the perſon of your Electoral Highneſs, with your illuſtrious family." 1710. September.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of the 30th of Auguſt.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 240.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Herrenhauſen, Sept. 8, 1710.

"I AM very much obliged to you for your letter of the 30th of Auguſt, which was filled with ſuch ſtrong teſtimonies of zeal and attachment to my intereſts, that I cannot but be very ſenſible of them. I am likewiſe very grateful for your offer of aſſiſting the baron de Bothmar, during his ſtay at London, with your good advices; for which he will have all the deference which is due to a perſon whoſe great underſtanding and good intentions are equally known to me. He will do every thing in his power to have the honour of ſeeing you before he paſſes the ſea; and perhaps he will paſs it along with you, it being very proper that he ſhould remain here, until I am informed of the propoſals which my lord Rivers will have to make to me.

I hope that nothing will be capable of inducing the Queen to take the command of her armies from a general who acquitted himſelf in it with ſo much glory and ſo much ſucceſs, and in whoſe hands I ſhall always ſee it with pleaſure; being very ſincerely, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter, adviſing him of the taking of Bethune.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 242.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Herrenhauſen, Sept. 12, 1710.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the trouble which you took in notifying to me the taking of Bethune. I wiſh you, with all my heart, a ſimilar ſucceſs in all the enterpriſes which you have determined to form for finiſhing ſo brilliant a campaign. I take a very great part in the glory which ariſes to you from it, and in whatever can happen agree-

1710. September. able to you. I rejoice with you at the great news received from Spain; from which there is reaſon to expect very advantageous conſequences; and I always am, very ſincerely, &c."

Robethon writes on the top of the following letter *de main propre*; ſo that the Elector ſeems to have uſually tranſcribed his ſecretary's rough draughts.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 125.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

Thanks for the letter he received by the Earl of Rivers.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Herrenhauſen, Sept. 14, 1710.

"IT is with the utmoſt acknowledgment I received, by the earl of Rivers, the letter with which your Majeſty was pleaſed to honour me. I feel, as I ought, the goodneſs which you have had in ſending me a man of the merit and diſtinction of that lord. He could not bring me any thing more agreeable than the aſſurance which he gave me that your Majeſty is ſo good as to continue to me the honour of your kindneſs. I conſider it always as the moſt valuable of all my advantages; and I ſhall never ceaſe to cultivate it with all poſſible attention. This is a duty which the ties of blood impoſe upon me, but to which I am principally diſpoſed by my own inclinations, and by the deſire of meriting, in all my conduct, the approbation of your Majeſty, and of ſhewing you that I am, with great reſpect, &c."

Original. Ibid. No. 126.

The Earl of Rivers to Baron Bernſdorff.

Baron Bernſdorff was preſident of the council of Hannover.

Tranſlation.

SIR, September 24, 1710.

"I Do not pretend to dictate to you, in what manner I wiſh that his Electoral Highneſs would anſwer the Queen's letter. But I am ſo attached to the intereſts of his Electoral Highneſs, that I take a part in whatever concerns him. It is for this reaſon, that I take the liberty of communicating to you my advice, concerning his anſwer. If his Electoral Highneſs would write in terms ſimilar to theſe.

"It

1710. September.

" It is impoſſible to feel a more lively gratitude than I do, for all the bounty which her Majeſty expreſſes for me. I would eſteem myſelf infinitely happy, if I could find the means of ſhewing her, by effects, the zeal which I have for her ſervice; and the greateſt favour which her Majeſty can do me, is to put me in a condition of being able to be uſeful to her.

If you can contrive that the letter may be ſent to me to-day, you will oblige very much, &c."

The following letter is a matter of great curioſity. Buckingham's principles, in favour of the Stuarts, are well known; yet it ſeems he was perſecuted by the Whigs, for his attachment to the houſe of Hannover. What an unjuſt race of men theſe Whigs were!

The Duke of Buckingham to the Elector.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 122.

He complains he was perſecuted by the late miniſtry for his attachment to the Elector.—He wiſhes his Highneſs had a more faithful miniſter in London.

SIR, September 29, 1710.

" IT is ſo common a practiſe, on theſe occaſions, to make addreſſes of this nature, that, notwithſtanding the honour of writing to ſo great a prince, yet I could never have much ſatisfaction in doing it, if every body had not been a witneſs both of my zealous endeavours in your ſervice, and of my ſuffering alſo ſufficiently on that account, if it can be called ſuffering, to receive the honour of being excluded from the councells of your enemies, and from a miniſtry, ſo little favoring your illuſtrious family. But in what manner I become, for your ſake, the mark of their malice, ſo as to be rendered incapable, either of ſerving the Queen, or of holding any longer correſpondence with her Royal Highneſs, your mother, by letters that were ſure to be intercepted, is not worthy of your attention, at this time; hoping, one day, to have the happyneſs and honour of entertaining your Electoral Highneſs on that ſubject. Yet, upon this occaſion, I am obliged to do juſtice to all the moſt conſiderable of our party, by aſſuring your Electoral Highneſs, that they alſo were ready to lay themſelves at your feet, as zealouſly as their duty to the Queen permitted, if ſome more faithful miniſter had

1710. October. been ſent hither from Hannover, which therefore I was often deſired by them to requeſt of her Royal Highneſs accordingly. After this, I hope I need ſay no more to aſſure your Electoral Highneſs, that I ſhall make it ſtill my conſtant endeavour, to ſhew my duty, both to the Queen, my miſtreſs, and my country, by all the wayes that are capable of demonſtrating how entirely I am,

Your Highneſs's moſt humble, faithful, and moſt obedient Servant,

BUCKINGHAM."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 128.

The Elector to the Earl of Rocheſter.

An anſwer to the Letter he had received by the Earl of Rivers.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Herrenhauſen, October 16, 1710.

" I Received, with a great deal of pleaſure, the letter which you wrote to me, by the earl of Rivers. I am very ſenſible of the civilities which it contains. The Queen gave me, till now, ſo many proofs of her good-will, that I have nothing to deſire but the continuance of her kindneſs. I doubt not, but you will be ſo good, as to employ your influence with her Majeſty to procure it for me. You can never confer a more ſenſible obligation upon me, ſince I conſider the honour of her friendſhip, as the moſt valuable of all her advantages. I ſhall be very happy to owe that obligation to a perſon of your merit, for whom I have ſo particular a regard.

The honour which my lord Combury has of belonging to you, was ſufficient to procure for him here, a favourable reception. It was no leſs due to his own merit. I am very happy, that both you and he received ſatisfaction from it; and I ſhall have always a great ſatisfaction, when I ſhall find opportunities of ſhewing you, that I am, very ſincerely, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 130.

The Elector to the Duke of Shrewſbury.

An anſwer to the Letter he had received by the Earl of Rivers.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Herrenhauſen, October 16, 1710.

" I Did not chooſe to fail, in thanking you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, by the earl of Rivers. I am ſo much the more ſenſible of its obliging contents, that they come from a perſon

perſon of ſuch diſtinguiſhed merit, and who has given ſo many ſhining proofs of his good intentions toward the public and for the proteſtant ſucceſſion. It is with great ſatisfaction, I learn that the Queen honours, with her confidence, a miniſter, who ſerved her predeceſſor, of glorious memory, with ſo much loyalty. I doubt not, but you will be ſo good as to exert yourſelf, in confirming more and more, the good underſtanding which I ſhall always maintain, very carefully, with her Majeſty. You can never do me a greater pleaſure, nor render me a greater ſervice, than by contributing, as much as depends on you, to the continuance of that valuable friendſhip, of which her Majeſty gave me ſo many proofs. 1710. October.

I acknowledge very gratefully the honour which ſhe did me, in ſending me a perſon of the merit and diſtinction of my lord Rivers. He acquitted himſelf very worthily, in the commiſſion with which ſhe charged him. Among ſo many qualities which render him eſtimable, it is ſtill a freſh motive for me to know, that he is your relation and your friend. I hope that he will be ſatisfied with the reception that was given him here; and that you will acknowledge, that I embrace with pleaſure, opportunities of ſhewing you, that I am very ſincerely, &c."

The Elector to Queen Anne, ſent by the Earl of Rivers.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 131.

MADAM, Herrenhauſen, October 17, 1710.

"I Cannot allow the earl of Rivers to depart, without doing myſelf the honour of returning my humble thanks to your Majeſty, for the letter which he delivered to me from you, and without expreſſing to you how ſenſible I am of the goodneſs which your Majeſty has had, in ſending to me a man of this diſtinction. He acquitted himſelf very worthily and to my entire ſatisfaction, of the commiſſion which your Majeſty had given him in charge. I doubt not but he will inform you of the grateful acknowledgments, with which I received the aſſurances he gave me, of the kindneſs with which your Majeſty continues to honour me. I ſhall endeavour to make a ſuitable return to it, by devoting myſelf entirely to your ſervice; and I ſhall always ſeek, with earneſtneſs, for opportunities of giving you proofs of the reſpect with which I am, &c."

1710. October. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 132.

The Duke of Shrewſbury to the Elector.

Violent profeſſions of attachment.

Tranſlation.

SIR, October 20, 1710.

"HAving learned that Mr. Creſſet deſigns to go to Hannover, I would not loſe this opportunity of renewing to your Electoral Highneſs, my aſſurances of a faithful and inviolable attachment to your intereſt and to that of your family; wiſhing for nothing more ardently, than for opportunities of ſhewing my zeal for your ſervice. Therefore, I hope it will not be in the power of calumniators (with whom we abound in this iſland) to throw any on this truth, which I am ready to juſtify at the hazard of my life; but which your Electoral Highneſs will have the juſtice to judge by its effects; and I flatter myſelf that your Highneſs will be perſuaded, that I am, with all imaginable ſincerity and veneration, Sir, &c."

Original.

The Princeſs Sophia to Queen Anne, ſent by the Earl of Rivers.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Herrenhauſen, October 20, 1710.

"I Received with all poſſible reſpect, the letter which your Majeſty did me the honour of writing to me, and what was reported to me from you by your couſin and counſellor, the earl of Rivers, a perſon whom I greatly reſpected, both on account of his diſtinguiſhed birth and his own merit. I return very humble thanks to your Majeſty, for the aſſurances you was pleaſed to give me of your good-will, and I am particularly obliged to you, for the ſentiments of affection, which your Majeſty condeſcends to preſerve for my family, and of which I preſume to beg the continuance. I entreated the earl of Rivers, to whom I refer myſelf, to aſſure your Majeſty of my very humble acknowledgments, and of the very reſpectful attachment with which I am, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 123.

The Elector to the Duke of Buckingham.

The Elector takes no notice of the Duke's objections to his Miniſter in London.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, October 21, 1710.

"I Received with pleaſure, the letter of the 29th of the laſt month, which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am very much

obliged to you for the civilities which it contains, and for the aſſurances which you give me in it of your attachment to the intereſts of my family. I am very happy, that having ſuch ſentiments, the Queen has called you to a poſt, where you ſhall have opportunities of ſhewing it. You cannot render me a greater ſervice, than by employing your influence with her Majeſty, in preſerving to me that valuable friendſhip with which ſhe honours me; and of which I ſhall conſider the continuance as the greateſt benefit. I ſhall ſearch for opportunities of ſhewing you, how great a regard I have for your perſon, and that I am ſincerely, &c." 1710. October.

Robert Harley to the Elector.

November. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 134.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, London, November 1, 1710.

"I Do myſelf the honour to make this tender of my moſt humble duty to your Electoral Highneſs, by the hands of Mrs. Creſſet; who being my relation, and her affairs calling her into Germany, I was not willing to let her goe, without putting into your Highneſſe's hands this teſtimony of my devotion to your Electoral Highneſſes perſon and your ſerene houſe. I have hitherto choſe, that this ſhould appear rather by my actions, than by bare words; but ſince the Queen has done me the honor to bring me again into her ſervice, I could not be a faithful or acceptable ſervant to her Majeſty, without ſtudying to ſerve your Highneſſes intereſt.

I do not preſume to give your Electoral Highneſs any account of the late changes heer; I doubt not, but that earle Rivers has laid before you the grounds which neceſſitated the Queen to do what ſhe has done; which has alſo given the greater and better part of the nation an opportunity to expreſs their duty to your moſt ſerene houſe.

I have taken the liberty to write this in Engliſh, becauſe I know your Electoral Highneſs has an Engliſh heart §; and that you may be aſſured it comes from a heart entirely devoted to your ſervice. I am, with the profoundeſt duty,

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,
Your Electoral Highneſſes
Moſt dutiful, moſt humble, and moſt obedient Servant,
ROBERT HARLEY."

§ There was another reaſon. He could write no other language.

The

1710. November. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 139.

The Duke of Leeds to the Elector.

Empty profeſſions.

SIR, November 1, 1710.

"I Hope your Electoral Highneſs will pardon my acknowledgeing, in this manner, the extraordinary favours, which I underſtand your Highneſs hath beene pleaſed to ſhow to my grandſons, Danby and his brother; and I am ſorry my years will not allow me to go and do it myſelfe.

Whilſt I was able I was an actor, to the beſt of my power, to incompaſs thoſe alterations which were neceſſary for the ſecurity of our religion and laws; and, as thoſe alterations have juſtly brought the ſucceſſion to the crowne of theſe kingdoms into your illuſtrious family, ſo, I doubt not, but they will be preſerved by it, whenever they ſhall come to be under its protection; and although I may not live to pay my perſonal ſervices, I hope I ſhall have a family, both as well principled in loyalty and as dutiful to your perſon and family, as they ought to bee, and with that eſteeme which is due to your Highneſſe from all the world, and particularly from, Sir, &c."

Not many months before the duke of Leeds wrote this letter, he made a long ſpeech at Dr. Sacheverel's trial, wherein he owned, "he had a great ſhare in the late Revolution; but ſaid he never thought things would have gone ſo far, as to ſettle the crown on the prince of Orange, whom he had often heard ſay, that he had no ſuch thoughts himſelf. That they ought to diſtinguiſh between *reſiſtance* and *revolution*; for *vacancy* or *abdication* was the thing they went upon, and therefore reſiſtance was to be forgot, for had it not ſucceeded, it had certainly been rebellion; ſince he knew of *no other* but *hereditary right*."

"The duke of Leeds told me," ſays one, who appears to have been a man of judgment and intelligence, "that he had endeavoured to ſound her [*the Queen*] as much as he could upon this ſubject," of being ſucceeded by her brother, rather than by the Elector of Hannover, "and he is in her confidence, and has free acceſs to her; but though ſhe never choſe to explain heſelf upon this point, ſhe ſays nothing againſt him." Mr. Lamb's memorial, in Stuart papers, 1711.

Mr.

Mr. D'Hervart to Robethon.*

1710. November. Copy in an unknown hand. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2, No. 192.

He gives an account of a converſation with Mr. St. John, who had received a letter from Robethon.

Tranſlation.

SIR, London, November 3, 1710.

"I Do not know if you will recollect my name, after an interruption of our correſpondence for ten or twelve years. The different affairs in which you have been employed, may very naturally have produced ſuch an effect. However, Sir, I embrace, with a real pleaſure, the opportunity which offers, of reſuming a correſpondence; no time having been able to make me forget a man, whom I always highly eſteemed.

After this, Sir, I ſhall tell you, that having a *tête à tête* with Mr. St. John, the ſecretary of ſtate, laſt night, he aſked me if I knew you,—"Perfectly well, Sir, and you cannot addreſs yourſelf to any one that will tell you more about him than I." He anſwered me, that he was very happy at this; and drawing near to his deſk, "take the trouble of reading this letter. I believe you will find it is written very well."

"Sir, as I was for four years in a regular courſe of correſpondence with him, I know what he can do." "It is a letter," ſaid he, "which lord Rivers brought to me from him; and he ſaid a great deal to his advantage. I want to write an anſwer to him. Let me know, I pray you, how his titles are to be marked on his letters;" and then immediately he ſaid to me, "ſince you are acquainted with him ſo long, upon the footing of a perfectly honeſt man, I ſhall be very happy to be able to do him a pleaſure, when the opportunity offers; and I wiſh we may be friends." "Do you approve, Sir, that I ſhould let him know the favourable opinion which you have of him."—"I ſhall be much obliged to you."—"Very well, Sir, I ſhall write to him, Friday next." I perform my promiſe, and ſhall tell him ſo this evening.

This, Sir, is hiſtorically what paſſed between him and me, concerning you, and I repeat it to you word for word, and without any ornament. I ſhall aſſuredly improve the favourable diſpoſitions which this miniſter appears to have towards you; and I ſhall be always happy, to be able to do you a ſervice, on this, and on every other occaſion. I thought it

* Mr. D'Hervart was King William's envoy in Switzerland.

1710. November. proper to let you know, that Mr. St. John appears to be very much my friend, and that I have very ſolid reaſons to believe ſo."

Original. Hannover papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 219.

Mr. De la Motte to Robethon.

The ſame ſubject continued.——Both parties will pay court to the Hanoverian Envoy.

Tranſlation.

November 3, 1710.

"I Am ſorry, that ſome buſineſs which intervenes hinders me from writing to you at leiſure. The day before yeſterday, I ſaw the new Muſcovite ambaſſador. I imagined, after what you wrote to me about him, I thought it was my duty to pay my reſpects. He received me with a great deal of polite attention, for you and for myſelf, and deſired me to ſee him ſometimes. The letter which you gave him to me, was ſtill in the bottom of his trunk.

Yeſterday I received a viſit, on your account. Monſieur de Hervart, whom I do not viſit, becauſe I am afraid of new acquaintances and drop the old, came to ſee me. At firſt, he ſpoke to me of you, and of the eſteem he had for you; this ended, in telling me, that as the Whigs gave you ſome private advantages, you might hope for the ſame thing from the new party (in which he is deeply engaged). I anſwered, that I did not believe the Whigs gave you any ſuch advantages; that, if it had been ſo, I would have perceived ſomething of it, and that you had a maſter, who was alone capable of rewarding your ſervices. "I beg of you," ſays I, "explain to me a little what you mean, that I may underſtand you the better." He ſaid to me, "what is expected from Monſieur de Robethon is, that he ſhould act in concert with the new party in favour of the family of Hannover." This appeared to me, to have been ſuggeſted to him, by Mr. St. John, the new ſecretary of ſtate, with whom I find he is ſo much connected, that I have little doubt, but he will be ſent back to Switzerland. I replied, that you would always do your beſt, to ſupport the intereſt of the Elector, and to ſhew, that the new party was well thought of at your court. I went to my cloſet for your oſtenſible letter, which I read to him all from the beginning, without giving him a copy of it. This made an impreſſion, and I doubt not, but Mr. St. John was regaled that very evening, with what he had retained

retained of it. This is the ſubſtance of our converſation. Perhaps Monſieur de Hervart informed you of all this in the letter which he wrote you. He told me, that he had likewiſe ſeen your couſin. They do not chooſe to diſoblige you, as you ſee. He aſſured me, that my lord Rivers was very well ſatisfied with you; and what is more, for your court, although the public concludes the contrary, from his returning without a preſent. The baron de Bothmar is expected every day. I wiſh he was already arrived. I foreſee, that both ſides will pay court to him, and that he will have occaſion for all his prudence, &c." 1710. November.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the ſurrender of Aire.

Tranſlation.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 243.

SIR, Camp before Aire, November 9, 1710.

"I Have the honour of informing your Electoral Highneſs, by this letter, that we have, at length, ſurmounted all the obſtacles, as well of the rainy ſeaſon as of other unforeſeen obſtruction, which hindered us from finiſhing the ſiege of Aire as ſoon as we imagined. The governour aſked, yeſterday, to capitulate, and he is to evacuate the town, as well as fort St. Francis, the day after to-morrow.

I entreat your Electoral Highneſs to accept of my very humble congratulations on this happy ſucceſs, which rendering us maſters of the greateſt part of Artois, will be of very great importance to us, for the operations of the next campaign. It is very much to be regretted, that the ſeaſon does not permit to make another effort, before the army ſeparates, to endeavour to bring the enemy to reaſon. But it is high time to give ſome eaſe to the troops, after the fatigues which they have endured, during four ſieges ſufficiently obſtinate, and to think of the means of putting them in a condition to act, as ſoon as poſſible, next year: to which, I am perſuaded, your Electoral Highneſs will contribute on your ſide, with your uſual zeal and readineſs.

The ſituation of this town obliges us to put it in a ſtate of defence, before we leave it; after which, we will not delay to retire to winter-quarters. I very humbly entreat your Electoral Highneſs to be perſuaded, that wherever I am, I ſhall do myſelf a great honour, in ſhewing you the inviolable attachment and reſpect with which I am, &c."

1710. November. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 193.

Henry St. John to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

Whitehall, November 10, 1710.

"THE honour which you was pleaſed to do me by your letter of the 23d of the laſt month, deſerved to have an anſwer made to it by the firſt opportunity. This is a duty in which I would not have failed, if I had not been ſo oppreſſed with buſineſs theſe two weeks, that it was impoſſible for me to perform it.

I beg of you, Sir, to believe, that I embrace, with all imaginable pleaſure, the offer which you make me of a correſpondence, that muſt be very agreeable to me, and perhaps uſeful to the two courts which we have the honour of ſerving.

The baron de Bothmar is expected here ſhortly, as I have ſent, ſome time ago, the Queen's orders to the commiſſaries of the admiralty, to ſend over a yatch for him to Holland. He may aſſure himſelf, that I ſhall not fail to render him my ſervices in all things. This is the leaſt mark I can give of the reſpect which I always bore, and which I ſhall never loſe for the court, of which he is the miniſter. Her Majeſty will name ſhortly, the miniſter whom ſhe is to ſend to his Electoral Highneſs. I hope that you will be pleaſed with him, and I doubt not, but you will grant him your protection.

You will always do me a particular favour, when you give me your orders. This is a truth, of which I beg you to be perſuaded; and, at the ſame time, that it is impoſſible to be more ſincerely than I am, with great reſpect, &c."

Ibid. No 214.

Copy of a Letter from a ſecret Correſpondent, which was ſent from London, in cyphers.

The Whigs acknowledge they defend a parliamentary right to the Crown, but deny, that they maintain republican or antimonarchical principles.

Tranſlation.

Nov. 14, 1710.

"MY lord Halifax and my lord Sunderland beg of you, Sir, to explain to your court, that the Whigs are, by no means, for a republic, nor for rendering the crown elective, as they conſider it hereditary in the proteſtant line, and belonging to the neareſt in that line.

But it is not poſſible for the Whigs to abandon the Revolution. They advanced the late King to the throne, and they are obliged to defend his title. Now, they advanced him then in preference to the Queen who now reigns, although ſhe was nearer, and a proteſtant. As this could not be done but by the authority of the parliament, it is natural for the Whigs to defend that authority, and the parliamentary right to the crown; for otherwiſe, they would declare themſelves traitors and rebels. And as the eſtabliſhment of the Hannoverian ſucceſſion is a conſequence of the Revolution, and a work of the late King, your court ſhould take it well of the Whigs, that they defend the Revolution, and ſhould excuſe ſome expreſſions in their laſt writings, which appear to carry too far the authority of the parliament in the affair of the ſucceſſion; and the more ſo, that the maxims of the Tories tending directly to prepare the way for the prince of Wales, and to ſecure his title from being called in queſtion; it is natural for the friends of the Hannoverian ſucceſſion, to maintain a contrary doctrine. The baron de Bothmar is expected impatiently, in order that they may explain themſelves to him more fully upon this ſubject." 1710. November.

Mr. Blathwait to the Elector.

Nothing.

Tranſlation.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 104.

SIR, November 16, 1710.

"MY youngeſt ſon, having made the laſt campaign in Flanders, wiſhed for nothing ſo much, as for the honour of paying his reſpects to your *ſerene* Highneſs, and of offering you all the ſervices, which the time and his duty can exact from a perſon ſo devoted to the *ſerene* family. If by throwing himſelf at the feet of your Electoral Highneſs, he can merit ſome marks of your kindneſs, and of that of the Electoral prince, he will think himſelf very happy, as well as he, who profeſſes to be, with a very profound reſpect, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's Letter of the 9th of November.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 244.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Gohre, November 21, 1710.

"I Received, with ſo much the greater pleaſure, the letter of the 9th inſtant, which you was at the trouble of writing to me, that I ex-

1710. November. pected the taking of Aire with extreme impatience. I congratulate you, upon having finiſhed, by ſo important a conqueſt, ſuch a brilliant campaign. I rejoice, not only for the advantages which reſult from it to the common cauſe, but alſo for the honour which you have acquired thereby; taking always a very great part in whatever concerns you. I ſhall give the neceſſary orders, that my troops may be recruited, with all neceſſary diſpatch, being very happy, on this, as on all other occaſions, to ſhew my zeal for the ſervice of her Majeſty and of the public; and to convince you, in particular, that I am very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 138.

The Elector to Mr. Harley.

An anſwer to Mr. Harley's Letter of November 1ſt.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Hannover, December 15, 1710.

"MRS. Creſſet delivered to me the letter which you took the trouble to write to me. I received, with a great deal of pleaſure, the aſſurances which it contains of your attachment to the intereſt of my family. It is with great joy I learn, that the Queen honours with her confidence, a miniſter, who knows ſo perfectly the true intereſts of Great Britain, and who has always ſhewn ſo much zeal for his country. As I have nothing more at heart, than that friendſhip of which her Majeſty has given me ſo many proofs; you cannot confer a more ſenſible obligation upon me, than by contributing to preſerve it to me. I ſhall cultivate it, on my part, with all poſſible attention; and I ſhall be always very happy to ſhew you the regard which I have for you, and the ſincerity with which I am, &c."

December. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. No. 194.

Robethon † to Mr. St. John.

Tranſlation.

Hannover, December 17, 1710.

"I Received while I was at Gohre, (from whence our court returned three days ago) the obliging letter with which you was pleaſed to honour me. His Electoral Highneſs, who read it, has very expreſsly commanded me to thank you, from him, for the proteſtations which it contains of your zeal for the intereſts of his family; and to aſſure you

† Indorſed in his own hand, "My anſwer to Mr. St. John."

that

that he is very ſenſible of this, and has a very great eſteem and regard for you, knowing your capacity, which renders you ſo deſerving of the choice and confidence of the Queen. 1701. December.

His Electoral Highneſs approves much of my having the honour of writing to you, when Mr. Bothmar ſhall be abſent from London, and buſineſs worthy of your attention ſhall offer. But during the reſidence of that miniſter, at her Majeſty's court, you will allow, no doubt, that ſince he has the entire confidence of his Electoral Highneſs, and is perfectly well acquainted with his intentions, my correſpondence would be very uſeleſs; and would but only weary you by the repetition of things, which Mr. Bothmar will not fail to repreſent to you verbally, much better than I can write them. I ſaid ſo to my lord Rivers, and I muſt add now, that they hope here, you will be pleaſed to give Mr. Bothmar ſome ſhare of your confidence; and will judge him deſerving of this when you know him; having great experience in buſineſs, with a great deal of diſcretion, and impartiality, and known probity. I am not afraid of flattering him, in allowing him theſe qualities.

As to the reſt, I am very much ſurpriſed, Sir, that you ſhould demand my protection, for the miniſter whom her Majeſty ſhall ſend here. I am not upon ſuch a footing at this court, as to be able to protect any one; and the miniſters of ſo great a Queen, have no need of any other protection here, but their character. But with regard to the rendering my ſmall ſervices to him who ſhall come here, and the doing ſo cheerfully, with all imaginable care and ſincerity, I can venture to promiſe this, and I ſhall perform it with pleaſure, as I endeavoured to do, to the late Mr. Creſſet, to my lord Winchelſea, Mr. Poley, and Mr. How.

I received likewiſe, with reſpect and gratitude, the polite things which Mr. D'Hervart wrote to me, by your order. I deſired him to teſtify this to you, and I doubt not, but he has communicated to you the letter which I wrote to him, entreating you to believe, that in all I can do, I ſhall never feel any motive, but that of acquiring the honour of your eſteem, and of being conſidered by you as an honeſt man, a quality without which I would not venture to take the liberty of calling myſelf, with great reſpect, &c."

The

1710. December. Robethon's Draught. Hannover papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 136.

The Elector to Doctor Hutton.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Hannover, December 21, 1710.

"MRS. Creſſet delivered to me the letter which you gave her. I alſo received, in due time, the three letters written in an unknown hand. I am very ſenſible of the marks which you give of your attachment to my intereſt. I learn, with pleaſure, the juſtice which has been done you, by chuſing you a member of the preſent parliament. If any thing paſſes there which you ſhall judge proper to communicate to me, you will oblige me by taking that trouble, and by believing that I ſhall be always very glad to have opportunities of doing you a pleaſure. I am, Sir, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 140.

The Elector to the Duke of Leeds.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of November 1.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, Dec. 22d, 1710.

"THE letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me was delivered to me upon my return hither. I did not chuſe to delay to teſtify to you, how ſenſible I am of the aſſurances which you give me in it, of your attachment to my intereſts and to thoſe of my family. What you have done for the good of your country in the laſt Revolution is well known; and makes me wiſh for the long continuance of a life, of which you know to make ſo good uſe. The regard, which I always had for your perſon and for your great qualities would have been a ſufficient motive to procure an agreeable reception to my lord Danby and his brother; but I can tell you, without flattery, that they deſerved it themſelves, and that their ſtay at Hannover did me a real pleaſure. I entreat you to believe, that I ſhall always do myſelf a great pleaſure, in finding opportunities in obliging you and yours; and in ſhewing you that I am very ſincerely, &c."

Hannover Papers. Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 139.

Extract of a letter from Sir Rowland Gwyne to Robethon.

December 31, 1710.

"IF a prince there is ſo good and wiſe, as to be content to govern according to the conſtitution and laws of the land, he may employ whoever he pleaſeth in his ſervice, without regarding the opinion of others;

others; but with this reſerve, that if they act ill, that he will leave them always to be judged by the laws of the land, and ſuch a declaration would be the beſt means to ſuppreſs inſolence and parties. 1710. December.

But now as to the high-church.

There are 9600 pariſhes in England, and conſequently ſo many parſons; but their number may be at leaſt 2000 more, to ſupply cures and who ſeek preferment.

Ten or fifteen of this number have made it their buſineſs to preach that the church is in danger, though the church enjoys all the privileges that the law does allow them; but the clergymen in England would have the ſame power over the people, that the church of Rome had in the time of its dominion over us.

The Queen and parliament have now declared, that they will maintain the church as eſtabliſhed by law; ſo that they will not gain any thing by their noiſe, only this miniſtry have blown them up to recommend them and their party, to govern the helm, which point they have gained, and the poor ambitious prieſts will be left in the lurch.

The prieſts handle edged tools, which any prince may cut them with, when he pleaſes; for the laws are ſo ſevere againſt their encroachments, that they are in danger of treaſon or premunire upon the leaſt fault; and the civil government hath been ſo jealous of their impertinence, that the convocation of the clergy, cannot do any thing but by commiſſion from the King or Queen, and they cannot debate upon or reſolve any point, but ſuch as are permitted in their commiſſion; and which reſolved, they are not valid unleſs the Queen approves them.

So that you ſee our church is limited by law. I think it good, in its conſtitution and doctrine; but ſhall never encourage or conſent to the pride, ambition, and dominion of *prieſts*, which hath occaſioned ſo much blood-ſhed in the world in all ages.

Sir, I aſk your pardon for writing you ſo long a letter, but my thought ſuggeſted it to me, with a reſpect and good intention towards you. If any of them may be thought by you ſerviceable to his Electoral Highneſs, you may communicate them. I am, &c."

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

1711.

1711. THOUGH the excluded branch of the family of Stuart loſt the beſt foundation for their hopes by the removal of the earl of Godolphin, their expectations roſe to an extravagant pitch, from the opinions propagated by the Tories concerning the principles of the new miniſtry. They were no ſtrangers to Harley's attachment to the proteſtant ſucceſſion: but they ſuppoſed, that he would ſacrifice his principles to his prudence; eſpecially, as his political enemies had obtained the confidence of the family of Hannover. The adherents of the court of St. Germains, judging ſuperficially of things, built much on the ſuppoſed attachment of Queen Anne to her brother, and the violent principles of the Tories, in favour of the hereditary ſucceſſion of the crown. They were too weak or too ignorant to perceive, that the timidity of the Queen was little calculated to favour their cauſe, and that the profeſſions of the Tories conſiſted merely of empty clamour and noiſe. In this ſtate of deception, they renewed, or rather continued, with increaſing vehemence, their correſpondence with Great Britain; and the intelligence which they ſent and received throws a new and important light on the hiſtory of the preſent year.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. to. p. 17.

"*The King's letter to Lord Balmerino.*"

A copy in Nairne's hand. It was directed to Mr. Brown.

SIR, March 2d, 1711.

"THE friendſhip you have always ſhewn me hath been ſo true and unalterable, and your merit ſo univerſally diſtinguiſhed, that I have not words at preſent to expreſs my gratitude towards you; but hope when I dine with you at Leith, or wherever it can beſt happen, to give you eſſential proofs how great a value I have for you, and how ſenſible

I am of your willingneſs to ſerve me. Your own prudence and firmneſs can beſt ſuggeſt to you the ways and means for effecting your good intentions, therefore I ſhall add no more here, but that I am fully perſuaded you will loſe no opportunity of ſerving me, no more than I ſhall loſe any of giving you proofs of the friendſhip and eſteem I have for you, referring the reſt to the bearer, who is entirely truſted by me, and for whoſe honeſty and ſecrecy I dare anſwer in any thing you ſhall impart to him. J. R." 1711. March.

Middleton incloſed this letter in the following to Abram.

March 5th, 1711.

"THE laſt poſt brought us nothing from Mr. Morley, whom we can only rely on. You will herewith receive what you ordered for Mr. Brown; if it is not right, the writer is not in the wrong. "It is not he who ſays Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he who does the will of my father. Every tree is known, not only by the bark and leaves, but by the fruit it bears." Theſe are texts for Abram to hold forth on. There ſeems to be a coalition betwixt Honyton [Harley] and Williamſon: cut a ſnake aſunder, and it will join again. If Marville [Marlborough] has done this, 'tis the greateſt action of his life, and of a piece with the reſt. Pray enlarge and explain the viſit to be made to Mr. Swift. If poor Lamb were alive, we might expect to know many things, which, I confeſs, are not eaſily tranſmitted otherwiſe. Infatuation is the word." Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 17.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram. Ibid. p. 18.

Melville is ſuppoſed to be the duke of Marlborough, and one of the letters to be delivered is probably the Chevalier de St. George's letter to Queen Anne, dated the month of May, this year.

March 19th, 1711.

"BY the laſt poſt, I received yours of the 23d of February, which gave great ſatisfaction to all who ſaw it, notwithſtanding the many reaſons we have to diſtruſt Melville's [Marlborough's] ſincerity. But, ſince it is now more his intereſt than formerly, we depend more on that, than his promiſes. But if he has the will, he wants the means; they are with him like two buckets on the ſame rope.

As to the letters, we can ſay nothing, till we ſee draughts. The three perſons, propoſed to deliver them, are very proper, if they will under-

1711, March. take it, which I doubt much. As for Muſgrave [ſuppoſed to be the duke of Bucks] he is by no means fit; for, if Conrad would accept them from any of the other three, yet he would not truſt him. If Honyton [Harley] would receive his own well, he would not refuſe to give the other, and it muſt land there at laſt. But if he does not accept his own, then why ſhould not you try Mrs. Settle [Mrs. Maſham], who, you ſaid, had offered herſelf for ſuch a purpoſe? But this will not come to bear, till you are poſſeſſed of the original.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 12—18.

In the months of October, November, and December, 1710, and in the months of January, February, and March, this year, the earl of Middleton and Mr. Nairne wrote ſeveral letters to Knox, Abram, and Lamb. Theſe letters are moſtly allegorical; and cannot be explained. In almoſt all of them, they expreſs the greateſt impatience to ſee Lamb; and on the 9th of April, Nairne wrote to Abram to tell him, that Lamb was at length arrived. The real name of Lamb was Leſley, the well-known nonjuror clergyman. Upon his arrival in France, he gave his opinion of things in general, in the following memorial to the court of St. Germains.

Ibid. p. 18.

The Memorial of the Sieur Lamb.

A copy in Nairne's hand.

April. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 37.

Circumſtances are now favourable for an invaſion, the Engliſh being diſguſted at the change of the miniſtry, and the Scots at the protection the parliament gave to Greenſhields.—The credit of the Bank was endangered by a threatened, and will be ruined by a real invaſion.—The Queen will prefer her brother to the family of Hannover.—His friends will declare for him.—The advantages he muſt derive from a treaty with the nation.—Objections againſt him on account of his religion.—Advices about it.—An alliance propoſed with Sweden.

Tranſlation.

April, 1711.

"SINCE the Revolution, there has not been ſo great a confuſion of counſels and of meaſures in England, as there has been ſince the laſt change in the miniſtry; and the affair of Greenſhields, a miniſter of the church of England, whom the parliament has lately protected againſt the

the preſbyterians of Scotland, has irritated the latter to ſuch a degree, that they would concur in whatever might deliver them from the Union with England, which is univerſally deteſted in Scotland; where they are all perſuaded, that nothing can deliver them from it, but the return of their ſovereign. 1711. April.

There is, at preſent, a concurrence of circumſtances, more favourable for an enterpriſe than there has been ſince his Majeſty came out of England. But all this will change in time; and for the future, they will attend only to the means of ſupporting, as eaſily as they can, the chains, from which they ſee no further hopes of being delivered.

There is not a man in Great Britain, who is not convinced, that, if the King of England had landed the laſt time in Scotland, he would have infallibly ſucceeded; and the conjuncture appears, at preſent, ſtill more favourable than it was then. The inclination of the Scots towards their King appears viſible, in their ſending, as members to parliament, the ſame men who had been brought priſoners to London on account of the invaſion; and I can aſſure, that theſe men have not changed their ſentiments. The preſbyterians in Scotland oppoſed the elections as much as they could, and their miniſters preached againſt them; but in vain; for theſe members were choſen in ſpite of them, by a great majority of voices.

At the time of the laſt expedition to Scotland, men ran in crowds, and with ſo great eagerneſs, to withdraw their ſtock out of the Bank, that the commons were obliged to paſs a law declaring all thoſe to be enemies to the government and to the nation, who ſhould demand their money from the Bank, at that time; but, inſtead of curing the evil thereby, they increaſed the diſcontent; every one exclaiming, that it was cruel to treat, as enemies to the ſtate, thoſe who called for their money when they had occaſion for it; and, if news had not come, that the King of England had returned to France with the fleet, in twelve hours later the Bank would have been ſhut up. This is well known to all thoſe who were then in London, and is known throughout all England, inſomuch that, ſince that time, the credit of the Bank is greatly diminiſhed. Not long ago, the news of the ſailing of 13 or 14 privateers from Dunkirk gave the alarm in England, that the Pretender was coming; upon which, ſe-

1711. April. verals, with ſome of whom I am acquainted, ran immediately to the Bank to demand their money; and there is no doubt, but the ſame thing will happen univerſally, whenever there is a real invaſion. All the funds will fail: no tax will be paid, but what is raiſed by force: no one will chooſe to advance money upon the ſecurity of the funds; and without it, it will be impoſſible to make new preparations for oppoſing the invaſion.

If the Bank of England fails, I believe there is no doubt, that the Confederates will not be able to ſupport the war, and then his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will have a ſafe game to play, without running any riſk. Troops are daily draughted, to be ſent out of the kingdom; ſo that few will be left to make oppoſition, and there are ſeverals in the army who have diſcovered their diſpoſitions of returning to their duty towards their King, if they found the opportunity.

They are preparing fleets to be ſent to the Mediterranean and elſewhere; ſo that the few ſhips, which will remain to guard the channel, cannot hinder the paſſage from Breſt to Kirkcudbright; eſpecially, if an alarm is given from Dunkirk and other ports. All the fleet of England can never hinder a ſquadron to paſs from Breſt to Ireland; and Scotland is only a little more diſtant in the ſame line.

Severals in England wiſh the King well, who would not hazard their eſtates for him; but theſe very people would not willingly hazard any thing againſt him, if they ſaw the ſmalleſt riſk on the ſide of the government. It ſeems, therefore, that the greateſt number want only an opportunity of declaring themſelves; that is to ſay, the return of his Britannic Majeſty, with a force ſufficient to protect thoſe who would chooſe to join him on his arrival. If he came with 10,000 men, it is thought there would not be a ſword drawn againſt him; but if he cannot have that number, 5000 men would render the ſucceſs probable, but not ſo certain.

It is generally thought, that the princeſs of Denmark is favourably inclined towards the King her brother; and that ſhe would chooſe rather to have him for her ſucceſſor, than the Prince of Hannover. But ſhe is timid, and does not know to whom ſhe can give her confidence. The duke of Leeds told me, that he had endeavoured to ſound her as much as he could, upon this ſubject, and he is in her confidence, and has free acceſs to her; but though ſhe never choſe to explain herſelf upon this

this point, ſhe ſays nothing againſt him. It is thought, that if the King of England was in Scotland, a treaty with him would be immediately propoſed, and then the members of parliament would be at liberty to declare their ſentiments; whereas they are now reſtrained by an act of parliament, which declares all thoſe guilty of high treaſon, who ſhall oppoſe the Hannoverian ſucceſſion, by word or by writing. But the King of England being in Scotland, and all the kingdom acknowledging him, which could not fail to happen ſoon after his arrival in that country, then the preſent neceſſity, and the common good of the nation, would authoriſe the liberty, which each might take, of propoſing whatever could prevent the fatal effects of a civil war. I am well aſſured, that ſome members of parliament would ſpeak boldly in that caſe; and I have alſo reaſon to believe, that there are ſeveral others, who only want a ſimilar conjuncture for declaring themſelves, and who would do it cordially: and there is ſcarcely any doubt, but the greateſt number would be for a treaty. Thoſe who would oppoſe it, would not render themſelves popular, and mightbe conſidered as the enemies of the peace and ſettlement of the nation; and the very rumour of the treaty, would make the people conſider the King as already in poſſeſſion, and as the riſing ſun, I believe there is no example in our hiſtory, that the lawful heir has been admitted to a treaty, when his right was not acknowledged; as in the caſe of Stephen and Henry II.; of Richard duke of York, and of Henry VI. &c.: and the princeſs of Denmark having no children, would render the affair ſtill more eaſy, both with regard to herſelf and with regard to the people. 1711. April.

The Arch-duke had none of theſe motives to encourage his enterpriſe, and was not aſſured of having one miquilite for him, when he undertook to make that diverſion in Spain, which has continued for ſo many years, and is not yet finiſhed. The diverſion of the malecontents in Hungary has been of conſiderable advantage to France; and it was by marching into Saxony, that the King of Sweden obliged King Auguſtus to ſubmit.

The ſmalleſt advantage which an expedition of the King of England into Scotland could produce would be a civil war; which might be ſupported from time to time by France, even though none of his Majeſty's ſubjects ſhould join him: but that is not to be ſuppoſed: for in the diviſions of parties, there are now malecontents enough in Great Britain, who,

1711. April. who would rejoice at that opportunity of joining him, beſides ſo many others in diſtreſſed circumſtances, or on bad terms with the government, whom fear, reſentment, or hope would influence; and there are men of that character, in every country, but no where ſo many as there are at preſent in Great Britain. But it is certain that the greateſt number of the Scots are diſpoſed to join their King from inclination, and from a principle of loyalty. This is evident, from all that they have ſuffered, with ſo much conſtancy, for above two and twenty years; and that there is a conſiderable number of them, appears from the apprehenſions the government entertain of them, and the meaſures they take to apprehend the leaders on every alarm. But there are, beſides, a ſet of men, well-diſpoſed, who have taken the oaths to the government only by form, and from intereſt, and whom general Stanhope, in Sacheverel's trial, calls the non-juror ſwearers. Theſe are very numerous in the two kingdoms. There is not a high-church man in England that is not ſuſpected by the government. This is the caſe with all thoſe who have preſented addreſſes for maintaining hereditary right and the maxim of the church of England, that a prince is never to be reſiſted; and theſe comprehend almoſt the whole nation, excepting ſuch as are Whigs or Preſbyterians by profeſſion; who, however, are become the contempt and averſion of the people.

Malicious and injurious expreſſions againſt the King are no longer uſed, even by the Whigs, who dare not now expreſs themſelves as they did formerly. They acknowledged his birth in Sacheverel's trial, in order to deſtroy hereditary right by that means, and to convince the princeſs of Denmark, that ſhe has no other title to the crown, but the ſettlement which has been made for the ſucceſſion ſince the Revolution; and the generality ſpeak with eſteem and reſpect of the King's perſon.

I do not intend to conceal any thing. The only objection againſt the King is his religion; but that is not imputed to him as a fault, but as his misfortune and ours; and the people would endure him much more willingly, if they did not believe him a bigot to his religion; and this is the idea his enemies endeavour to give of him as much as they can.

To obviate this objection, the following means are judged uſeful, by his Majeſty's friends, who perſuade themſelves that he will be ready to do, on his part, all that is lawful for him, to bring about his reſtoration; and

and God forbid that more ſhould be demanded of him, to gain even all the kingdoms of the earth. 1711. April.

1ſt, The King of England, therefore, muſt not, either by word or by inſinuation, give any reaſon to believe that he is capable of diſſembling his religion. Every one would have a worſe opinion of him, on that account, and leſs credit would be given to all that he could ſay.

But, to remove the objection of bigotry and blind zeal, it is propoſed he ſhould acquaint his ſubjects, that when it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore him to his kingdoms, and to give him a proper opportunity, he will not refuſe to hear whatever can be ſaid to him, with reſpect and ſubmiſſion, in favour of the religion of his dominions. But whatever may be the iſſue of this, with regard to his Majeſty's religion, that will not diminiſh our loyalty and our entire ſubmiſſion to him as our lawful ſovereign.

It is not underſtood by this, that there is to be a public diſpute, which is a ſort of combat of gladiators for victory, and which ends genarelly in increaſing the differences, and exaſperating the animoſities, upon both ſides; the pride of man having a natural averſion to appear to be convinced: accordingly when reaſons fail, pride ſummons all the paſſions to its aid, and then the combat is carried on with bitterneſs, and with perſonal reflections, which produce a hatred that excludes all means of reconciliation.

No, this is not pretended; it is propoſed only, that his Britannic Majeſty ſhould not refuſe to hear a reaſonable man, who will explain to him, with all the deference and reſpect that is due to him, the principles of the church of England; and that, afterwards, he ſhould determine as God and his conſcience will dictate to him; but, at the ſame time, he ſhould preſerve to the church of England all legal ſecurities for its eſtabliſhment and ſupport.

2dly, It is propoſed, in order to remove all ſuſpicion and prejudice againſt his Majeſty, that when he comes over, he ſhould bring no more prieſts along with him than he has occaſion for. It is the intereſt of the King of England, eſpecially on his arrival, to give the people advantageous impreſſions of him; afterwards things will be more eaſy. When he is on the throne, and the people find that their religion, their liberty, and

1711. April. and their fortunes are ſafe, he may then have as many prieſts with him as he pleaſes, without being found fault with. So that it is only propoſed to deprive himſelf of ſome of them for a little time*.

3dly, If his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would only connive at allowing the Proteſtant domeſtics of the King of England to aſſemble themſelves, from time to time, at St. Germains, in order to worſhip God in the moſt ſecret manner that poſſibly could be, that would do more ſervice than 10,000 men. For in England, that would appear as a ſort of toleration, with regard to his attendants; and being obtained by his Britannic Majeſty, every one would conſider it as a mark of his inclination to favour his proteſtant ſubjects, and as a pledge of what they might expect from him, when he was reſtored to his throne. Beſides that, it would entirely remove the objection of bigotry. If it could be ſaid in England, that the King has procured for the proteſtant ſervants who attend him, the liberty, which is here propoſed for them, that would be half the way to his reſtoration. I only repeat here the very words which I have heard from ſenſible men in London.

4thly, When the King of England comes, it will be proper to have in his company ſome miniſter of the church of England, who is of an approved character, in order to preach to the people, as ſoon as he lands, without truſting to chance, and employing the firſt whom he finds on the place, and who may be either diſaffected or incapable.

5thly, It is neceſſary to bring along with him all the Iriſh troops, who will be very agreeable to the Highlanders, becauſe they ſpeak the ſame language; but, above all, to bring the duke of Berwick along with him; for he is feared and loved, and his preſence will prevent all the diſputes which may ariſe among the nobility of Scotland for the command of the army: for they will all ſubmit to him, and they all deſire that he may come.

Time preſſes and appears ſhort; for, according to all appearances, the next winter will produce a peace, and then the King of England muſt be reduced to begin every thing a-new for bringing about his reſtoration, and to ſeek new and uncertain meaſures to accompliſh it.

* The pen is drawn through the laſt paragraph in the copy; probably to prevent giving offence to the bigotry of Lewis XIV. for whoſe peruſal the tranſlation of the memorial was intended.

If the princeſs of Denmark, who is very infirm, dies, and if the prince of Hannover is once in poſſeſſion, he will bring along with him his German troops, who, in virtue of the laſt act of parliament, will be naturalized the moment they arrive; and he will humble and ruin all the King of England's friends, and render, by theſe means, his cauſe deſperate." 1711. April.

[The pen is drawn through what follows.]

" If his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is not in a condition now to furniſh troops and other ſuccours neceſſary to the King of England, for an expedition into Scotland, may not ſome propoſals be made to the King of Sweden? Will not that prince be very well pleaſed to have ſuch an ally to aſſiſt him to obtain ſatisfaction from the King of Denmark, and to defend his coaſts againſt the Muſcovites? And, in caſe of a double marriage, which might be propoſed to him, he would have a chance of ſucceeding to the crown of England, as the King of England would have to that of Sweden. Their religion cannot be objected againſt the Swedes, for the prince of Hannover is a Lutheran.

If his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty chooſes rather to land 5 or 10,000 men, to the aſſiſtance of the King of Sweden, than to riſk his troops and his ſhips on an expedition to Scotland, the King of Sweden might ſend an equal number of troops to Scotland much more eaſily, becauſe the paſſage is much ſhorter; and conſidering that that prince is engaged in fitting out conſiderable armaments, both by ſea and by land, againſt the Danes, and againſt the Muſcovites, the real deſigns of his preparations will never be ſuſpected. He may be the more eaſily reconciled to this, that the government of England is not very favourably diſpoſed towards him, of which his Swediſh Majeſty appears, by his laſt declaration, to be very ſenſible; declaring war againſt them, in ſome meaſure, and conſidering them as the aggreſſors, becauſe they engaged to maintain a neutrality in the north of Germany: and nothing appears more natural, and more conform to the genius of that prince, than to enter into an alliance with the King of England, who may write to him, by the means of the Swediſh reſident, who is here, until he can ſend a miniſter to treat with him. Beſides, that prince is guarantee of the peace of Ryſwick, and has a right to intereſt himſelf in the preſent war; and, by an alliance with the King of England, he might once more have the balance of Europe in his hands,

1711. April. and give a general peace upon reaſonable terms; and theſe two princes thus allied, would be in a condition to maintain the peace againſt all thoſe who would incline to diſturb it, and to prevent any rebellion that might ariſe in their reſpective dominions."

The diſmiſſion of the Whig miniſtry, laſt year, was followed by a diſſolution of the parliament. Doctor Sacheverel's trial, and his pompous proceſſion to the country, when he went to his living in North Wales, inflamed the paſſions of the people, and influenced the elections in favour of the Tories. The expectations from a Tory miniſtry, and the proceedings of the new parliament, reanimated the hopes of the Jacobites, as appears from their own correſpondence with their friends abroad, and from the Pretender's recommending to his adherents to ſupport the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 6.

"A letter to a friend; with a ſtate of affairs in England." 1711.

A copy in Nairne's hand; with corrections interlined, in lord Middleton's.

Violence of both Whigs and Tories.—The Whigs are attached to the family of Hannover.—To prevent a civil war, the King ſhould come over, and the laws ſettling the ſucceſſion be repealed.—The Pretender recommended to his friends to ſupport the meaſures of the court and the preſent miniſtry.

SIR,

"SINCE you deſire my opinion upon the preſent ſtate of affairs of our country, and that you aſſure me I may, with all ſafety, confide my private thoughts to you, I ſhall tell you here very plainly what I think moſt adviſeable in the preſent conjuncture.

I need not go about to prove, that the houſe of Hannover and the States of Holland are united with the Whigs and diſcontented party of England, againſt the Queen, her preſent miniſtry, and the church of England.

Their late proceedings have ſufficiently ſhewn their inclinations that way; and nothing is more obvious, than that the church and court party can expect no quarter from theſe three united powers, if ever they come to have the ſuperiority. They think they have been very ill uſed, and after reſenting their pretended injuries ſo publickly as they have done,

it

it is not to be expected they will ever hardly pardon. 'Tis pretty plain they are in a ſort of confederacy together, and that they are reſolved to ſtand and fall by one another. The duke of Hannover has, in conjunction with the States, declared himſelf ſo openly for the Whig party, in oppoſition to the Queen herſelf, as well as her miniſtry, that it is viſible he is inſeparably united to that party, and will always be influenced by it; and that if ever he comes to have the power in his hands, the church and preſent miniſtry muſt fall a ſacrifice to the Whigs' revenge; the breach being too wide to expect they can ever be thoroughly reconciled. 1711.

I am of opinion, therefore, that as matters ſtand now, there remains only one expedient that can poſſibly ſecure, at once, both the church and ſtate againſt any attempt that may be made to their prejudice, either during the Queen's life, or after her death, by a powerful, abſolute prince, ſupported by a jealous, intereſted nation abroad, and animated by an exaſperated, factious party at home; and that is to call home the Queen's brother, whoſe juſt right gains ground daily in the hearts of his ſubjects: in order to which, I think it not only adviſable, but abſolutely neceſſary, to ſend to treat with him without loſs of time; for all depends upon taking timely meaſures, it being of the laſt importance to the court and country intereſt, as well as his, to be before-hand with their common adverſaries. Accidents may happen; we are all mortal; and if things be not prepared and ſecured before a vacancy, it will be very hard, after that, to avoid a civil war: for we all know, that, according to the laws now in being, Hannover, in that caſe, muſt of courſe be proclaimed King. It will be too late then to repeal thoſe laws which make it high treaſon to oppoſe him; and it is not to be doubted but he will quickly come over here, and bring with him (if it be neceſſary) all the force the Hollanders and he can draw together. On the other hand, it is certain the King will not be wanting, on his ſide, to tranſport himſelf, at any rate, into ſome part of his dominions, to join with his friends, in order to aſſert his right, and venture all, rather than have the ſhame and grief to ſee a foreign U——r take peaceable poſſeſſion of his lawful inheritance. This muſt unavoidably produce a civil war, which is, perhaps, what the Hollanders wiſh for; the fatal conſequences of which may laſt and extend, nobody knows how far.

1711. The only remedy I ſee to prevent theſe misfortunes, and ſave our nation from ruin and bloodſhed, is the propoſal abovementioned, of ſending, immediately upon the concluſion of the peace, to treat with her Majeſty's brother, the King, and call him home privately upon the firſt receſs of parliament.

This is abſolutely the quickeſt, ſafeſt, and eaſieſt way; for all other ſlow, dilatory methods of preparing things by degrees, managing the oppoſite party, waiting for new favourable opportunities, and keeping, in the mean time, this prince at a diſtance, are expoſed to too many dangers and difficulties, beſides that unanſwerable one of a ſudden mortality, which, as it may very poſſibly happen, to our great grief and misfortune, when we expect it leaſt, ſo it is the height of imprudence not to prepare againſt it.

It would require a great deal of more time, than we can in prudence promiſe to ourſelves, to go about to repeal the act of the ſettlement of the crown, in a parliamentary way, before he be called over; ſo I think that tedious method nowiſe adviſable. Beſides that, the undertaking itſelf might meet with ſuch oppoſition, in his abſence, as would expoſe it to the danger of a miſcarriage; whereas, he being once upon the place invited thither, and countenanced by her Majeſty (which is no hard matter to contrive, ſo as to make it very practicable in the receſs of parliament, without the leaſt danger of diſturbance) thoſe very perſons, who would have oppoſed him in parliament, and every where elſe in his abſence, will be the firſt to come and kiſs his hand when he is here, and comply with whatever the Queen ſhall think fit to do in his favour.

It is ſo viſibly the Queen's and the preſent miniſtry's true intereſt to call her only brother home, in this conjuncture, that he and they may be a mutual ſupport and ſecurity to one another, that I am morally aſſured he will not make the leaſt difficulty to truſt himſelf entirely into their hands, whenever they pleaſe to call him; and that he will be willing even to come over with a page only to accompany him, upon the Queen his ſiſter's letter, if it be thought fit and neceſſary for his and their common intereſt ſo to do: and when he is once here, I am ſure nobody will dare to find fault with the Queen's receiving him kindly. She may ſafely preſent him to her council, own him there for her brother,

ther, and declare her good intentions towards him, and what ſhe has thought fit, with the advice of her miniſters, to treat and concert with him, for the future good and peace of her kingdoms. After which ſtep it will be infinitely more eaſy and leſs hazardous by any other method whatſoever, to get the preſent ſettlement of the ſucceſſion altered, in the next meeting of the parliament, and every thing regulated there to their mutual ſatisfaction; and all the rights and privileges of church and ſtate, crown, parliament, and people, ſettled again upon the ſolid foundation of the ancient laws and conſtitution of the kingdom. 1711.

But to aſſure the ſucceſs of this great work, I think it abſolutely beſt, when he is invited over, that he be allowed to come ſtraight to London, where his ſudden and unexpected appearance will ſurpriſe and confound all his unprepared enemies, break all their meaſures, and make every thing go ſo quick and eaſy on the Queen's ſide and his, that they will ſoon, by the wiſe conduct of the preſent miniſtry, put it out of the power of either Hannover or the diſcontented Whigs to diſturb the new ſettlement that ſhall be agreed upon, between the brother and his now only ſiſter. But, in caſe things be not thought ripe enough, or ſufficiently diſpoſed to bring him ſtraight to London, the next beſt will be to bring him to Scotland; which would be better by far, than ſending him a travelling into foreign countries. Only one thing is to be obſerved, as to Scotland, that the government of the church there being Preſbyterian, and the generality of that nation being diſcontented with the Union, which we in England think our intereſt to maintain, he may, perhaps, have ſome hard propoſals made to him upon that head, by a prevalent party in that kingdom, which will make him very uneaſy, by putting a diſagreeable neceſſity upon him of refuſing what he cannot grant to them, without diſobliging the Engliſh, which I have good reaſon to believe he is reſolved not to do; it being contrary to his inclination, as well as his intereſt, to do any thing in favour of one nation, that may be a juſt ground of grievance to another; his intention, as I am credibly informed, being to leave all thoſe matters of ſtate, as well as of religion, to be entirely decided and ſettled in a Britiſh parliament.

Thus, Sir, I have (in compliance to your deſire) opened my mind freely to you upon a very nice point. I hope, from your friendſhip for me, and your known diſcretion in matters of this importance, that you will

1711. will not communicate this paper, but where you are ſure it will be ſafe, and where you have reaſon to hope it may be of ſome uſe. I ſhall conclude with aſſuring you, that you are the only perſon to whom it is ſent, and that neither the perſon by whoſe conveyance it comes, nor any other perſon whatever on your ſide, knows any thing of the contents of it. Any thing that tends towards Jacobitiſm (as I own this letter does) ſounds ill in the ears of thoſe who are always uſed to tack popery, ſlavery, and arbitrary government together; and have no other notion of a popiſh King, but that of a bigot tyrant. But I, who know from unqueſtionable hands, that the Pretender (as we call him here) beſides his other great and good qualities, is too wiſe and too juſt a prince to think of perſecuting any body for his religion; that, on the contrary, all thoſe of our church, that are about him at preſent, have diſtinguiſhed marks of his bounty ſhewn to them, with aſſurances that it ſhall not be his fault if they have not the full exerciſe of their religion whenever they go with him. I, who know alſo, that he has ſent particular directions to his friends here, to join themſelves unanimouſly to vote for and ſupport the meaſures of the court and preſent miniſtry, with all the intereſt they have, am not only fully perſuaded of his true affection for his ſiſter, and love for his country, but am alſo convinced, in my conſcience, that our eſtabliſhed religion, as well as our liberties, eſtates, and employments, and every thing elſe that is dear to us, will be infinitely more ſecure under his government, than under a Lutheran foreign prince, influenced by German and Whig counſels: and, therefore, to you I am not afraid nor aſhamed to own myſelf, ſo far a Jacobite as to wiſh a good underſtanding between our gracious Queen and her brother, which I look upon to be the only means to make her Majeſty happy, eaſy, and ſafe, as long as ſhe lives, our preſent miniſtry out of danger of being ever oppreſſed by their enemies, our church ſafe, and our country happy. To be a Jacobite, at this rate, in my opinion, is to be a true patriot and a faithful ſubject; and I hope you do me the juſtice to have no other opinion of, Sir, &c.

Whatever might have been the diſpoſition of her miniſtry, there is reaſon to think that the Queen herſelf was now inclined to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her brother. In the following rough draught of a letter to her in

Engliſh,

Engliſh, of which there is alſo a draught of a French tranſlation among Nairne's papers, and both in Nairne's hand, the Chevalier puts her in mind of a promiſe ſhe had made to their father; and propoſes to her, that ſhe ſhould ſend over to him a truſty perſon, with whom he might enter into a treaty. It is evidently the Pretender's own diction. 1711.

A letter to Queen Anne from her brother *.

Nairne's papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 38. May.

MADAM, May, 1711.

"THE violence and ambition of the enemies of our family, and of the monarchy, have too long kept at diſtance thoſe who, by all the obligations of nature and duty, ought to be more firmly united; and have hindered us from the proper means and endeavours of a better underſtanding between us, which could not fail to produce the moſt happy effects to ourſelves, to our family, and to our bleeding country.

But whatever the ſucceſs may be, I have reſolved now to break through all reſerve, and to be the firſt in an endeavour ſo juſt and neceſſary. The natural affection I bear you, and that the King our father had for you, till his laſt breath; the conſideration of our mutual intereſt, honour, and ſafety, and the duty I owe to God and my country, are the true motives that perſuade me to write to you, and to do all that is poſſible for me to come to a perfect union with you.

And you may be aſſured, Madam, that though I can never abandon, but with my life, my own juſt right, which you know is unalterably ſettled by the moſt fundamental laws of the land; yet I am moſt deſirous rather to owe to you, than to any living, the recovery of it. It is for yourſelf that a work ſo juſt and glorious is reſerved. The voice of God and nature calls you to it; the promiſes you made to the King our father enjoin it; the preſervation of our family, the preventing of unnatural wars require it; and the public good and welfare of our country recommend it to you, to reſcue it from preſent and future evils; which muſt, to the lateſt poſterity, involve the nation in blood and confuſion till the ſucceſſion be again ſettled in the right line.

* This is ſuppoſed to be one of the letters in lord Middleton's letter to Abram, of the 19th of March.

I am,

1711. May. I am ſatisfied, Madam, that if you will be guided by your own inclinations, you will readily comply with ſo juſt and fair a propoſal as to prefer your own brother, the laſt male of our name, to the Dutcheſs of Hannover, the remoteſt relation we have, whoſe friendſhip you have no reaſon to rely on, or be fond of, who will leave the government to foreigners of another language, of another intereſt, and who, by the general naturalization, may bring over crowds of his countrymen to ſupply the defect of his right, and enſlave the nation.

In the mean time, I aſſure you, Madam, and am ready to give all the ſecurity that can be deſired, that it is my unalterable reſolution to make the law of the land the rule of my government, to preſerve every man's right, liberty, and property, equally with the rights of the crown; and to ſecure and maintain thoſe of the church of England, in all their juſt rights and privileges, as by law eſtabliſhed, and to grant ſuch a toleration to diſſenters as the parliament ſhall think fit.

Your own good nature, Madam, and your natural affection to a brother, from whom you never received any injury, cannot but incline your heart to do him juſtice; and, as it is in your power, I cannot doubt of your good inclinations. And I do here aſſure you, that, in that caſe, no reaſonable terms of accommodation which you can deſire for yourſelf, ſhall be refuſed by me. But as affairs of this moment cannot be ſo well tranſacted by letters, I muſt conjure you to ſend one over to me, fully inſtructed and empowered by you, or to give ſecurity for ſuch a one from me; for by that way only, things can be adjuſted to our mutual ſatisfaction, which ſhall be managed on our ſide with the utmoſt ſecreſy.

I have made this firſt ſtep towards our mutual happineſs, with a true brotherly affection, with the plainneſs and ſincerity that becomes both our rank and relation, and in the moſt prudent manner I could at preſent contrive; and will be directed by you in the proſecution of it, relying entirely on your knowledge and experience, as to the means and inſtruments.

And now, Madam, as you tender your own honour and happineſs, the preſervation and re-eſtabliſhment of our ancient royal family, the ſafety and welfare of a brave people, who are almoſt ſinking under preſent weights, and have reaſon to fear greater; who have no reaſon to complain

complaint of me, and whom I muſt ſtill, and do love as my own. I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of compoſing our difference, by which only we can hope for thoſe good effects which will make us both happy; yourſelf more glorious than all the other parts of your life, and your memory dear to all poſterity. 1711. May.

The following is the compoſition of the Pretender himſelf, who was a better, more eaſy, and perhaps a more elegant writer than any one of his ſervants.

"*Abſtract of a letter writ in his Majeſty's own hand, and ſent to his friends in England.*" Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 27.

Copy in Nairne's hand.

His opinion about differences of religion.—Promiſes of toleration to all, and protection to the Church of England.

Dated May 2, 1711.

"IN anſwer to yours, I cannot, at this diſtance, and in my preſent circumſtances, enter into diſputes of religion; but thoſe of the church of England have no reaſon to doubt of my favour and protection, after the early aſſurances I gave them in my inſtructions, bearing date the 3d March, 1702, which you have ſeen, and I am reſolved to make good. I know my grandfather and my father too had always a good opinion of the principles of the church of England relating to monarchy; and experience ſufficiently ſheweth, that the crown was never ſtruck at, but ſhe alſo felt the blow; and though ſome of her chief profeſſors have failed in their duty, we muſt not meaſure the principles of a church by the actions of ſome particulars.

Plain-dealing is beſt in all things, eſpecially in matters of religion; and, as I am reſolved never to diſſemble in religion, ſo I ſhall never tempt others to do it; and as well as I am ſatisfied of the truth of my own religion, yet I ſhall never look worſe upon any perſons, becauſe in this they chance to differ with me: nor ſhall I refuſe, in due time and place, to hear what they have to ſay upon this ſubject. But they muſt not take it ill if I uſe the ſame liberty I allow to others, to adhere to the religion which I, in my conſcience, think the beſt; and I may reaſonably expect that liberty of conſcience for myſelf, which I deny to none."

1711. May. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 19.

Mrs. Watſon, a name which will occur frequently hereafter, is mentioned now for the firſt time: but it is not certain whether it was a real or a feigned name.

"Nairne to Abram, 31 May, with a letter from the Queen to Mrs. Watſon." Lady Middleton likewiſe correſponded with Mrs. Watſon.

"June 4. My Lord (Middleton) writ to Abram, and ſent the King's letter to my lord Mar, incloſed to him. Mr. Ineſe writ alſo to Abram, and I added a poſtſcript. And I writ to Hackette, and ſent him the direction by which earl Mar was to write to the King. For Mr. Andrew Flint, at Mr. John Hackette's, merchant, at Rotterdam."

The jealouſy which the Tories began early to conceive of Mr. Harley, now earl of Oxford, will explain the following letter.

Ibid. p. 20.

"*My Lord's letter to Abram.*"

September 6.

"HAving made the campaign in the duke of Savoy's army, has hindered me from writing to you, which I hope you will excuſe for that reaſon; but I hope Bayard [Sir William Ellis] has ſupplied my place much better, for poor Neſmith [lord Caryll, who died the preceding month] has viſited the frontier of the world. But having ſeen one of yours, in which you ſay that Honiton [Oxford] ſhall be drove off the Exchange, except he pays his debts; I muſt tell you that this matter is too important to be acted, *ſinè permiſſu ſuperiorum:* Bayard [Sir William Ellis] and I have often told you, that all theſe matters ought to be well explained and approved before they are undertaken. But ſince you proceed, I am now ordered to tell you, that you do nothing without an order from Jonathan Aitkins [the King], who ſhould be fully informed, not only of the purpoſe, but of the means by which it is to be carried on; and of this you will advertiſe ſuch of your friends as may fall into thoſe courſes. Miſtake me not, I would ſtill have you to continue to be ſtir yourſelf, but only that you would let us know what you are doing."

Middleton wrote in the ſame ſtrain to a Mr. Lilly, who will be frequently mentioned hereafter, under the name of couſin Hanna and dame Lilly.

"My

"*My Lord's letter to Lilly.*"

1711. September. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix.

September 20.

"MR. Smith's three letters [i. e. Mr. Lilly's] came hither at the ſame time. In one of them, he begins with accuſing himſelf with raſhneſs, with a great deal of reaſon, in expoſing his contraband merchandiſe, for which he could have no ready money; nor indeed is there any thing to be expected from Honyton's [Harley's] ſhop, but pump and banter*. And in the end of that epiſtle, that he has propoſals to make to him, without mentioning them, as ſoon as he is in a condition to ſtir out."

"Abram uſed to tell us that he had projects, as if a factor could make contracts without the approbation of the directors of the company; on which this advice was given to him."

"Your good will is commendable, your capacity reſpectable, but your zeal indiſcreet. Your buſineſs is to watch what paſſes, to give juſt informations, to make well-digeſted propoſals; but not finiſh any thing without the directions of your employers; for there is nothing more dangerous for yourſelf, nor deſtructive to trade. If you are in the dark, it ſhould make you more cautious; *qui ambulat in tenebris, neſcit quo vadit*, is Goſpel. If you have no directions, you ſhould preſume there are good reaſons for it: you ſhonld not be ſo uncharitable as to think we would be wanting to ourſelves; and though you only mention matters as from yourſelf, yet it makes thoſe you deal with inſiſt on higher terms."

"This is what was writ by Jonathan Young's order," i. e. probably by the King's, "to Abram."

"*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.*" Ibid. p. 21.

"*Nairne to Abram.*"

"*To anſwer his two letters of the 11th and 18th September.*"

October 11.

"I Bid him write ſtraight to Mr. de Torcy ſometimes. I aſked him if he heard from Leers, and adviſed him to write to him about Phips [the peace], and give him all the intelligence he could get concerning him."

* Oxford did not liſten to the propoſals which had been made to him.

1711. October. The correſpondence and intrigues of Marlborough, with the courts of St. Germains and its agents, have been already traced from year to year. The following letter not only continues the chain, but even makes us regret the want of acceſs to the letters written by himſelf, and thoſe who conferred with him; which, probably, lie ſealed up and depoſited in the Scotch college at Paris. The copies of the anſwers are, however, ſufficient to ſhew the great line of the duke's intrigues. The letter which follows is the original, written by Tunſtal to the earl of Middleton, to whom it was addreſſed, under the feigned name of M. Montigny, merchant in Paris. It is completely decyphered and explained, and thrown looſely into a volume of lord Caryll's letters.

Lord Caryll's Letters vol. v. fol. Scotch College.

Tunſtal to the Earl of Middleton.

Honoured Sir, November 3.

"I Have been away theſe two months ſince I writ my laſt to you, and my journey home being much about the ſame time your lawyer [Churchill] was in motion, made him a little concerned for fear he ſhould not have had an opportunity of ſpeaking to me before he left theſe parts for good and all: this he ſhewed in a more open manner than uſual, for he aſked particularly after [of] me of [after] one that had gone from our town to wait upon him, and commiſſioned him, at his return, to inquire whither I was come back or no; and if ſo, to tell me he had a mind to ſee me. But at this gentleman's return, I not being arrived, he neglected to ſend any more to our houſe, and I had like to have loſt the news of this intimation. As ſoon as I knew it, in the uncertainty I was in to find Mr. James [Churchill], your lawyer, I writ to one of his houſehold, to know more in particular his deſires, and where I might wait upon him, who immediately anſwered me, as from his maſter, and fixed me the place where he was to ſtay ſome days: whereupon, the time preſſing of both ſides, I took poſt, and had two long conferences with him about Mr. Bernard's [the Queen's] lawſuit, and Mr. Kelly's [the King's] affairs. As to both which he ſhews a good-will, and gives, in appearance, ſincere wiſhes; but how far he will be able to work effectually in the matter, I leave you to judge. Firſt, as to Mr. Bernard's [the Queen's] deed, he ſays, it muſt be inſiſted upon in time; for he looks upon it certain that an accommodation [peace] will be made;

made; and if he ſhall be found capable of helping on the ſigning this deed, he aſſures Mr. Bernard [the Queen] of his beſt ſervices. (But he believes meaſures are taken in ſuch a manner, that he ſhall be excluded from having any hand in concluding matters at Povey [peace]: but could not ſome one work to gain Mr. Matthew [Harley] and Nathaniel [Maſham]?) He looks upon the ſtrongly inſiſting upon, and gaining this point of the deed to be of great conſequence, not only as to the making my lady Betty [the Queen] eaſy as to her own circumſtances, but very much conducing to the advancing Mr. Athony's [the King's] intereſt: and this not ſo much again as to the money itſelf, as that the grant of it, (which cannot be refuſed, it being formerly concluded and granted at Povey [peace], and funds being ſet aſide for it, and only diverted by "the unworthineſs of him who then ruled the roaſt") and continual payment, will be a means to make people open their eyes, even in regard to Mr. Andrew [the King], and ſee better their own intereſt in reference to the ſame, "whoſe cauſe has got ſo much ſenſible ground for theſe latter years, that (to aſſure me more, I ſuppoſe, of his real interior ſentiments) he ſwore ſolemnly he thought he could not fail of coming to a happy iſſue: nay, that both ſides would ſee an abſolute neceſſity of having recourſe to him, as the only means left of ſecuring ſolid peace and happineſs: not ſo much, perchance, (either Mr. Robert [High Church] or couſin Simon [Whigs]) out of any true principles of conſcience or honeſty, for he does not think either deſerves the name of Lumſdale [Loyal]. 1711. November.

As to Mr. Antony's [the King's] buſineſs, it muſt be managed with a great deal of dexterity. He was not a little ſtartled at the news of his going to Mr. Price [the Pope]; it would not have been well at all. He ſays, when they begin to work at Povey [peace], perchance Mr. Edward [King of France] and his Fredlingers [miniſters], (who will be willing to conſecrate any thing to their own ends) will be conſenting to Mr. Athony's [the King's] going to live ſome where with Mr. Price [the Pope], or ſome where in that country, and he fancies that ſomething of that kind may be inſiſted upon by others in Evans [England]; by that means to perſuade the tenants that they are altogether for excluding the Thomiſts [Catholics], and all for Gregory [Hannover]. "But he declares, as much as he can judge of things, that Mr. Athony's [the King's] going

1711. November. going thither muſt never be granted to." And this he looks upon as a point of the laſt importance; for he declares, he thinks it abſolutely contrary to Mr. Athony's intereſt; and, therefore, though Mr. Edward [King of France] ſhould conſent to it, and people in Evans [England] puſh for it, it muſt not be done: and he deſired me in particular to aſſure you of this, (and he ſwore it by the living God) that he thought, that if Mr. Benjamin [the Queen] ever conſented to this, that 'twas no better than ruining and quite murdering this ſon's, the Grot's [King's] cauſe. If it be neceſſary, or judged advantageous to quit Forſter [France], let him go to his uncle David [Germany], or rather have recourſe to ſome free ſeat. But I aſked him, what ſecurity for his perſon, there being ſuch a writ out againſt him? He anſwered, he really did not think he wanted any ſecurity, for nobody would touch him. "As for his part, he had ſeen ſuch viſible changes for the better of late, on all ſides, that he thought the gaining of his cauſe could not but follow." And when he gets his eſtate, he hopes he will make his tenants eaſy; and not thinking of annulling any regulations, made for the cutting down woods, and altering other farms, for theſe many years; for that will bring dangerous conſequences, the intereſt of ſo many perſons being engaged, who otherwiſe would come in to him.

When Mrs. Betty's deed [the Queen's jointure] is inſiſted upon, if it was to be put to Philip Cook [the parliament], you will find many, he is perſuaded, even willing to help it on, and glad of an occaſion of making their compliments *à bon grace*, and giving ſome teſtimony of their good-will. If ſhe thinks, that he ſhall be in any capacity of ſerving her in this point, ſhe needs only to ſignify to him what ſhe expects from him, and he will be very glad of the occaſion of ſhowing himſelf her humble ſervant. He inſinuated a deſire you ſhould be ſenſible, that what he has done for theſe many years, (and ſeem to affirm the ſame of others) has not been out of any ſpleen or ill-will againſt you, but only to put down Foſter [France], which he always judged the true intereſt of Mrs. Edwards [England], whoſe cauſe alone he pleaded for. He thinks certainly there will be an accommodation; for when he was, laſt winter, at Mrs. Evans [England], he ſaw ſo much of the diſpoſition of the people, that if all were to be polled, nine in ten would abſolutely vote for Povey [peace], being ſpent on all ſides, by ſo long a law-ſuit.

A great

A great many, he ſays, have taken ſtrange methods, of late, which, contrary to the intentions of thoſe that made uſe of them, will prove very much to the advantage of Mr. Andrew's [the King's] cauſe; and God, who rules above, ſeems viſibly to diſpoſe all things for the beſt. Neither your couſin Temple [the Tories] nor Wilſon [the Whigs] are much to be relyed on, quarenus ſuch; but all that they have or ſeem to be a doing, will inſenſibly reduce both of them, more and more, to the neceſſity of doing Mr. Athony's [the King's] buſineſs, and even calling for him. 1711. November.

To ſignify theſe things to you, was the reaſon of his calling for me, and he deſired I would take an occaſion of waiting upon you for this intent; but I hope the writing this will ſuffice; if not, you know where to command. After my compliments to him, I told him, as to myſelf, I was much more afraid of the iſſue of his ſuits, in this following ſeaſon, than in the former. He owned, he had been treated unworthily, upon ſeveral accounts: but that was nothing. For his part, God had bleſſed him with a great deal of temper, and he had taken the reſolution of being quiet for the preſent; but he would expect his time; and if Mr. Matthew [Harley] or others puſhed things to greater extremities, they ſhould give him, perchance, only better hold, and they ſhould find what metal he was made of.

He deſired, that his compliments might be made, in a particular manner, to Mr. Barker [Berwick] and Mr. Wal. [E. Midd.] and bade me tell the latter, that he hoped Mr. Wal. [E. Midd.] would live to ſee better times, and more according to his ſatisfaction. He was pleaſed to aſk me many queſtions about Mr. Walter's [E. Midd.'s] converſion; and ſaid, he had heard, at the beginning, as if he had had a mind of retiring from buſineſs, for good and all. As for his converſion, I told him, it was beyond all doubt, truly ſolid, and certainly upon motives altogether chriſtian; and for the rumour of his having a mind to retire, perchance, his retiring to our little ſeminary, at Onkſi [Paris], might give occaſion of that rumour; but this was only to do his work he had undertaken more efficaciouſly, and firſt cleanſe the garden of ſo many weeds that had overrun it, and ſecondly plant the ſame, with neceſſary adornments. (I think he anſwered, It is what we muſt all come to; but I did not underſtand him perfectly.)

1711. November. As for the working at Povey [peace], he thought they had taken all their meaſures to do the buſineſs without him; and as for his part, he deſired nothing more than to be at quiet. Some buſineſs to ſettle matters abroad, would detain him yet a little while, at Mr. Harriſon's [Holland]; but when that was done, he would haſten home, where he would maintain himſelf againſt them all; and if Mr. Mathews [Harley] or others puſhed matters any farther againſt him, perchance ſo much the better.

But, after he had uſed a great many compliments, &c. towards you, I thought it would not be amiſs, civilly to urge him to ſomething more poſitive, and endeavour to ſee if there were any more ſolid aſſurances to be had from him, above what one might call a compliment; and for the purpoſe, I objected this to him, that ſome might ſay, he being a lawyer of ſuch intereſt, why would not he ſtickle more in Mr. Anthony [the King] and Barnard's [the Queen's] ſuits? He anſwered, he did not know what he could do directly in the matter; but only by managing people ſo, on occaſions, as to make them enter into the aforeſaid intereſts; and they might aſſure themſelves, nothing ſhould be wanting on his ſide, as occaſions ſhould preſent. He owned, indeed, that he had acted with a great deal of animoſity againſt Foſter [France], (and he always thought it the intereſt of his country ſo to do) but not againſt them; and really ſeemed to ſhew a great deſire of all things proſpering with you, and ſaid, that God Almighty had diſpoſed things ſo, that he ſolemnly ſwore again, that he thought Mr. Anthony's [the King's] buſineſs could not fail of going forward, and that his Rode [religion] would not be any hinderance to it, for all the proteſtations Evans [England] had made to the contrary. He ſays, he knows your couſin Harry [princeſs of Denmark] perfectly well; that he is a very honeſt perſon, but eaſily won and wrought upon; but, at the bottom, he certainly has no averſion from his brother Alexander [the King]. But he [princeſs Anne] is one that muſt not be frightened; and the lawyer [Churchill] ſays, he thinks any extern force uſed, will rather do more harm than good, both in regard of Harry [princeſs Anne] and others. Whereas, if one will but let things go on their own train, Alexander [the King's] buſineſs will go on of itſelf, and he does not doubt, but will come to a happy concluſion.

I wiſh it was in my power, in any manner, to conduce to it. It ſhall always lay cloſe to my heart, and be the ſubject of my beſt prayers, with all the aſſurances of my moſt humble duty, whilſt your moſt obedient and humble ſervant, 1711. November.

Nov. the 3d. TUNSTALL [TREVER.]"

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Tunſtal.

An Anſwer to the preceding.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 52.

Nov. 18, 1711.

"I received, Sir, yours of the 3d inſtant, for which I return you my thanks. As for your lawyer, he is gone; and before you meet again, we ſhall ſee clearer. His letter being intercepted, is a good reaſon for not writing to him. In the mean time, you muſt continue to ſee him, when there is occaſion, and return compliments for compliments, which are more innocent than equivocations, becauſe nobody is deceived by them. He had it in his power to have been great and good: but God hardened Pharaoh's heart; and now can only pretend to the humble merit of a poſt-boy, who brings good news, to which he has not contributed. Every body here is well ſatisfied with your prudent diligence; and in my own particular, you will ſtill find me, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant."

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Ibid. p. 22.

November 8, 1711.

"I Was obliged to write to you, nor did I fear you would take it ill from a friend that loves you: but when I was ordered to write to dame Lilly, I knew her to be exceptious, and thought the beſt way to ſoften the matter, was to let her ſee, that there was nothing ſaid to her, but what had been written to you, never dreaming, that ſhe could have made ſo bad an uſe of it; but that ſhall be a leſſon to me for the future; but I believe you are convinced as well as I, that I ſhould ſhew no reſentment *rebus ſic ſtantibus*."

"If Phipps [the peace] comes on his trial this term, you ſhould engage all your friends to do him what ſervice they can."

1711. November. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. p. 22.

Nairne to Abram.

November 19, 1711.

"WITH a bill of the value of 300 livres, I told him again to get all Jainon's relations, and Proby's alſo, to favour Phipps, as alſo to keep well with Prior, to know all he could from him, and ſend account here."

A clandeſtine negociation had now been carried on, for five months, between France and England. Mr. Prior went to France in the month of July, and came back with Mr. Meſnager and the abbé Gaultier, in the month of Auguſt. Preliminary articles were ſigned, in London, about the latter end of September; and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the Emperor and of the States, and a ſpirited and vehement memorial from the Elector of Hannover, it was determined to open a general congreſs at Utrecht, in the beginning of the enſuing year. The court of St. Germains ſeem to have had ſuch confidence in the attachment of Queen Anne and her miniſtry to their cauſe, that they were not ſo uneaſy now at the news of a general peace, as at the time of the treaty at Ryſwick. The Dauphin paid them a viſit, and congratulated them on their proſpect. They did not, however, neglect the meaſures which prudence ſuggeſted on the occaſion.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 35.

A Memorial given to the Marquis de Torcy, from which he may form inſtructions, to the plenipotentiaries of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at Utrecht, concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown of England.

This Memorial, which is but a copy in Nairne's hand, begins with ſetting forth the diſadvantages of which a diſputed title to the crown had been formerly, and will always continue to be, to England, and then proceeds as follows:

December, 1711.

"IT would be proper to ſhow the Engliſh, that the monarchy and the hierarchy, having ſuch a cloſe connexion, and ſo much dependence the one upon the other; the one cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt without the other, as might be eaſily ſhown, by arguments and examples. A King muſt entirely neglect his own intereſts, when he does not protect and maintain the

the church of England, in all its rights and privileges; and, therefore, as there is not a ſtronger tye than common intereſt, the members of that church may be ſure, that the King will never depart from the ſolemn promiſes which he hath already made to them, and which he is ready to confirm to them, that he will protect and maintain them, in the peaceful poſſeſſion of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, which have been granted to them by acts of parliament and the common law of the kingdom. 1711. December.

And, in order to remove all their uneaſineſs on the article of religion, it may be ſhown to them, that, in the year 1702, the King having been informed, by men of rank of the church of England, that, in order to render their religion perfectly ſecure under a Catholic King, they wiſhed that his Majeſty would grant them certain privileges, even beyond what the acts of parliament and common law of the kingdom allow them; his Majeſty having examined their demands, granted them immediately, although they could not deny themſelves, but by granting them, he derogated from the rights and prerogatives of the crown."

Then follows a copy of the declaration.

"It appears plainly then, to any one who will reflect, that it is the intereſt of the Engliſh nation to finiſh, as ſoon as poſſible, all diſputes about the ſucceſſion of the crown, by re-eſtabliſhing it in the right line; and it appears likewiſe, that the catholic religion, which is the only thing that can be objected to the King, is of no prejudice to them, but, on the contrary, an advantage, as his Majeſty yields to the church of England, what no Proteſtant King would yield to them; therefore, the members of that church will find their account, and have their privileges more enlarged, and their ſecurities better eſtabliſhed under the King, being a catholic, than if he was a proteſtant."

After propoſing, in the very words of the *Sieur Lamb*, that is, doctor Leſlie, that the act of ſettlement ſhould be repealed, that every one might be at liberty to declare his ſentiments, the Memorialiſt proceeds:

"After the act, which exchanged the ſucceſſion, ſhall be repealed, it would be neceſſary to ſend over the King to England, that he might learn what is neceſſary for him to know, in order to govern his people, by inſtructing himſelf in the laws and cuſtoms of the country; and likewiſe,

1711. December. wiſe, that he might be before-hand with the Dutch, who might otherwiſe, upon the firſt news of the death of the reigning princeſs, tranſport thither the prince of Hannover, which would infallibly produce a civil war, with which they would be very well pleaſed, becauſe they would find their account in it. Moreover, they know that the prince of Hannover, who has not the beſt title on his ſide, will ſtand in need of a foreign ſupport to maintain him; and, as he cannot find it any where but with them, they will, by that dependence, reaſſume the direction of all the affairs of England, as they did during the government of the prince of Orange, which will nowiſe ſuit either the humours or the intereſts of the Engliſh nation.

When the King would be tranſported to England, the beſt means of ſecuring to him the ſucceſſion would be to treat him as a ſovereign, in which, it does not appear, there would be any inconveniency to the reigning princeſs; who, for aſſociating her brother to the royal title, will not the leſs peaceably enjoy all her authority, during her own life; as it has been ſeen lately, that the kingdom was governed peaceably, under the names of William and Mary, although the firſt had all the adminiſtration; and as it was ſeen formerly, that the ſame kingdom was governed as peaceably, under the names of Philip and Mary, although the laſt alone had the whole adminiſtration."

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 34.

A Memorial concerning the dowry of the Queen of England, and the indemnity of the King of England's ſubjects, given to the Marquis de Torcy, in December, 1711.

THIS memorial recites, that the late King had made a ſettlement of 50,000 *l.* ſterling upon the Queen, by letters patent under the great ſeal, which was afterwards confirmed by acts of parliament which have never been repealed; that according to the prerogatives of the Queens of England, ſhe had appointed her own officers and diſpoſed of her revenues, from the date of the ſettlement; that, therefore, ſhe has an undoubted right to what is due ſince ſhe left England; and that, if ſhe could claim it, according to the uſual forms, there is not a court of juſtice in England, but what would decide it in her favour.

The memorial mentions, in the next place, that her pretenſions were ſuſtained, by the Engliſh themſelves, at the treaty of Ryſwick, and recites

cites the particulars, which may be ſeen in the preceding volume, among the papers of that period. 1711. December.

" A promiſe ſo ſolemn, reiterated, and confirmed, in a manner ſo poſitive and ſo preciſe, and without any condition, ſhould not have met with any difficulty in the execution; and the more ſo, that the parliament of England made no difficulty of teſtifying, in a very effectual manner, their approbation of that promiſe, by furniſhing the prince with the means of performing it: for, in the firſt ſeſſion after the peace, the commons aſſembled in parliament, granted him a new fund of a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling of an additional revenue, of which they appropriated the half to ſupply the funds on which the appenage had been aſſigned, and which had been otherwiſe employed; and to ſhow further, that it was their intention that the ſum ſhould be paid honeſtly to the Queen, according to the promiſe publickly and poſitively made, in the name of the nation, without exacting any condition from her Majeſty, they added a clauſe, by which it was declared, that thoſe who ſhould be employed to remit the money to the Queen, in France, ſhould not be ſubject to the penalties of the law which forbade all correſpondence with the court of St. Germains. This evidently ſhows, that the pretended condition, which was afterwards alleged to elude the payment, was ill-founded; and that the parliament never thought of exacting ſuch conditions."

The memorial next propoſes, that at the enſuing treaty of peace, the ſum of 50,000 *l.* ſhould be ſecured to the Queen for life; and that all the arrears, due ſince the Revolution, at leaſt ſince the treaty of Ryſwick, ſhould be paid. It ſpecifies the manner in which this ſhould be done; particularly, that the Queen ſhould be at liberty to nominate any perſon ſhe choſe to receive her money, and to grant valid diſcharges to the government of England, without her being obliged to ſign any other deed, engagement, or acknowledgment, but a procuration to them to act in her name."

This memorial is followed by another, demanding a general indemnity for all the Engliſh, Scots, and Iriſh, who went over to France, ſince the Revolution.

H.A.N.

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1711.

1711. TO explain the papers of the family of Hannover, in the preſent year, a ſhort detail of leading facts may be neceſſary. The baron de Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from the Elector, arrived in London, early this year. Though the duke of Marlborough was permitted to retain the command of the army, the dutcheſs was deprived of all her employments; and Harley, at the deſire of the Queen, informed the court of Hannover of her diſmiſſion. The Electoral Prince, who had been elected a Knight of the Garter in 1706, was inſtalled at Windſor in December 1710; the lord Halifax ſerving as his proxy. The earl of Rocheſter, the Queen's maternal uncle, who, from his rank, abilities, experience in buſineſs, and influence with the high-church party, was the only rival of Harley, died ſuddenly, in the May of the preſent year. A fair field being left for Harley's ambition, he became lord-treaſurer, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and was conſidered as prime miniſter.

Marlborough, endeavouring to overcome his enemies in the cabinet by the ſplendour of his actions in the field, made various, but unſucceſsful, efforts to force the Mareſchal de Villars to a battle. He, however, by a ſudden exertion, ſurpriſed the famous lines with which the French had joined the Scheld, the Sanſettee, the Scarpe, and the Ugy. The conſequence of this enterprize was the ſiege and ſurrender of Bouchain, the laſt exploit of the duke of Marlborough. Mr. Matthew Prior, having been ſent clandeſtinely by the miniſtry with preliminaries of peace to France, arrived at Fountainbleau, in the month of July. Lewis the XIV. afraid either to accept or refuſe the terms offered by Prior, ſent to London, in his company, Monſ. Menager and the famous Abbé du Bois. An intimate correſpondence was eſtabliſhed between the Britiſh and French miniſters;

miniſters; and preliminary articles, to the ſatisfaction of both, were ſigned on the twenty-ſeventh of September. The Queen ſent the earl of Rivers to Hannover, to aſſure the Elector, that the ſucceſſion of his family to the crown of Great Britain ſhould be ſecured in the treaty. The earl of Oxford and his aſſociates made the ſame aſſurances, in vain; the jealouſy of his Electoral Highneſs having been raiſed by the emiſſaries of the Whigs. 1711.

The lord Raby, who had been appointed, in the preceding March, ambaſſador extraordinary to the States-general, was created earl of Strafford in the beginning of September, and in the end of that month was ſent back to Holland, to preſs the opening of a general congreſs. The privy-ſeal, upon the death of the duke of Newcaſtle, was delivered into the cuſtody of Dr. Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol, who was intended to be joined as plenipotentiary to the earl of Strafford, on the expected congreſs. Doctor Swift gives the character of both very juſtly, in a few words. "They were practiced in buſineſs, but poſſeſſed no parts. Strafford hath ſome life and ſpirit; but is infinitely proud, and wholly illiterate." His lordſhip's letters, indeed, furniſh no proof of his learning; and Robinſon was a heavy, though decent man.

An incident, in Scotland, employed the attention of the court of Hannover, in the preſent year. The dutcheſs of Gordon, a Roman Catholic, preſuming on the temper of the times, ſent a medal of the Pretender to Mr. Robert Bennet, dean of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. This piece of ſilver had a legend upon it, importing that the kingdom ſhould be reſtored to the right owner. At a meeting of the Faculty, thanks were voted to her Grace; and Mr. Robert Dundas of Arniſton returned them, in terms ſufficiently ſeditious and bold. He thanked her for preſenting them with a medal of their ſovereign lord the King. He hoped, that her Grace would ſoon have an opportunity of preſenting to the Faculty of Advocates a ſecond medal, ſtruck upon the reſtoration of the King and royal family, and the finiſhing of rebellion, uſurpation, tyranny, and whiggery. No inquiry was made into this affair, till the baron de Kreyenberg, in the name of his maſter, the Elector, complained of the conduct of the advocates to the Queen. In compliance with his repreſentation, Sir David Dalrymple, the lord Advocate, who was a Whig, when it ſuited with his own intereſt, was diſmiſſed from his office,

1711. January. fice, for his being remiſs in the proſecution of the delinquents. The premiſing of theſe facts will explain the correſpondence of this year.

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 144.

The Elector to Mr. Blathwait.

An anſwer to Mr. Blathwait's letter of the 16th November 1710.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Hannover, Jan. 2, 1711.

"YOUR ſon delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am much obliged to you for the aſſurances which it contains of your attachment to my intereſts and to thoſe of my family. You gave, during the preceding reign, ſeveral proofs of this, which I have not forgot. I hope your ſon will be pleaſed with his ſtay at Hannover, and with the reception he meets with. I wiſh that you may be ſo likewiſe; and that you may be perſuaded, I ſhall be always well pleaſed to find opportunities of ſhewing you that I am, &c."

Original. Ibid. No. 245.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

The conduct which he is determined to follow in England.—Preparations for the next campaign.

Tranſlation.

SIR, January 2, 1711.

"BEING ready to embark, your Electoral Highneſs will be pleaſed to allow me to thank you, by this letter, for all the attention you have condeſcended to ſhew me, and to aſſure you, that I am firmly reſolved to conform myſelf, in all reſpects, to the excellent advices your Electoral Highneſs has been pleaſed to give me by Monſieur de Bülau. Monſieur de Bothmar, who has been detained by contrary winds till now, will be a witneſs of this, and will have the honour to ſend information, from time to time, of what paſſes. I ſhall apply myſelf to promote the Queen's intereſts with the ſame zeal and aſſiduity I always did, in order that I may have nothing to reproach myſelf with, in caſe they ſhall chooſe that I ſhould not continue in the ſervice, and I preſume to hope that your Electoral Highneſs will do me juſtice in that reſpect. I muſt not however conceal from you that my correſpondents write to me, that thoſe who have moſt credit at preſent, are reſolved to embarraſs me, by depriving me of officers and others in whom I place the moſt confidence.

dence. You will be informed by your miniſters here, that it has been reſolved to take all poſſible meaſures for being in the field early next year. For this purpoſe all the troops muſt be complete on the 25th of March, and magazines of forage will be formed on the frontiers. But the principal ſubject of conſideration was how to carry on the war in Spain with the greateſt vigour. Her Majeſty, on her ſide, makes her utmoſt efforts; ſhe takes 2000 more of Imperial cavalry into her pay, and furniſhes 2500 recruits for the Imperial infantry, at the rate of 20 crowns each; ſhe is at the expence of tranſporting them all to Catalonia, beſides an equal number of recruits for the Engliſh infantry, and five battalions of an augmentation: it is expected that theſe have ſailed already. This is intended as an example to excite the court of Vienna and the States-general to exert themſelves likewiſe on their ſide. Prince Eugene, at parting, gave reaſon to hope that the Emperor would ſend four battalions to Spain, if the States would do as much. The province of Holland has taken a favourable reſolution in conſequence of this; and it is hoped, the other provinces will ſoon follow the example, eſpecially as count Zinzendorff has ſince declared his Imperial Majeſty's conſent to this augmentation. Theſe troops will be a powerful ſuccour, if they arrive in time, and the greateſt care will be taken that they ſhall; but the bad news we have lately received from that country will oblige both the one and the other to take ſtill more vigorous reſolutions. 1711. January.

I entreat your Electoral Highneſs to continue to honour me with your kindneſs, and to be perſuaded of the inviolable and reſpectful attachment with which I am, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of January 2d.

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 246.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, Jan. 9th, 1711.

"I Have received the obliging letter which you wrote to me, when you left the Hague. I hope this will find you happily arrived in England, and I wiſh very much, they may render you there, all the juſtice which is due to you. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you are pleaſed to take in imparting your knowledge of affairs to baron Bothmar, and in giving him advices, which cannot fail to be very uſeful to him,

1711. January. as they come from one who is ſo very well informed, and whoſe good intentions are ſo well known. I approve entirely of your plan for taking the field early, being perſuaded that the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign was owing to ſuch diſpatch. It is to be hoped that the misfortune which happened in Spain will not be ſo conſiderable, as that the affairs of that country cannot be retrieved by the means of which you wrote to me; eſpecially as her Britannic Majeſty gives ſuch an example in ſupplying them. I wiſh the Imperial court may follow it; but it is to be feared, the uneaſineſs occaſioned by the rupture of the Turk with the Czar may give them other objects of attention. Your preſence in London, in ſuch circumſtances, will be very uſeful to the public, if that deference is paid to your ſentiments which they deſerve. I beſeech you to believe, that I ſhall always have a perfect eſteem for you, and that I ſincerely am, my Lord, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 195.

Mr. St. John to Robethon.

An anſwer to Robethon's letter of 17th December 1710.

Tranſlation.

Whitehall, Jan. 9th, 1711.

"I Feel myſelf touched with the moſt lively gratitude for the honour, which his Electoral Highneſs hath condeſcended to do me *. I entreat you to renew to him aſſurances from me, that it is impoſſible to be more devoted to his ſervice, and to that of his illuſtrious houſe, than I am. In all the ſituations of a life ſufficiently agitated, I endeavoured to diſcover theſe ſentiments, and if I was capable of changing them, I would believe myſelf unworthy of the character of a good proteſtant, a good Engliſhman, or faithful ſervant to the Queen, my miſtreſs.

* In Robethon's hand. "I had ſent him the compliments of his Electoral Highneſs."

Monſieur de Bothmar is here at preſent, I will not fail to live in a perfect confidence with him; and he may depend upon all the ſervices which I can render him. I indeed hope, I have already ſhewn him that this is my intention.

I agree with you, that during Monſ. de Bothmar's reſidence in London, it would be unneceſſary to give yourſelf the trouble of writing to me. I ſhall ſend you my compliments by him, and I ſhall always be with great eſteem, &c."

Mr.

Mr. Harley to the Elector.

1711. January. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 151.

At the Queen's deſire, he gives him an account of the Ducheſs of Marlborough's being removed from her Majeſty's ſervice.

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs, Jan. 19th, 1711.

"I Received the great honor of your Electoral Highneſſe's letter of December 15, with that profound reſpect and thankfulneſs which is due to ſo obliging a mark of your conſideration and goodneſs.

I beſeech your Highneſs to accept the aſſurances of my utmoſt fidelity and inviolable attachment to the intereſt of your family, to which I am obliged as well by duty to the Queen, as by the common good of my country. The Queen takes all occaſions to expreſs the great eſteem ſhe has for your Highneſs, and concern for your intereſt; and as a further inſtance of her Majeſty's deſire on all occaſions to improve that good correſpondence which is ſo neceſſary, the Queen commands me to communicate to your Electoral Highneſs a change ſhe has been obliged to make in her court, by removing the dutcheſs of Marlborough. Laſt night the duke brought the gold-key, the enſign of one of his wife's places, the Queen having indulged him his choice, to bring it, or have it ſent for. This is ſo far from hindering the duke from continuing in his poſts, that he ſeems reſolved to accommodate himſelf to the Queen's pleaſure, and go on in her ſervice.

The cauſes of his lady's diſgrace have been ſo public, and of ſo many years continuance, that it will be needleſs to trouble your Electoral Highneſſe on that head.

The places will be ſpeedily diſpoſed, and the chiefeſt will fall to the ſhare of the dutcheſs of Somerſet.

I ſhall think myſelf extremely happy, if any occaſion ſhall be ever offered me to manifeſt the great veneration and duty wherewith I am,

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs,

Your Highneſſe's moſt humble, moſt dutiful, and moſt obedient Servant,

ROBERT HARLEY."

The Electoral Prince to Lord Halifax.

Robethon's original Draught. Ibid. No. 146.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, January 21ſt, 1711.

"I Am much obliged to you for your letter of the 26th of December, and for the information which you are pleaſed to give me of my

1711. inſtallation at Windſor, at laſt, with the requiſite formalities. I know the trouble you have had to get it done in a manner ſuitable to my rank; and I ſee that I can never place my intereſts in better hands than yours. The oppoſition which you meet with, and which you have the modeſty not to mention to me, increaſe my obligations to you, and I wiſh to have opportunities of ſhowing you how ſenſible I am of them; and that I ſhall always be ſincerely, &c.".

March. Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 247.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Sent by Robethon to the Hague.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, March 3d, 1711.

"HAving judged it neceſſary to ſend the privy counſellor for embaſſies, Robethon, to the Hague, and having ordered him to addreſs himſelf to you, in order to know your opinion of the delicate conjuncture of the affairs of the North, and of the meaſures which the allies ought to take in order to prevent the fatal conſequences which they may have; I muſt beſeech you to be pleaſed, not only to give credit to what he will have the honour to tell you on theſe ſubjects, and eſpecially with regard to the ſyſtem of neutrality, but alſo to be pleaſed to ſpeak to him about them with an entire confidence, and to deſire lord Townſhend to do ſo likewiſe, in order that he may profit by your extenſive knowledge of affairs, in which the allies cannot act too much in concert, nor with too much precaution. I am very ſincerely, &c."

July. Copy. Hannover Papers, vol marked Princes. No. 248.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp at Lens, July 18, 1711.

"HAving been informed, that Monſieur de Robethon is preparing to leave his poſt at the Hague, and to return to your Electoral Highneſs, I conſider it to be my duty to embrace this opportunity of thanking you, in the humbleſt manner, for the letter which M. de Robethon delivered to me from you, and likewiſe for the freedom and confidence with which your Electoral Highneſs was pleaſed to inſtruct that able miniſter to communicate himſelf to me, while I ſtayed at the Hague. I wiſh your Electoral Highneſs may be as well ſatisfied with the teſtimony which he will give of my attachment and zeal for your

ſervice and intereſts, as I am ſure you will be with the account which he will give of his negociations, which he carried on with ſo much addreſs and ability. I entreat your Electoral Highneſs to honour me always with the continuance of your kindneſs; and to accept my aſſurances of the entire veneration and very humble reſpect with which I have the honour to be, &c." 1711. Auguſt.

Heinſius to Baron Bernſdorff.

A teſtimony of Robethon's character and abilities.

Tranſlation.

Copy in Robethon's hand. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 249.

SIR, Hague, Auguſt 3d, 1711.

"AS Mr. Robethon is going to return to you, I cannot diſpenſe with teſtifying to you, that he executed his maſter's buſineſs here, and managed the tempers of men in this ſtate ſo well, that his Electoral Highneſs could not have ſent a more proper perſon; and that he will be always well received; as it may happen, ſome time or other, that baron Bothmar may be again employed for ſome time elſewhere, and that you may chooſe to ſend Robethon hither. I am, Sir, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

News of his breaking through the French lines.

Original. Ibid. No. 250.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Auguſt 10th, 1711.

"I Did not do myſelf the honour to inform your Electoral Highneſs ſooner of our motions in this country, having had nothing to ſay that deſerved it. I fear this delay may have diminiſhed too much the hopes which were entertained at the opening of the campaign: yet I always did every thing that was poſſible for me, in order to anſwer the deſires of thoſe who wiſh well to the common cauſe; and I have, therefore, the greater pleaſure in informing your Electoral Highneſs that we have at laſt broke through the lines which the enemy, for two years, were at ſo much pains to raiſe for the preſervation of their country. This was done on the 5th of this month, towards Arleux, while the enemy expected us between Arras and Hedin. They took the alarm at firſt, and followed us cloſely; but we were before them likewiſe in paſſing the Scheld, between Cambray and Bouchain, with a deſign of beſieging

1711. August. beſieging the laſt; if we can ſucceed, it will give me a new opportunity of aſſuring your Electoral Highneſs of the attachment and perfect regard with which I have the honour to be, &c."

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 157.

The Elector to Doctor Hutton.

Tranſlation.

Herrenhauſen, Auguſt 19th, 1711.

"I Am much obliged to you, Sir, for your letter of the 13th of June, and for the teſtimonies which you continue to give me, on all occaſions, of your attachment to the intereſts of my family. Baron Bothmar did not fail to inform me of the good offices which you rendered to him, during his reſidence in London; and with what zeal you was employed for the good of my ſervice. I ſhall do myſelf a real pleaſure, in teſtifying to you my gratitude for this; and it is a very great ſatisfaction to me to receive letters from you; I, therefore, by no means, refuſe your offer of writing to me, whenever things happen, which you think proper to communicate to me. You may be thoroughly perſuaded of the eſteem I have for you, and of the eagerneſs with which I ſhall always do you a pleaſure. I am, &c."

Robethon's original Draught. Ibid. No. 257.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of the 10th.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Herrenhauſen, Auguſt 31ſt, 1711.

"I Am much obliged to you, for the trouble you have taken in writing to me, to inform me of your having forced the enemy's lines. That enterpriſe has been conducted with ſo much ſecrecy and prudence, that nothing can ever do you greater honour. I hope it will be attended with conſequences advantageous to the common cauſe, and glorious to you. This may be expected from what you have already done to facilitate the ſiege of Bouchain, and fruſtrate the meaſures which the Mareſchal de Villars had taken to obſtruct it. I wiſh you a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue, in this and in all the other projects which you may form! being ſincerely, &c."

The

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

1711. Auguſt. Original, Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 253.

Communicates to the Elector a project for the next campaign, and aſks his opinion.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Auguſt 31ſt, 1711.

"SINCE we have paſſed the lines, and been before this place, we have had many difficulties to ſurmount in forming the ſiege; but, God be thanked, we have happily overcome them; and, yeſterday morning, our batteries began to play. I have even every reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, in ſo much that, in order to profit by it, it is proper for us to think early of winter-quarters, and of the opening of the next campaign. It is with this view, that I have drawn up a project, which I have conveyed, in confidence, to the miniſters in England and Holland. Without having communicated it, however, to any of our generals here, I do myſelf the honour to ſend a copy of it to your Electoral Highneſs; and I humbly entreat you, after having well examined it, to acquaint me with your ſentiments, and if you find any thing to be added to it. I acknowledge to your Electoral Highneſs, that I ſee no other means of procuring a good peace, but by puſhing the enemy with vigour on this ſide, which cannot be effectuated but by being before them in the field. I am, with a moſt reſpectful attachment, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Robethon's original Draught. Ibid. No. 252.

Demands ſome of his regiments of dragoons and cavalry during the winter.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Sept. 4th, 1711.

"AS it appears that the Kings of Denmark and of Poland cannot poſſeſs themſelves of any place of ſtrength in Pomerania, the ſeaſon being too far advanced, it is to be preſumed that the troops, after having ravaged the enemy's country, will return to take up their winter-quarters in Mecklenburg, and in other places in the circle of the Lower Saxony; and that his Daniſh Majeſty will chooſe to place troops in the country of Bremen. It is eaſy to conceive, that, by that means, the flames of war may extend themſelves farther into the empire, to the great prejudice of the allies; and you know, beſides, Sir, that the ſituation of my dominions is ſuch, that they cannot be ſafe, if the flames of war communi-

1711. September. cate themſelves to the country of Bremen. It is, therefore, very neceſſary, either for diverting the court of Denmark from ſuch an intention, or for giving weight to the negociations which I may ſet on foot with that court concerning this affair, that I ſhould have ſome cavalry and dragoons here next winter; it being impoſſible to be able, with four or five battalions, which are left with me, to provide with any efficacy for the ſafety of my dominions, and of all this neighbourhood. I will, therefore, have a very particular obligation to you, if you employ your influence to obtain permiſſion from the Queen for ſome of the regiments of cavalry and dragoons, which I have in her Majeſty's pay, to come back to my own dominions after the campaign, as the regiment of Haher came back laſt winter, and upon the ſame footing. They may be abſent from the Low Countries, during the winter, without any prejudice to the public; and it is preciſely during that ſeaſon that I ſhall have need of them here. I do not foreſee that any thing can hinder me from ſending them back to you at the opening of the next campaign: but by neglecting this precaution, ſome events may happen, in my neighbourhood, next winter, which will oblige me to recall all the troops I have in the ſervice of the Queen and of the States. I hope you will be pleaſed to exert yourſelf to obtain this favour from the Queen. This new proof of her kindneſs will attach me more and more to her intereſts; and I ſhall retain the greateſt gratitude to you on account of it. I am, very ſincerely, my Lord, your affectionate ſervant."

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 158.

The Elector to the Earl of Oxford.

The ſame ſubject continued.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Sept. 4th, 1711.

"IT is with an entire confidence, that I addreſs myſelf to you, as a miniſter who has both the cleareſt views and the beſt intentions, in order to repreſent to you, that the advanced ſeaſon does not permit the princes who are confederated againſt Sweden to poſſeſs themſelves of any place of ſtrength in Pomerania. It appears certain, that their troops, after having committed ſome ravages, will return to take up their winter-quarters in different places in the circle of the Lower Saxony, and particularly in Mecklenburg; and that his Daniſh Majeſty will chooſe to place ſome troops in the country of Bremen. It is eaſy to conceive, that this may be

be the means of carrying the war to this ſide of the Elbe, from whence it may extend itſelf farther into the empire, to the great prejudice of the allies. Beſides, the ſituation of my dominions is ſuch, that they cannot be in ſafety if the war ſhould communicate itſelf to the country of Bremen. 1711. September.

I ſhall employ all my attentions to divert the court of Denmark from forming this project. But, my lord, you are too penetrating not to ſee, that having but very few infantry, without any cavalry, in my dominions, I cannot exert myſelf with efficacy for the ſecurity of this neighbourhood and of my own territories; and that it is very neceſſary, in order to give weight to the negociations which I deſign to ſet on foot with the enemies of Sweden, and to the propoſals which I may make to them, that I ſhould have ſome cavalry and dragoons here next winter. As the deſign I have in view is the common intereſt of all the allies, and as I ſhall act in perfect concert with the Queen, I hope her Majeſty will permit ſome of the regiments of cavalry and dragoons, which I have in her pay, to return to my dominions, as the regiment of Hahn returned laſt winter, and upon the ſame footing. I will owe you, my lord, a very particular obligation, if you will be pleaſed to employ your influence with the Queen, in obtaining this favour from her, by repreſenting to her, that theſe regiments may be abſent from the Low Countries during the winter, without any prejudice to the public, and that I can ſend them back at the opening of the next campaign; whereas, by neglecting this precaution, ſome events may happen next winter in my neighbourhood, which will oblige me to recall all the troops which I have in the ſervice of the Queen and of the States. I wrote on this very ſubject to the duke of Marlborough. It is of ſuch importance, that I cannot doubt but you will intereſt yourſelf in its ſucceſs. I entreat you, my lord, to be perſuaded that I ſhall retain a grateful ſenſe of this, and to allow me, for the future, to teſtify, on all occaſions which may offer, the perfect confidence I have in you, and the diſtinguiſhed eſteem I have for your merit. I am, very ſincerely, &c.

1711. September. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 159.

The Earl of Oxford to the Elector.

The Queen grants the Elector's demand.

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs, Sept. $\frac{11}{22}$, 1711.

"TO accept my moſt humble acknowledgment, for the very great honour I receiv'd of your Electoral Highneſs's letter of Sept. 4. I take it as a particular mark of your goodneſs, that you think fit to honor me with your commands; to obey which, I am equally engag'd by duty and inclination. I had the honor to communicate your Electoral Highneſs letter, yeſterday, to the Queen at Windſor; and I wiſh I were capable of expreſſing the obliging manner wherewith her Majeſty ſpoke of your Electoral Highneſs, and her readineſs to comply with your deſires in that way which would moſt demonſtrate her Majeſty's concerne for you and your moſt ſerene houſe; being wel aſſured that your Electoral Highneſs will deſire nothing that is inconſiſtent with the good of the common cauſe. You are pleaſed to mention in your letter, that your Highneſs had wrote to the duke of Marlborough upon this ſubject; and the Queen thinks it wil be beſt to leave it to be adjuſted between your Electoral Highneſs's miniſter and the duke of Marlborough, as wel for keeping the ſecret, that others may not aſk the ſame, as alſo he being at the head of the army, is beſt able to ſpeak with your Electoral Highneſs's miniſter upon every thing which relates to this affair; to this purpoſe Mr. ſecretary St. John has directions to write by this ordinary, to my lord Marlborough.

I ſhould have given your Electoral Highneſs frequent troble by my letters, but that I was afraid of interrupting your greater affairs; and I flatter myſelf with the belief that your Highneſs is ſo fully perſwaded of my inviolable attachment to your intereſt, that I can add nothing to it by any thing I can write; being reſolved that my actions ſhal demonſtrate the zeal and devotion wherewith I am, &c."

Original. Ibid. No. 257.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the taking of Bouchain.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp before Bouchain, Sept. 13th, 1711.

"SINCE the letter I did myſelf the honour of writing to your Electoral Highneſs, we have been employed in the ſiege of Bouchain,

in

in order to ſecure a poſt on the other ſide of the Scheld. It will be imagined, perhaps, conſidering the vigour of the attacks, that the ſiege hath continued too long: indeed the enemy take every method to hinder us from finiſhing it, and the neighbourhood, not to ſay the preſence, of a ſuperior army, always employed in diſtreſſing us, encouraged the beſieged to be obſtinate. But, at length, we have found means of ſurmounting all obſtacles, and of obliging the garriſon to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. I entreat your Electoral Highneſs to accept of my humble felicitations on the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, which deſerves to be conſidered as an effect of the bleſſing of Heaven upon the juſt cauſe of the High Allies; ſince neither the number nor the courage of the enemy was able to fruſtrate our deſign. We ſhall be obliged to remain for ſome time yet in this camp, in order to repair the works of the town, and put it out of a condition of being inſulted. But the enemy have taken all the precautions they could, in order to deprive us of ſubſiſtence; having for ſome days burnt all the forage in the country round it, and likewiſe plundered and burnt the moſt conſiderable towns and villages. I am, with the moſt ſubmiſſive attachment and regard, &c."

1711. September.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of the 31ſt Auguſt.—He renews his demand of ſome regiments during the winter.

Rot..... Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 256.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Herrenhauſen, Sept. 14th, 1711.

"I AM much obliged to you for your letter of the 31ſt of Auguſt, and for your having been pleaſed to communicate to me your plan of operations for the enſuing campaign. I cannot but approve of it, in all reſpects, and I conſider it with you, as the ſureſt means of reducing France to the neceſſity of concurring in a reaſonable peace. But I imagine you will allow that ſecrecy is the life of this project, and that it is neceſſary to avoid, with all poſſible attention, to give the enemy any room to perceive it; ſince, in that caſe, they will not fail to take the neceſſary meaſures for preventing a blow which may be ſo fatal to them, and for forming magazines on their ſide, whatever expence they may coſt them. I leave you, then, Sir, to reflect, if by ſtationing the cavalry on the frontiers, you will not diſcover too clearly to the French, what is ſo

1711. September. neceſſary to conceal from them. It appears to me likewiſe, that my troops, though ſent to more diſtant places, may, by ſpeedy marches, arrive time enough at the place where you will judge proper to aſſemble the army. As to the reſt, I hope that the meaſures which you will take for the execution of your project, will be no obſtacle to the return of the few regiments of cavalry and dragoons which the neceſſity ariſing from the ſtate of affairs obliges me to demand of the Queen for ſome months. It is about the end of autumn or beginning of winter that I ſhall have principally occaſion for them; and I reckon that I ſhall ſend them back to you in time. I refer myſelf to my preceding letter concerning the reaſons which make me deſirous of having them ſoon in my dominions. They are of ſuch importance for the ſecurity of this neighbourhood, and for the common intereſt of the allies, that I cannot doubt but they will have your approbation, and that you will employ your influence to obtain from the Queen the favour which I demand. I am always very ſincerely, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 258.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

An anſwer to the Elector's letter of the 4th inſtant.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp before Bouchain, Sept. 14th, 1711.

"MOnſieur de Bulau delivered to me, this morning, the letter which your Electoral Highneſs did me the honour to write to me the 4th inſtant. I have this evening communicated it to the Queen, and you may depend upon it, that I ſhall always concur with pleaſure, as I have aſſured Mr. de Bulau, in whatever your Electoral Highneſs ſhall find conducive to your intereſts; perſuaded as I am, that you will, at the ſame time, have the proper attention to the intereſts of the common cauſe. I am, with the moſt profound reſpect, &c."

Original.

The Duke of Marlborough to Mr. St. John.

SIR, Sept. 14th, 1711.

"I AM perſuaded, from your friendſhip, you will have a particular ſatisfaction, in the good news you now receive of the garriſon's being made priſoners at war, even in the preſence of Mareſchal Villars. I confeſs we muſt own it as a very great providence, that all his endea-

vours to obſtruct us have meet with ſo little ſucceſs. As I have not yet received any reply to the anſwer I gave to the reſolution of the counſel of ſtate at the Hague, relating to the project for the winter-quarters, whereof I ſent you a copy the 20th paſt, I have reaſon to apprehend they are not ſo fully convinced as were to be wiſhed of the neceſſity of perſuing it; and, as there is no time to be loſt, I have prevaill'd with lord Albemarle to take a journey to the Hague, to repreſent the great advantages that muſt accrue to the publick by the meaſures we propoſe. Beſides, the papers whereof you have already copies, I have furniſhed his lordſhip with the like, to be incloſed, by which you will ſee the arguments enforced; and how inconſiderable the expence of fforage will be, with reſpect to the great advantages we may hope to reap from it. I could not enter into the other articles of the expence, becauſe they are very incertain. Beſides that, it may reaſonably be expect'd the great towns, who will be eaſed, ſhould contribute towards it. As ſoon as his lordſhip returns, I ſhall let you know the ſucceſs of his journey. In the mean time, I hope lord Stair will be with us, that there may be no delay on our ſide. Encloſed I ſend you a letter Mr. Bulau has juſt now delivred to me from the Elector of Hannover. I ſhall defer returning an anſwer, til I receive the Queen's directions upon the contents; which, I pray, may be as ſoon as you can. In the mean time, ſhall give you my opinion, that his Electoral Highneſs ſhould not be refuſed his requeſt; but be deſir'd to take from us as few troops as poſſible; and that it might be inſinuated to him, that her Majeſty will expect they ſhould return into this country early in the ſpring. I am, with truth, &c. 1711. September.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letters of the 13th and 14th inſtant.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 159.

My Lord, Sept. 25th, 1711.

"I Received the letters of the 13th and 14th inſtant, which you was at the trouble of writing to me. General Bulau had already given me an account of your obliging anſwer, with regard to the regiments which I find myſelf obliged to bring back this winter into my dominions. I am very ſenſible of the diſpatch with which you wrote on this ſubject to the Queen; and I do not doubt of the ſucceſs of the affair, ſince you

was

1711. September. was pleaſed to ſupport it. I entreat you to be perſuaded that, in this meaſure, to which the conjuncture forces me, I ſhall not loſe ſight of the intereſts of the common cauſe. You have laboured for them, in a manner as glorious as uſeful, by the conqueſt of the important place which you have lately reduced in the face of the enemy. It may be affirmed, that this ſiege, and the forcing of the lines which opened the way to it, have diſcovered all the qualities of a great general in you, in the moſt diſtinguiſhing manner. I partake more than any one, in the glory which reſults to you from this; and I always am very ſincerely, &c.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to the Duke's letter of the 23d of September.

Tranſlation.

October. Rebethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 260.

My Lord, October 1ſt, 1711.

"I Received the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me the 23d of September. I agree with you as to the utility of the project which you have formed for taking the field early next year: but it appears to me, that it will be ſufficient for the execution of it, to ſtation the Engliſh and Dutch cavalry in the places on the frontiers; where, being under the direction of their own generals, they may be eaſily recruited. This muſt have the leſs difficulty, with regard to the Engliſh cavalry, that they have always had their winter-quarters in places in Flanders which are not far from thoſe now in queſtion. It will be otherwiſe with my troops, which, in ſuch quarters, will be no longer under the inſpection of my generals, and will be too diſtant to receive their recruits with facility; whereas, when my troops are placed in their uſual quarters, I ſhall take particular care that their recruits ſhall be ſent to them early, and that the whole corps ſhall be in condition to march to the rendezvous as ſoon as you ſhall judge proper to aſſemble the army. I hope likewiſe I ſhall ſend back time enough the regiments of cavalry and dragoons which I propoſe to bring this winter into my dominions. In this I deſire you to continue your good offices with the Queen, and to be perſuaded that I ſhall be very grateful for them. I always am very ſincerely, &c.

The

The Duke of Shrewſbury to the Elector.

1711. October. Original Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 166.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Windſor, October 3d, 1711.

"I Could not allow the earl of Rivers to go away, without having the honour of renewing to your Electoral Highneſs aſſurances of my attachment to your ſervice, and to the intereſts of your family. I do not trouble you often with my letters; becauſe I flatter myſelf that you do not doubt of my zeal and of my fidelity, and am convinced you ſhall ſee proofs of them, on every occaſion in which I can ſhow them; and I entreat your Electoral Highneſs to do me the juſtice to believe, that you have not, either in England, or in any other part of the world, any one who is more entirely devoted to you than, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Original. Ibid. No. 261.

Anſwer to the Elector's letter of the 25th September.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Camp before Bouchain, Oct. 4th, 1711.

"MOnſieur de Bulau delivered to me this morning the letter which your Electoral Highneſs did me the honour to write to me the 25th of the laſt month. I am happy to inform you at preſent, that the laſt poſt brought me the Queen's orders, agreeably to what your Electoral Highneſs deſires; ſo that I ſhall concert the march in the general, taking the neceſſary precautions, that others may not make the ſame demand. I humbly beſeech you to be perſuaded of the very reſpectful attachment with which I ſhall always be, &c.

The Earl of Oxford to the Elector.

Original. Ibid. No. 163.

The Queen propoſes to open a congreſs for a general treaty.—She has taken care of the intereſts of the Elector and of his family.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, October 5, 1711.

"THE Queen ſending earl Rivers to communicate to your Electoral Highneſs an affair of great conſequence, I preſume to deſire leave at the ſame time, to make your Highneſs a tender of my moſt humble duty. My lord will give your Electoral Highneſs the detail of what has paſſed here with relation to a peace, and the care her Majeſty has taken, in the firſt place, of the intereſt of your Highneſs and your family: this the

1711. October. the Queen has done without any reciprocal obligation or promiſe from her Majeſty to France. Notwithſtanding the great need we have of peace, and that the nation is exhauſted, yet the Queen would not act without the concurrence of her allies; and, therefore, your Highneſs will obſerve, that all ſteps taken heer are but proviſional; though it would have been no difficult matter to have adjuſted the intereſts of the ſeveral allys, but that the Queen was reſolved to give none of them any cauſe of jealouſy, and to leave each ſtate to make their own demands at the general treaty, which the Queen propoſes to be opned immediatly.

I did myſelf the honor to acquaint your Electoral Highneſs with the Queen's compliance with your deſires of having ſome of your cavalry returne this winter, for a particular occaſion; and I ſhall ever eſteem it the greateſt felicity of my life, when I have any opportunity to ſhew the inviolable attachment, and great veneration, wherewith I am, &c.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

The Earl of Oxford to the Princeſs Sophia.

An apology for the peace.—Care was taken of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.—A medal revived in Scotland,—and the Lord Advocate removed.

MADAM, October 5, 1711.

"I Do myſelf the honor to write to your Royal Highneſs by earl Rivers, who comes from the Queen, with a very important commiſſion, to give your Royal Highneſs the greateſt proofs of her Majeſty's amitie in the care ſhe has taken of your intereſt, and that of your moſt ſerene houſe: notwithſtanding the allys had, by degrees, caſt all the weight of the war upon the Queen and her ſubjects, while one part ſhifted off their own ſhare, and others thought of nothing but eternizing the war; and in the mean time this nation was exhauſted, its burdens daily increaſing, and the ability to bear them decreaſing: yet, in theſe circumſtances, your Royal Highneſs will ſee that the Queen would not give any ear to a treaty for peace, without this preliminary proviſion; "That your Electoral Highneſs and your family's right to the ſucceſſion to the crown ſhould be eſtabliſhed." My lord Rivers will give your Royal Highneſs an account, at large, of all that has paſſed upon the ſubject; from him your Electoral Highneſs wil know other particulars, which wil prove her Majeſty's tender care for your intereſt; for when ſome factious perſon in Scotland had revived the memory of a medal, which

which had been ſtamped about two years ſince, the Queen ordered the perſons concerned to be proſecuted, and becauſe the Lord Advocate, (to whoſe care it did belong) was not very forward in putting the laws in execution upon this occaſion, the Queen has thought fit to remove him, and to place Sir James Stuart in his room, who, I hope, will quickly correct the imprudence of thoſe people. I ſhall only crave leave to deſire you will permit my lord Rivers to preſent you with the aſſurance that I am, both by inclination and intereſt, as well as duty, &c." 1711. October.

The Elector to the Earl of Oxford.

Thanks for the favour Oxford had obtained for him from the Queen.

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 160.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, October 6, 1711.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter of the 22d of September, which you was at the trouble to write to me; and for the earneſt manner in which you was pleaſed to employ your influence with the Queen, in obtaining from her Majeſty the favour which I aſked. I ſee, by general Bulau's letters, that the duke of Marlborough will adjuſt all this affair with him; and that they will take the neceſſary precautions for keeping it ſecret. I have only now, my lord, to entreat you to make moſt humble acknowledgments to the Queen, for having concurred ſo obligingly with what I took the liberty to demand of her; and to aſſure her, that neither in this nor in any other occaſion, I ſhall ever take any ſtep contrary to the intereſts of the common cauſe, and that I ſhall always act in perfect concert with her Majeſty.

As to the reſt, I am not ignorant how much your powerful recommendation has contributed to the ſucceſs of the affair in queſtion. I entreat you to be thoroughly perſuaded of the grateful ſenſe I ſhall always retain of it, and of the pleaſure which I ſhall have in teſtifying an entire confidence in you, in every buſineſs which will deſerve, by its importance, to have recourſe to your extenſive knowledge, and to your intereſt with the Queen. I am, very ſincerely,

Your's affectionately.

1711. October. Original Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 167.

The Duke of Buckingham to the Elector.

The ſucceſſion ſecured in the treaty with France.—The Medaliſts proſecuted in Scotland.

SIR, Windſor, October 9, 1711.

"NOT having received the honour of any commands from your Electoral Highneſs by Monſieur Botemar, I have hitherto reſtrained myſelf from repeating the offers of that humble and zealous ſervice, which I am ſure your Electoral Highneſs can have no poſſible cauſe to doubt of, after my conſtant endeavours to ſhew it on all occaſions. But this late tranſaction between Brittain and France, of which the earl of Rivers is ſent to give you exact information, has given occaſion, not only for the Queen herſelf, but for her miniſters alſo, to ſhew their timely care and utmoſt concern for the ſucceſſion in your illuſtrious line; and having myſelf not only an affectionate zeal, but even a jealous regard to all things relating to that matter, I can, with all aſſurance, give your Electoral Highneſs the ſatisfaction of my being a witneſs, that no part of theſe overtures was ſo much at the heart of every body employed about it, as that which indeed deſerved it moſt, the Proteſtant ſucceſſion: and, therefore, whatever happy occaſion I had ſome few years ago, to be a little remarkable in my concern for her Royal Highneſs, your mother, I could not, at this time, with all my zeal, out-do the faithful ſervice which every lord entruſted has ſhewn in this affair.

The buſineſs of the medal alſo in Scotland, if not immediately proſecuted, through the remiſſneſs of ſome who have been diſplaced there for that failing, is now to be ſtrictly puniſhed, as I am ſure it ought to have been at firſt.

I had ſome particular reaſon not to put this letter into the hands of my lord Rivers, and hope you will pardon this liberty, in yours, &c."

Robethon's original Draught. Ibid No. 262.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for the favour he had obtained from the Queen.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Herrenhauſen, October 12, 1711.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you wrote to me on the 4th inſtant, by which you have taken the trouble to inform me,

me, that you have received the Queen's orders for the march of ſome of my regiments. It is juſt that I thank you for the ſucceſs of this affair, ſince you have ſo powerfully contributed to it by your influence, and by the repreſentations which you made to her Majeſty. I entreat you to be perſuaded, that I am very grateful for the manner in which you exerted yourſelf in this affair; and for the care, which you are pleaſed ſtill to take in concerting with general Bulau, the meaſures neceſſary for keeping it ſecret as long as poſſible. You are not ignorant of the ſtrong reaſons for this precaution. I always am very ſincerely, my Lord,

Your affectionate ſervant.

1711. October.

The Biſhop of Briſtol to the Elector.

Tranſlation.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 169.

SIR, Windſor, October 19, 1711.

"AMong the advantages which the office of keeper of her Majeſty's privy ſeal muſt procure me, I eſteem the gracious approbation of your Electoral Highneſs among the firſt; feeling myſelf greatly encouraged by the favourable opinion which your Electoral Highneſs has been pleaſed to entertain of me, according to the information I lately received from Mr. Robethon.

I obſerve, with joy, the harmony which ſubſiſts between her Majeſty and your Electoral Highneſs; with regard to myſelf, ſhe has been graciouſly pleaſed to advance me in her ſervice, and your Electoral Highneſs teſtifies your conſent to her choice. I return my moſt grateful acknowledgments for this to God, to the Queen, and to your Electoral Highneſs: and I entreat you, Sir, to continue this kindneſs to me, and to be perſuaded, that it is always with a zealous attachment for the intereſts of your Electoral Highneſs, I ſhall do my beſt to deſerve it, and to render myſelf worthy of being conſidered as, &c."

The Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia.

Original. Ibid. vol. marked Strafford.

His Lordſhip recommends his own party at the expence of the Whigs.— The principles are ſufficiently ſervile.

Hague, October 28, 1711.

"THE firſt minute of my landing here I ſhould have done myſelf the honour of writing to your Royal Highneſs, but that I could not take upon me to write a letter to a princeſs, for whom I have the

1711. Octo ber. greateſt duty and veneration imaginable, without informing her exactly of the contents of my commiſſion to the States-General concerning a general peace, ſo much wanted, and ſo neceſſary to all thoſe who have borne the expence of this war, and which was a matter at that time made ſo great a noiſe; but as the earl Rivers was diſpatched, at the ſame time, with an ample inſtruction of that matter to your Royal Highneſs, and the Elector your ſon; as I was ſure I could not explain that matter with all the advantage by my writing, as his lordſhip would do himſelf by word of mouth; and finding he was reſolved to make all poſſible haſte to your court, I would not let him, for whom I have a very particular regard, find, I had been endeavouring to inform you before-hand, with the chiefeſt point in his commiſſion; and I hope, what he brings with him will ſhow, the Queen begins to make your court, at leaſt, preſents of better things than parchment, which your Royal Highneſs ſaid formerly, merely to tell me, was all you got by the Engliſh ſucceſſion; and I hope this ſmall beginning is only a forerunner of a greater mark of the Queen's conſideration for you, than what has yet been done; for before I came from England, I had a diſcourſe with ſome very great people of this preſent miniſtry, and who are extreme good ſervants of your Royal Highneſs, upon a matter ought to have been thought on before, and which I believe, will make you eaſy, and ſhow you how falſe all thoſe malicious ſtories and inventions, made to raiſe jealouſies, are grown; for you may certainly depend upon it, this preſent miniſtry are more friends to you, to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, than the laſt were; for theſe deſire that you ſhould ſucceed to the crown and royalty, whereas, if the others had been [*not*] forced to diveſt themſelves of the regency, they had well nigh calculated to keep in their own hand, your ſucceſſion was to depend ſo much upon them, that the name and title of Queen or King might have deſcended to you or your family: but that was plainly all they deſigned you, though now they are turned out, they and their friends will try to prove the contrary."

In the remaining part of this letter, conſiſting of twenty pages, he communicates his inſtructions to preſs a general congreſs, and endeavours to ſhew that Great Britain was made the *pack-horſe* of the war, and that the Dutch and Imperialiſts did not ſecond her exertions.—They often fruſtrated the beſt concerted meaſures;—they refuſed to agree to a plan of

of operations which would have ſoon finiſhed the war:—the Emperor intended to enrich himſelf by the continuance of it;—the Dutch to ruin the Engliſh trade, and to increaſe their own;—their miniſters preſumed to interfere in the domeſtic affairs of England;—the Dutch refuſed the ſtipulated ſuccours, when the Pretender threatened an invaſion;—the Queen has made no ſeparate peace, and will make no peace till the allies are ſatisfied. 1711. October.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

An anſwer to her Majeſty's letter by Earl Rivers.

November. Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 164.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Gohre, Nov. 7, 1711.

"THE earl of Rivers delivered to me the letter with which your Majeſty was pleaſed to honour me. I received, with the utmoſt gratitude, the communication which you ordered him to make to me, of the overtures of France for a general peace. I conſider the care, which your Majeſty has taken of the intereſts of my family on this occaſion, as a continuance of that kindneſs of which you have given me ſo many proofs, and which I ſhall always very highly eſteem. After the great things which your Majeſty has done for your allies ſince your acceſſion to the throne, they have reaſon to hope that you will continue to act in concert with them, and take the ſame care of their intereſts in the enſuing treaty of peace, which you have taken during the courſe of ſo glorious a war. The merit and rank of the earl of Rivers, and his attachment to my family, are well known to me; and the confidence which your Majeſty places in him, is a new motive for me to eſteem him in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner. I doubt not but he will make a faithful report to your Majeſty, of my gratitude for your kindneſs, and of the inviolable reſpect with which I am, &c."

The Princeſs Sophia to Queen Anne.

Sent by Earl Rivers.

Robethon's original Draught. Ibid. No. 161.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Gohre, Nov. 8, 1711.

"IT would be difficult for me to expreſs to your Majeſty with what reſpect and gratitude I received your Majeſty's precious letter, and ſaw that you condeſcended yourſelf, to communicate to me the care which you have been pleaſed to take of the intereſts of my family. As the

1711. November. the earl of Rivers has given me aſſurances of this from your Majeſty, I hope he will aſſiſt me in making you my moſt humble acknowledgments; and in aſſuring your Majeſty from me, that there is none who is more entirely devoted to you than I am, and who wiſhes more paſſionately, that whatever your Majeſty will undertake, may give ſatisfaction to yourſelf and alſo to your allies, which is likewiſe your Majeſty's deſire. But, Madam, I am ſorry, that it is only by wiſhes, that I can pretend to merit the continuance of your kindneſs, though I ardently deſire it, and alſo to be honoured with your commands, in order to ſhew, by my obedience, to what degree I am, &c.

At this time, the Elector ſent the baron de Bothmar, as his miniſter plenipotentiary, to London, and gave him the following letter to the Queen.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 162.

MADAM, Gohre, Nov. 7, 1711.

"AS I am perſuaded, that in this important conjuncture, when France propoſes preliminary articles for a general peace, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to continue to honour me with the confidence, of which you have given me ſo many marks, and to liſten favourably to what I have to repreſent; I judge it neceſſary, to have a perſon of confidence at your court. This induces me to ſend over, without delay, the baron de Bothmar, one of my miniſters of ſtate, and my plenipotentiary, who will have the honour to deliver you this letter. I beſeech your Majeſty to give credit to what he ſhall tell you from me, and to allow, that your miniſters continue to have the ſame confidence in him they formerly had; the principal deſign of his journey being to aſſure your Majeſty of my inviolable attachment to your intereſts, and of the reſpect with which I am, &c."

Robethon's original Draught. Ibid. 170,

The Elector to the Biſhop of Briſtol.

An anſwer to the Biſhop's letter of the 19th of October.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Gohre, November 7, 1711.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you have been at the trouble of writing to me. The choice which the Queen has

made of you, to commit to you the privy ſeal, having been approved, even by thoſe to whom your reputation only is known, you ſhould not be ſurpriſed at the ſatisfaction of this which I teſtify, ſince I am perſonally acquainted with you and with your capacity, and am convinced from my own knowledge, that the Queen could not bring a more moderate prelate into the church, nor a more enlightened miniſter into her cabinet. 1711. November.

I doubt not, my lord, but in the preſent critical conjuncture, you will employ all your credit to terminate, by a glorious peace, a war, which has acquired ſo much glory to her Majeſty and to the Britiſh nation, and to reject ſuch conditions, as will leave with the common enemy, the means of giving laws to Europe, and of diſturbing the wiſe meaſures which the Queen has taken to ſecure the proſperity of her people. I entreat you to be thoroughly perſuaded, that my ſentiments for you are ſuch, as your merit and your attachment to the intereſts of my family command, and that I am very ſincerely, &c."

The Elector to the Earl of Oxford.

He returns thanks for the care the Queen takes of his intereſts; but inſinuates his diſapprobation of the peace.

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 164.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, November 7, 1711.

"THE earl of Rivers delivered to me the letter which you took the trouble of writing to me. I received, with the moſt lively gratitude, the communication which her Majeſty was pleaſed to make to me, by his lordſhip, of what paſſed with regard to the peace, and am no leſs ſenſible of the care which her Majeſty has taken on this occaſion of the intereſts of my family. What you add in your letter, that her Majeſty will do nothing in this affair, but in concert and jointly with her allies, gives me the greateſt joy. This is a conduct truly worthy of ſo great a Queen, and perfectly ſuitable to all ſhe has done for the common intereſt of her allies, during the courſe of ſo glorious a war, and you are too well informed, my lord, not to ſee that all the fruits of it will be loſt, if Spain and the Indies are abandoned to the duke of Anjou, which will put France in a condition of giving laws very ſoon to Europe, and of fruſtrating all the wiſe meaſures which the Queen has taken to ſecure a ſolid and permanent proſperity to her people. I am perſuaded, that

you

1711. November. you will employ all your credit to prevent ſuch a misfortune. I renew my acknowledgments to you for your good offices, with regard to the regiments, which I wiſhed to have this winter in my dominions. I will not fail to ſend them back, as ſoon as poſſible; well knowing of what importance it is to have the army early in the field. I am, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Shrewſbury.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 165.

My Lord, Gohre, November 7, 1711.

"THE obliging letter which you took the trouble of writing to me, the 3d of October, was delivered to me by the earl of Rivers. I am very ſenſible of the freſh aſſurances which it contains of your attachment to my intereſts, and am very grateful, that you are pleaſed to give me proofs of this, on all the occaſions which offer. I deſire much to have opportunities which will furniſh me with means of teſtifying the regard I have for your perſon, and of ſhewing you, that I am very ſincerely, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Buckingham.

He diſapproves of a peace upon the terms propoſed.

Robethon's original Draught. Ibid. No. 168.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Gohre, Nov. 7, 1711.

"IT is with great gratitude I have ſeen, by the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, the attachment which you ſhew for the intereſts of my family, and for the proſecution of the diſaffected in Scotland: but you have too much good ſenſe, my lord, not to allow, that the moſt ſolid foundation, upon which the preſent and future proſperity of Great Britain, and indeed of all Europe, can be eſtabliſhed, is to humble France, and that the great object of attention ought to be, to terminate the preſent war, by a peace, which deprives that crown of the means of interrupting, for the future, the wiſe meaſures which the Queen has taken to ſecure a durable repoſe to her people. Every one ſees what an addition of power France would receive, if the duke of Anjou ſhould ſupport himſelf on the throne of Spain and the Indies, and you fill too deſervedly the poſt which the Queen has committed to you, not to exert yourſelf to prevent ſuch a misfortune. The perfect confidence I have in your good intentions does not allow me to entertain

entertain any doubt of this. I entreat you to have no more doubt of the regard which I have for your perſon, and of the ſincerity with which I am, &c." 1711. November.

The Electoral Princeſs to Queen Anne.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 161.

Gohre, Nov. 7, 1711.

"I Should imagine I failed in my duty, if I allowed the earl of Rivers to go away, without doing myſelf the honour of thanking your Majeſty very humbly, for the preſent which he hath brought from you to the little princeſs, whom you have allowed to be called after your name. I entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded, that it is impoſſible to be more grateful than the Electoral prince and I are for this freſh proof of your kindneſs. I embrace this opportunity of begging of your Majeſty the continuance of your kindneſs, which will be always infinitely precious to me, and of aſſuring you of the reſpect with which I am, &c."

The Elector to Kreyenberg his reſident at London.

Robethon's original Draught. Ibid. No. 171.

Gohre, Nov. 10, 1711.

"WE have ſeen by one of your private letters of the 27th of October, that the lord treaſurer told you, that you ought to ſend to England a procuration for ſubſcribing in the funds of the South Sea company, the 9375 *l.* ſterling which are due to us by a warrant of the late King William, and which have been acknowledged as a national debt, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. As it does not become us to make this ſubſcription, we ſhall not reſolve upon it, but in caſe of neceſſity, preferring, in all reſpects, to be paid this debt in caſh. Our intention, therefore is, that you ſhould make repreſentations to the lord treaſurer to obtain this payment, aſſuring him, that we ſhall be very particularly obliged to the Queen, if her Majeſty would be pleaſed to take, upon her own account, ſtocks of the South Sea company, for the ſum which is due to us, and pay to us that ſum, as it is very juſt we ſhould receive it complete, after having waited for it ſo long.

If this expedient is not practicable, it will be neceſſary to ſubſcribe to the company, and you will find incloſed, the procuration which is neceſſary to authoriſe you to do ſo, on our account. But you are not to uſe it but a few days before the 25th of December, the day on which

1711. November. the books are cloſed; ſince it is likely, that before that day, the baron de Bothmar, our plenipotentiary, may arrive in London; he having orders to go over with the earl of Rivers; and we wiſh the baron de Bothmar may have time again to make repreſentations to the lord treaſurer, for obtaining payment of this money. You are to prepare the treaſurer for this, and to aſk him, if the ſtocks being only at 80, and it being unjuſt to give us but 80 *l.* ſterling to pay us for 100, they could not give us ſtock for the 20 per cent. remaining, which, upon the whole ſum, would be an augmentation of 1900 *l.* ſterling.

We leave the names blank in the procuration, in order, that if the baron de Bothmar judges it more proper to fill it up with his own, he may do it, if not, it muſt be filled up with ours."

Rebethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

The Princeſs Sophia to the Earl of Strafford.

This is an anſwer to his Letter of the 18th of October.——She diſapproves of a peace upon the terms propoſed.

Tranſlation.

Gohre, Nov. 11, 1711.

"I Conſider, as a continuation of the friendſhip which you always teſtified for me, that you have been pleaſed to communicate to me the commiſſion which the Queen gave you, to treat of a peace, in concurrence with the States-general. It is true, that the earl of Rivers likewiſe has had orders, to communicate to the Elector, my ſon, and to me, her Majeſty's laudable intentions; but he did not enlarge upon the ſubject, as you have been at the trouble to do. He has alſo brought a preſent to the Queen's god-daughter, as an honourable mark of her favours, which are infinitely eſteemed. I would not, however, give my parchment for it: ſince it will be an everlaſting monument in the archives of Hannover; and the preſent of the little princeſs will go, when ſhe is grown up, into another family. As for the reſt, I will not combat all the reaſons which you produce, to make me acquainted with thoſe which the Queen has to be diſſatisfied with her allies; but as her Majeſty entered into this war, for the good of her crown, and to hinder France from becoming too powerful; and as her Majeſty's arms have been always victorious; as my lord Rivers, laſt year, ſpoke of nothing but war, which the Queen was determined to continue with the utmoſt vigour; and as all

thoſe things of which you ſpeak, were then already paſt; you muſt not be ſurpriſed, if ſo ſudden a change creates aſtoniſhment, eſpecially if a peace is to be concluded upon ſuch terms as are printed in the Engliſh Gazettes. If you had been willing to accept peace on thoſe terms, a great deal of blood, and a great deal of the money of England and Holland might have been ſaved, and no one is ignorant of the ſtate of the Emperor's finances, which indeed England has generouſly and bountifully ſupplied. As her Majeſty finds now, the burden of this too heavy for her people, it is not ſurpriſing that ſhe looks out for a remedy, which I heartily wiſh may contribute to her glory, and to the good of her kingdoms, and of her allies. But hitherto, it was always believed, that the too great power of France would be prejudicial to them all, and eſpecially to England. But you know this, undoubtedly, better than I, who do not pretend to underſtand affairs of ſtate. With regard to thoſe which are private, they will always incline me to be, with great eſteem for you, &c." 1711. November.

STUART PAPERS.

1712.

1712. February. THOUGH the earl of Oxford made uſe of the zeal, and even violence of the Tories, to poſſeſs himſelf of power, he was unwilling to throw himſelf entirely into the hands of that party, by diſplacing all the real and ſuppoſed Whigs. In the inferior departments, the retainers of the former miniſtry ſtill remained; and the duke of Marlborough was continued at the head of the army. The miniſter would have been extremely glad to have gained over to his views that nobleman. But the latter had entered into cabals with the oppoſite party, which he choſe not to relinquiſh, for the uncertain friendſhip of a man whom he had ſome reaſon to diſtruſt. The information conveyed to the miniſtry, concerning the duke's deſigns, induced them to diſmiſs him abruptly from all his offices, on the thirtieth of December, 1711. They knew that, in conjunction with prince Eugene, who was daily expected in England, he was forming plans dangerous to their own power, if not to the repoſe of the kingdom. The intrigues between theſe two great generals and the baron de Bothmar are minutely ſet forth by the marquis de Torcy, in his memoirs; and he ſeems to have been well-informed on the ſubject. His relation is corroborated by ſeveral anecdotes, in the correſpondence of the Jacobites, in the preſent year. The firſt of their letters, in the order of time, is the following, between two perſons uſing borrowed names.

It is difficult to ſay whether Mrs. White was a real or fictitious character. Mr. Watſon is known to be the earl of Middleton. The letter itſelf is an original, decyphered by Sir William Ellis, and indorſed by him, "Mrs. White, $\frac{12}{23}$ Feb. 1712."

Mrs.

Mrs. White to Mr. Watſon.

1712. February. Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 3.

Affairs in England.—Oxford in the intereſt of the houſe of Hannover.—News concerning the peace.—The reſpect paid to Prince Eugene.—Anecdotes concerning Marlborough and his family on the Queen's birth-day.

"I Have done all I can towards perſuading your friend to give you an account of all your affairs. The affair of the duke of Hamilton and Mr. Fleetwood is not yet determined; but he ſays, if the act of forfeiture, in King James the Firſt, does fail him (which was that the late lord ———, or any other being bred in a popiſh ſeminary, forfeited his eſtate) ſo if at the trial the act be deficient, he will get an act for the future ſhall reach all the papiſts. This he ſaid laſt night.

As to your affair, Mr. Harris [Harley] is entirely a friend to Mr. Sandy [Hannover], notwithſtanding the diſobliging meaſures that ſpark has taken to diſoblige him perſonally, as ridiculing his endeavours; but his head is ſet on ſhewing him he is above reſentment, and that he has been put in a wrong way; and that he has taken by the hand thoſe that will ruin his credit with his uncle Carre [the church of England], who will certainly make him his heir, if he will yet abandon that ill-family that he is ſo linked to at preſent; and, in order to prove his zeal, as ſoon as the quarrel is made up with Mr. Jacob Smith [the King of France] and Miſs Dibby Jons [the princeſs Anne] he will ſend his relation to your couſin Sandy [Hannover], to demonſtrate to him that he is ſincere; and, in the mean time, he does all he can, in order to get him to prevail, by all the arts that he is capable of. Thoſe he knows look another way he finds ways to leſſen and diſcourage, and whatever they have is what he cannot avoid. He would not have a clamorous complaint; ſo manages it with dexterity. Your relations [the church party] ſee it, but cannot help themſelves; for, on the other ſide, Mr. Willie [the Whigs] would ruin them worſe; ſo that, to uſe a modiſh expreſſion, they are forced to hold the candle to the devil, at preſent, and after a little time he will defy them to hurt him, when the great deciſion is over.

Now to public news; I muſt inform you that the parliament, by the votes which you ſee, have ſo expoſed the allies, that it is plain they do not intend to have any more of the ſame dealings with them, and that a peace is certain. The Portugal miniſter ſaid, at Somerſet-houſe, in public,

1712. February. public, that the parliament had called his maſter rogue and raſcal; but that he was abuſed in good company, meaning the Emperor and the Dutch. The Whigs crowd after prince Eugene, and cabal with him hourly; but it can come to nothing. The parliament is to go on the barrier treaty: that will lay a great ſcene open. The duke of Marlborough did not ſign it; but there is a letter of his, that proves that he ordered my lord Townſend to ſign it. They ſay the two ſcored articles are, that the Dutch ſhould have all the conquered towns from Cambray to the other ſide for themſelves, and that they are to furniſh England with 30,000 men and 40 ſhips, for the loyaliſts of England to ſecure them. The parliament will be judges of that deſign. The Queen declares they did not let her read it, but ſaid it was approved of by the council, ſo ſhe ſigned it. The article relating to Portugal is very diſhonourable for England; they agreeing to have our fleet to attend them, on all occaſions they thought proper for them. This makes a great noiſe, has expoſed the Whigs more than all their other management, and left them without excuſe. The birth-day of the Queen, the duke of Marlborough was in a chair in St. James's park, with the curtains drawn; the mob, that believed it to be the prince Eugene, huzza'd the chair; but the duke modeſtly drew back the curtains and put himſelf out, and with a ſign ſhewed his diſlike to the ſalutation. The mob, finding their miſtake, and that it was he, cried out, "Stop thief," which was a thorough mortification to him. His daughters, that day, to ſhew their contempt of the court, were in wrapping-gowns at a window in St. James's, to ſee the company paſs, two of them, and the other two drove through the Pall-mall four times, in the worſt mob-dreſs they could put themſelves. The duke was in a black ſuit, that day, and his ſon-in-law, the duke of Montague, was at court in a plain, coarſe, red coat, with a long ſhoulder-knot, in ridicule of the day; but the Queen had the ſatisfaction to ſee the moſt ſplendid court that ever was, and crowded more than ever, by all the church, nobility, and gentry. There was a ſhort uproar. My lord Marlborough finds his levees much thinner than they were, and daily leſs and leſs. The people are diſguſted at him. In a little time he will be odious to them. How they huzza the duke of Ormond, who loves popularity too well. Prince Eugene wears the ſword the Queen gave him, ever ſince the birth-day; it is worth 6000 *l.* He has had his anſwer

fwer from the third day he was here. The court wiſh him gone; but 1712.
my lord Oxford does not apprehend any thing from him. The Whigs, ſince they miſſed ſending him to the Tower by their impeachment, cannot reach him ſince the additional lords. They ſay there will be ſix more made. The Whigs cry out at the number that was made to ſerve a turn, and ſay it deſtroys one of the three parts of our conſtitution; and made the Queen and lords one, which ought to be two parts, and the commons the third. Though it is in the power of the crown, the truſt is betrayed, when uſed to deſtroy the power of parliaments. It cannot be imagined how the votes that reflected on the allies have diſcouraged the Whigs; for it has ended all their hopes of having the war continued. This news of Braſette has been an unlucky ſtroke for the allies. The Scotiſh peers will ſit no more; they have abſented themſelves theſe five days; declare the union broke; and this of liberty for the church-clergy is directly againſt the agreement. The Scots will prove themſelves the bribery, and to whom the money was given to get it ſigned. There is nobody made maſter of the horſe; it is in commiſſion, they ſay, till my lord Strafford's return. The duke of Somerſet is not yet out of the bed-chamber. The lady Catherine Hyde is bed-chamber lady. My lord Nottingham continues to work to draw ſome over to the flying party, which he deſigned to ruin the lord-treaſurer with; but it will not do. The Diſſenters are highly diſſatisfied with the State-Whigs, for betraying them, as they call it. My lord treaſurer declares to them he would have prevented it, if he could; for certainly he is a friend to them, though an enemy to the State-Whigs, who would have ruined him and his country."

The deſigns and projects of the Whigs againſt the Tory miniſtry diſcovered and prevented, at the time Prince Eugene came, and the Duke of Marlborough was turned out of all his employments. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 7.

"THE whigiſh faction, being diſappointed in the execution of all their black deſigns ſince their being turned out, induſtriouſly made uſe of the Emperor's and Hannoverian miniſters (who were well prepared to break off the treaty) to procure the averſion of the vulgar againſt a peace.

The firſt ſtep made towards it was, that the Emperor's miniſters having acquainted baron Bothmar and the whigiſh faction, that he was well aſſured

1712. aſſured the Tory miniſtry intended to procure a match to be made, and a marriage ſolemnized between the Pretender's ſiſter and the King of Sweden; and that reſtoring the Pretender would be the conſequence of ſuch a match; and that he is in the bottom of the preſent negociation for a peace.

This was calculated for a bait to bring over the ignorant part of the commonalty on their ſide, as Doctor Sacheverel's ſermon was ſerviceable for the Tories, upon which enſued the late change of the miniſtry; and accordingly Bothmar was prevailed upon to preſent the late memorial to the Queen, who ſurreptitiouſly got it printed and publiſhed againſt the ſitting of the parliament.

But finding it had not the deſired effect, they were reſolved to leave no ſtone unturned, and accordingly preſſed prince Eugene's coming for England, to lay before the Queen and parliament his maſter's mighty propoſals, viz. that England ſhould have all the Weſt Indies, and a free trade throughout all Spain, and that 90,000 men, at his Imperial Majeſty's proper charges, ſhould be employed wherever the Queen ſhould appoint.

Theſe high propoſals put them in mighty hopes of prevailing with the Queen, having the houſe of lords already prepared, the majority being Whigs: but, on the contrary, the Queen and miniſtry were ſo averſe to it, that, to balance the lords, ſhe made twelve new peers all of a ſtart, whereby ſhe has eſtabliſhed a majority of the lords, as well as of the commons, of her ſide, for the peace.

But her Majeſty, finding the faction ſo earneſt for the prince's coming, upon theſe occaſions, diſpatched a meſſenger to Holland, to prevent his coming over, who miſſing him, by reaſon of his having embarked before the meſſenger's arrival, and his being detained by contrary winds for ſeveral days, it was thought neceſſary (in order to weaken his pretenſions and diſcountenance the faction) to remove the duke of Marlborough from all places of truſt, which ſudden and unexpected change quite broke all their meaſures.

The prince at his landing, finding things in this diſmal poſture, and foreſeeing his fruitleſs errand, would expoſe him to a public ridicule, concerted with his party to form another plauſible ſcheme of laying before the Queen and both houſes, viz.

That his maſter had formed a new alliance with Holland, Pruſſia, Denmark, Poland, the Czar of Muſcovy, Hannover, and the other princes of the Empire, and all the Hans Towns, for ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and if poſſible to bring his Swediſh Majeſty into the alliance. But the miniſtry look upon all this to be only a deſign to get the management again into their own hands, rather than a ſincere intention of performing any better, than the laſt treaty has been executed on the late Emperor's part; and accordingly rejected it. 1712.

Then little Eugene thought of another project, viz. To have the duke of Hannover's ſon brought into England, wherein he is like to fail, as well as in all the reſt.

But I muſt not omit, how the party have premeditated and concerted the manner of the reception of this little emiſſary.

Firſt, to render him the more popular, and his errand the more plauſible, he was to be met by ſeveral thouſands on horſeback at his landing, and conducted with great acclamations and huzzas through the city, where great illuminations and ringing of bells was to be made, and the mob to cry out, No peace, No peace; and then great and ſplendid entertainments were to be made by ſubſcription for him. All which fine doings were timely prevented, by the vigilance of the miniſtry, who were truly apprized of it.

Prince Eugene's nephew is dead of the ſmall-pox.

Here is a Flemiſh that has given articles to the Queen, my lord keeper, lord treaſurer, and lord preſident of the council, againſt my lord Marlborough; what will be proved, is not yet known *."

The following curious petition of the generality of Ghent is probably meant by the writer in the laſt paragraph of the preceding paper.

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* The laſt paragraph is in the ſame hand which wrote Mrs. White's letter. The reſt of the paper is a copy in an unknown hand.

1712. A copy communicated to the Editor.

To her Majeſty the Queen of Great Britain.

"THE deputation of the city of Ghent in Flanders, repreſenting the generality of that province, caſt themſelves at your Majeſty's feet, and, with all reſpect and ſubmiſſion, ſet forth: That the glorious battle of Ramillies, which was fought by the troops of her High Allies againſt the French, had given us hopes of being freed from their tyranny: Whereas general Cadogan, whom your Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint, in the room of Mr. Stepney, for the general government, and my lord duke, perſons who tread under foot the glory of your Majeſty and of all the Engliſh nation, in that, in the year 1706, at the taking of the city of Ghent, they immediately made an agreement, with the members of that province, promiſing them their protection and continuance of it, notwithſtanding they had ſerved the enemy, the French, which they performed, and thereby reaped the benefit of the ſweat and blood of the poor provinces of Flanders; my lord duke having got ſix thouſand piſtoles, and general Cadogan one thouſand in ſpecie.

After a regulation was forthwith framed, for the better direction of the ſaid province, ſigned by the ſaid lord duke and the deputies of the States of Holland, the 6th October 1706; but the ſame being to the prejudice of thoſe perſons who were in offices, and whoſe perquiſites were thereby ſomewhat reſtrained, they entreated the ſaid lord duke and Cadogan to inhibit the ſame, which was likewiſe granted them, whereby Cadogan got for himſelf 40,000 gilders, out of the ſaid poor and exhauſted province, which has been for ſo many years the ſeat of war, and ſupplied with bad directors, who have made themſelves rich as Croeſus, and entirely impoveriſhed the province.

The conſequence which befel the High Allies, by thoſe infamous and contribution-thirſty thieves, the lord duke and Cadogan, in their cauſing the aforeſaid perſons to be continued in their employments, namely in the magiſtracy, was, that in the year 1708, they contrived and accompliſhed the betraying the towns of Ghent and Bruges; the army of the High Allies being thereby brought in the greateſt danger of periſhing all at once. My lord duke and Cadogan, whether they had a hand in it or not, agreed anew with the ſaid perſons in offices to procure for them a general pardon, which my lord duke promiſed to obtain by your Majeſty, as it alſo happened, notwithſtanding that the ſaid lord duke and

Cadogan were fully informed and knew themſelves the ſecret correſpond- 1712.
ence of our governors with the generals and miniſters of the enemy, as alſo the perſons who contributed thereto; and for the ſaid general pardon, the firſt got two hundred thouſand gilders, and the latter ten thouſand piſtoles, all out of the remainder of the revenues of the ſaid ruined province of Flanders.

The aforeſaid members or governors of the ſaid province have, not long ſince, given to the ſaid Cadogan, the ſum of five thouſand piſtoles, upon his promiſe that they ſhould be continued in their employments; which ſum he has received at Bruſſels, in the houſe of the Sieur Vandergote, one of the council of ſtate, his great friend; beſides other gentlemen of the ſaid council, who are enemies of the High Allies and protectors of their enemies; and that was done at the time that our convoy was beaten between Ghent and Courtray, in the pariſh of St. Eloyvive, when inſtead of furthering the ſervice of the war, he preferred his own intereſt.

Over and above the ſeveral ſums, which he and my lord duke have otherwiſe exacted from our poor province, we ſhall allege no other for ſhortneſs ſake, this ſerving only to obſerve that they have continued ſuch members in the magiſtracy of Ghent and Bruges, notwithſtanding they had ſerved the French before, and had contrived and accompliſhed the betraying of the ſaid towns, only thereby to continue to feed their avarice by extortions from the poor province, that thoſe perſons might not diſcover to your Majeſty and parliament their thieveries.

The matter is come to that pitch, that her Majeſty having no opinion of the conduct of thoſe two money-thirſty perſons, the duke and Cadogan, they are capable to induce the aforeſaid members to give atteſtations of their good behaviour in having reaped no profits from this province; but, it is hoped, that your Majeſty and the parliament will have no regard to them, it being certain, that one thief will not willingly diſcover another; that is to ſay, that the ſaid lord duke and Cadogan, who have procured to the ſaid directors of our province the amneſty concerning the ſaid treachery, will eaſily be induced to excuſe thoſe that protected them: and to diſcover the truth of what is above mentioned, that her Majeſty will pleaſe to cauſe an inquiry to be made into the conduct and roguery of thoſe two perſons during the war in the Netherlands, by

1712. ſuch members of the new parliament as have been employed under them as officers in her Majeſty's ſervice.

We proſtrate ourſelves at your Majeſty's feet with all humility, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reflect on the premiſes, and conſider the miſerable condition, in which our aforeſaid province is involved by this long war, and to deliver and free us of the ſaid lord duke and Cadogan, two profeſſed thieves to our province and the reputation of your Majeſty and the whole Engliſh nation, who are pleaſed to pay their troops and officers ſo largely with their own money, and never permitted that any of their chief officers, as theſe two, ſhould enrich themſelves ſo unreaſonably with the money of our poor country, much leſs to protect ſuch perſons, as ſhewed their affection entirely for the French, and ſtill correſpond with them. There is ſo much of this, that all the favours they have ſhewed to the enemy would be ſufficient to fill a book, the ſending of money to ſuſtain the war againſt us being one of their leaſt favours.

We further pray your Majeſty to ſend another plenipotentiary to our government, with expreſs orders, to turn out all ſuch perſons in the magiſtracy, who have ſerved the enemy, and to put in their room ſuch perſons, who are fit to ſerve your Majeſty, and to eaſe our poor province. As for ſecretary Laws, like maſters like men, of whom no good teſtimony can likewiſe be given. Wherefore, we pray, likewiſe, your Majeſty to appoint another in his room; and, in ſo doing your Majeſty will find plainly more proſperity in your arms, reſtore the reputation of the nation, and further have the bleſſing of God Almighty, for having puniſhed the bad, for which all ſuperiors are ordained. And in caſe your Majeſty is not pleaſed to appoint other miniſters, in the room of Cadogan and Laws, as alſo my lord duke, who will better promote the glory of your Majeſty and the reputation of the parliament and Engliſh nations, who muſt immediately change the reſpective magiſtrates, as is uſual every year, according to the cuſtoms and privileges of the country, we ſhall ſtill be governed by, and remain under, traitors to your Majeſty and the High Allies, who were ſerviceable to the enemy, and were put into thoſe employments, and have now continued in them for four years together, which if not remedied, we ſhould be happier to be governed by Turks than by that Britiſh thief Cadogan. Relying on the protection of your Majeſty,

jeſty, and hoping for the ſame, we remain, with the utmoſt reſpect, &c. &c." 1712. February.

Letters from Nairne to Abram and Berry, from the 11th to the 21ſt February, 1712. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 24.

Nairne wrote to Abram, February 11th, "To tell him to make what haſte he could to come over to Holland, where he would find orders with Hackett, to furniſh him with what money he wanted:" and to Berry, "To tell him to inquire further into that report of the King's being to remove to Rome at the peace; and that he might ſee his two old friends, to ſee what new profeſſions of friendſhip they will make him."

To Abram.—February 14th.—"I told him to inquire if Mr. Hook was in England; bid him endeavour, in his abſence, to get ſomebody to correſpond. I hoped he was preparing for his journey. *Mes compliments* to Mr. Brown [lord Balmerino]."

To Berry.—"I mentioned again his two old friends †, and the report of removing to Rome. I deſired him to ſee his old acquaintance, W. Pen, and endeavour to diſcover, by him, whether Harley at bottom had real good intentions for his Majeſty or not. I told him, his letters were always acceptable to his friends, who valued his opinion of matters, and deſired him to continue to write always his mind freely."

To Berry.—February 21ſt.—"I told him, his author was either impoſed upon, or did impoſe upon him, when he told him, that the King was to be ſent to Rome, and was actually on his way thither; and that he might aſſure himſelf, though his Majeſty was unalterably attached to his ſociety with Adamſon, he would never ſet his foot in Mr. Deane's houſe [Rome], if he could help it, and that he had had no intimation given him as yet upon that ſubject. I told him, it was very improbable that Armſworth [Marlborough] and Baker [Harley] had any intelligence together." Ibid. p. 25.

Nairne wrote again to Abram, "To own the receipt of his of the 1ſt and 5th of February, and tell him to come away without further delay for Holland; and that we ſhould write no more to him to England.—I told him, he would find with Hackett a credit for ſome money at his arrival with a letter of recommendation to Mrs. Panton [Abbé Polignac]."

† Marlborough and Godolphin.

"Two

1712. February. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 4.

"*Two letters from John Scrimger. Copied by Mr. Nairne, Clerk of the Privy Council.*" *26th Feb.* 1712.

The original letters which are ſigned John Scrimger were probably from Mrs. Jane Murray; there is one of them, No. 11, ſigned J. M. They are addreſſed to Mungo Smith, ſuppoſed to be the earl of Middleton. Theſe letters are allegorical; but they clearly expreſs the hopes of the Jacobites and the increaſe of their party.

Extracts from the firſt letter.

"FOR God's ſake take great comfort and pleaſure, and let your dear noble heart be now eaſy, and aſſure yourſelf Q. A. [ſuppoſed to mean Queen Anne] does withſtand all ſtorms and baſe uſage, and all things that concern your little law-ſuit go as well as heart can wiſh, all things conſidered. Whatever you hear, let it give you no ſort of trouble. You will be happy ſoon, by the bleſſing of God, and will poſſeſs theſe little lands that belong to you, in tranquillity and without force of law.—I could not be at reſt till I went and talked with ſeveral of your friends to expreſs the thoughts of my heart againſt that, (viz. ſending the Chevalier out of France and to ſome diſtance) and I find great ſatisfaction in that part. They were all of one opinion to be eaſy. I hope there will be found good lodging for you and E. M. in a wholeſome air, till Q. A. does buſineſs to provide better, which, I truſt in God, will be of no long time. Her law-ſuit and yours are now ſo linked, that the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other.—New tenants come to me and deſire me to ſet ſome piece of ground to them. They are willing to be fair tenants, and I have let ſome little houſe (he had mentioned his engaging ſome in their party); and they promiſe, if by-gone rents be forgiven, they will pay all repairs and duties in time to come; and I have, on my part, promiſed, if they will pay their rents when demanded, I will anſwer that he that owns thoſe grounds will be a very good maſter, and that I can aſſure them he is the beſt of men, and will ſhew his poor tenants all kindneſs. There is hardly a day but one may let ſome little houſe or other of yours."

Extracts from the ſecond letter.

"I Shall tell you a piece of news, that earl Arran [duke of Hamilton] does not know himſelf as yet. It is ſtill in the breaſt of Q. A., E. M. [ſuppoſed to be the earl of Marr], and Harley; and I was deſired

fired to ſay nothing of it to him, till things be adjuſted. When that buſineſs is at an end, where earl Arran is, princeſs of Denmark thinks to ſend earl Arran to France, to remain there; his buſineſs has been a troubleſome affair to her, and is not yet ended. Friends ſay, their fears are ſtill great, that France will not part with you, and ſtill bring on that ſtory of your viſit to Scotland, and what was done to Scotland at that time. They cry any where but to ſtay in France, then we can have the King, as ſoon as we can get a houſe and furniture for him." 1712. February.

Mrs. White to Mr. Watſon.

Nairne's Papers, D N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 5.

This letter is in the ſame hand with the preceding, which is ſaid to be Mrs. White's. It contains the ſtate of affairs in England.—A vote paſſed in the Houſe of Commons againſt lord Townſhend.—Eugene cabals with the Whigs.—The Scotch Lords leave the houſe, and the Whigs carry a vote; —but the miniſtry will prevail.—Oxford's cautious politics.—Letters taken from a ſervant of the Hannoverian Miniſter.—Eugene's intrigues.—Swift's political writings.—Marlborough courts all parties.—Converſation between the Lords Oxford and Wharton.—Scandalous news from France. —The Hannoverian envoy diſobliges Oxford.

SIR,

"I Have received yours of the 1ſt. I ſhall, ſince it is a ſatisfaction to you, give you an account of all the public news that I hear. The vote of the houſe of commons againſt my lord Townſend, for ſigning the Barrier treaty, which declares him an enemy to the Queen and country, it is believed, will have no other conſequence, 'till after the peace, but to give a latitude to our plenipotentiaries, to act on the moſt advantageous terms they can, notwithſtanding that treaty. The death of the Dauphin has put the Whigs in freſh hopes, that prince Eugene has prevailed to get it inſiſted on, that Spain and the Indies ſhall be the Emperor's. He cabals daily with the Whigs, in a very indecent manner; the great project is, to have the prince of Hannover here, to noſe the Queen, at leaſt; but their arms are further. The Dutch, Hannover, and Emperor's miniſters here, are laying a ſcheme for it, and have carried it ſo far, that the command of the army, this Summer, is not offered to the prince of Hannover, as was intended. The duke of Ormond commands

1712. February. mands in Flanders, and is fitting up his equipage. The vote of the Lords, which they got by ſurpriſe, the houſe being thin, and the Scotch lords retiring, to make themſelves conſiderable, the Whigs carried it, and addreſſed, with a deteſtation to the articles from France, though they did not come judiciouſly before them; it was only to encourage the Dutch, and Emperor, and Portugal, to inſiſt on great demands; but had no weight here. The houſe of commons being zealous for the good of the kingdom, out-balances all their tricks, and the miniſtry treat ſure and gain ground daily. The ſcheme is only to expoſe and diſcourage, and undeceive the kingdom; their puniſhment will be left 'till the peace is finiſhed. It is my lord of Oxford's politics to ſmooth and check, and would not have removed the duke of Marlborough, if it had not been abſolutely neceſſary. The Hannover miniſter is highly diſpleaſed at an accident that has happened; his letters he ſent by a ſervant, betwixt 11 and 12 to the general poſt houſe: at ———, he was robbed of his letters and what little he had about him. The ——— will have it, our miniſter laid the deſign to come by his letters. It was not amiſs to find what he and prince Eugene have been contriving with the Whigs. He has had his anſwer, from the firſt of his coming, and has been told, by a ſide wind, that the court is not ſatisfied with his ſtay, ſince he is ſo cloſe in cabals with the diſſatisfied lords. He told him, that ſaid this to him, that he knew that; but he ſhould do what was convenient to his intereſt. If he ſtays much longer, he will be ſent away, contrary to the Queen's firſt reſolution. His nephew is taken ill of the ſmall pox; ſo that gives a freſh pretence. The Whigs have ſo contrived it, that it will be moved, at the congreſs, to remove the prince that is in France. By the inſtigation of the Whigs, this is moved here, by prince Eugene, in the Emperor's name, and that all the allies ſhall be guarantees for the ſucceſſion of Hannover; but it is believed our plenipotentiaries have inſtructions not to have any ſuch guarantees, which would limit the people of England; for hereafter, in caſe of neceſſity, they muſt aſk all the allies leave to chooſe a King, and my lord chief juſtice has declared it treaſon in thoſe that ſigned the Barrier treaty. On that account, all the people in the country have got the book which I hope you have, called "The conduct of the late miniſtry and the allies;" and another, "The obligations that the Dutch have to us." They are two books worth reading.

reading. They have ſet us in a right light, and have ſo exaſperated all the counties of England againſt the late miniſtry and our allies, that they are in ſome counties ready to addreſs the Queen, to puniſh thoſe that acted in all their vile practices; and now the barrier treaty itſelf, with remarks on it, is publiſhed, written by the ſame hand, which is a very good one. They are approved and directed by my lord Oxford; the Whigs anſwer them, but in that railing evading manner that has no force. 1712. February.

My lord Marlborough is very humble, viſits every creature that has any credit. To general Webb, he ſent to know, when he would be at home, he would viſit him. He ſent him word, he never would be at home to him; that he had done him all the injuſtice he could, when he was in power, and that now he would do him all the juſtice he could, which he thought he deſerved; and my lord Wharton told my lord treaſurer, that he played well at whiſt. What he could not make by tricks, he made up by knaves. The treaſurer anſwered him, that they believed the game up before he took the cards, and had made tricks out of all the knaves, let who would hold them; but he obſerved their game, and ſhould be ſorry to be thought a bungler. The houſe of commons are reſolved to throw Walpole out of the houſe again. He was choſen again; but now they have lodged a petition againſt him. The Hannover reſident took the liberty to threaten ſome of the leading members, with his maſter's reſentment, if they pretended to meddle with the barrier treaty, but did not deter them; but, as a jeſt, it is ſaid, the ſame members cauſed his ſervant to be robbed of his letters, to ſee what he had writ of them. All here believe the peace certain. We have ſtrange ſtories ſent from France, of the duke of Orleans being taken in the very act of inceſt with his daughter, the dutcheſs of Berry, when he had made her, and the lady the duke de Berry had a deſign of, drunk; whilſt one debauched her, the other abuſed his own daughter; and that the Dauphin was poiſoned; theſe ſtories are common; they were firſt told by Madam Malous, the niece of the late lord Feverſham, who lives at Somerſet-houſe, where prince Eugene is every night, at leaſt, three times a week. She pretends to have letters of it from France. There all the foreign miniſters are two or three times a week. Baron Bothmar, the Hannover Envoy, daily ſhews his diſlike to my lord of Oxford, and

1712. does his maſter great prejudice by it, and has turned the court againſt his proceedings. Prince Eugene is angry, that ——— ——— put in his advertiſement by way of jeſt, a reward for any that could bring the names of theſe fifty perſons, his mother the dutcheſs of Bollin poiſoned. Adieu.

"The laſt page of Mrs. White's letter is written in a cut paper."

This paper is, perhaps, the laſt page of the preceding letter: it is written in Sir William Ellis's hand.

"*Anecdotes of Plunket, Harley, &c.*"

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 6.

"PRAY know if count Azzuri did attend the King with the account Mr. Plunket gave him. It is he that ſends this, incloſed only as a beginning; he will, from time to time, give you an account how affairs go. Mr. Harley truſts him in ſome affairs; count Gallaſch truſted him, and he did great ſervice, in acquainting Mr. Harley with the Whigs intrigues.

If it is inſiſted on by the King of France's plenipotentiaries; I am ſure the King will be left as he is, without any alteration; Mr. Harley has ſaid ſo in private, to a friend of his and mine.

Bromfield, the quaker, is here, and is daily with Mr. Harley. He is to be ſent by him, a ſpy, to the place where you are; he does great miſchief; he would be a conſul for ſome of the places, where he might be uſeful to them here."

The truth of the following anecdotes is, in ſome degree, aſcertained by collateral proofs. The marquis de Torcy, in his memoirs, mentions them, with corroborating circumſtances; and he was not a writer, that advanced facts upon mere ſurmiſes, being a man of integrity, intelligence, and abilities. The Stuart Papers of the preſent year are full of anecdotes of the ſame kind; and the miniſtry, by the precautions they took, ſeemed to have been convinced, that dangerous conſpiracies were formed. There can ſcarce a doubt be entertained, that Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the baron de Bothmar *talked* concerning violent meaſures; though perhaps, the circumſtances are exaggerated. The ruffians called the

the Mohocks, who infeſted the ſtreets, at the time, ſlitting noſes and maiming paſſengers, were conſidered, with ſome degree of juſtice, as inſtigated by the diſcontented party. A proclamation by the privy-council and an attention to the diſpoſition of the guards, prevented the miſchiefs that were, perhaps, intended. 1712.

Anecdotes concerning the Duke of Marlborough, the Peace, and the deſigns of the Duke and prince Eugene againſt the Miniſtry. Carte's Memorandum book, 8vo.

April 10, 1749.—"MR. Eraſmus Lewis told me, that at the latter end of 1709 or beginning of 1710, Queen Anne ſent for lord Somers, and told him, as they were alone, ſhe having an opinion of his judgment and impartiality, deſired him to tell her his opinion of the duke of Marlborough. He ſaid he would; and told her that he was the worſt man that God Almighty ever made; that his ambition was boundleſs and his avarice inſatiable; and that he had neither honour nor conſcience to reſtrain him from any wicked attempt, even againſt her perſon, as well as againſt his country, &c. Somers (as the Queen was weary of the d—ſs) expected to be made firſt miniſter, but was baulked. The Queen had expreſſed herſelf advantageouſly of his honour, integrity, and capacity. During the debates about the peace, in oppoſition to it, M. de Torcy acquainted lord Oxford, that after the duke of Marlborough had hindered the peace of 1706, when it ſhould have been made, he had treated with the French court to make them one, and was to have two millions of crowns for it. This would have been done, but for M. Chamillard, a weak miniſter, who during the ſiege of Liſle, came to Valenciennes, ſent the duke of Marlborough word, that he expected he would raiſe the ſiege of Liſle, as a proof of his ſincerity in the peace they had treated and ſettled. The duke of Marlborough was angry, and wrote to the duke of Berwick, that there was an end of the affair, and he would have nothing more to do with the treaty.

When M. de Torcy diſcovered this, the King of France allowed lord Oxford to make uſe of it, to ſend the duke of Marlborough abroad; but inſiſted that his life ſhould not be touched; and ſo it was. They had a meeting at Thomas Harley's houſe, in James ſtreet, Weſtminſter. Oxford coming to the ſtreet door, in his coach, the duke of Marlborough in a chair to the garden door opening into the park; it was then reſolved,

1712. that the duke of Marlborough ſhould go abroad. Prince Eugene and lord Wharton both ſaid, on the occaſion, that the duke of Marlborough had not a clear conſcience, or he would not have ſubmitted to that ſtep.

Several meaſures were propoſed to oppoſe the peace, and ſeveral ſchemes ſent to Vienna; ſome for ſeizing the Queen, others for ſeizing the miniſtry, and one for aſſaſſinating Oxford and Bolingbroke in their chairs. Prince Eugene wrote about this laſt, to count Zinzendorff, then at the Hague; who wrote, in anſwer, that ſuch meaſures were extremely hazardous, and ſcarce to be undertaken; but if this was reſolved on, he adviſed prince Eugene to come over to Holland, before it was executed.

Among other ſchemes, one was for the duke of Marlborough, by his power, as general, to aſſemble 2 or 3000 men, at an hour, in different ſquares of Weſtminſter, and to ſeize St. James's. This was diſcovered and lord Oxford ſent to Mr. Lewis to come immediately to the office, that morning, his preſence being neceſſary by ten o'clock. When he came, he found the lord chancellor and all the lords of council there. The buſineſs was to ſuperſede the duke of Marlborough's commiſſion, as general, under the broad ſeal. There had been before an order under the privy ſeal ſent him not to act more as general; but his commiſſion being under the great ſeal, could not be ſuperſeded, but by a revocation under the great ſeal. When this was done, the duke of Marlborough would not act ſo againſt law, as to rendezvous the men: he was not made for hazards.

He ſaid, the duke of Marlborough's quitting the oppoſition to the peace, had ruined his credit at Hannover and at the Hague. King George was reſolved to make no alteration in miniſtry, but 40,000 *l.* given to Bothmar, at the Hope, cauſed the duke of Marlborough's apology to be accepted, and all Queen Anne's miniſters to be turned out †."

A Let-

† Eraſmus Lewis, was under ſecretary to the earl of Oxford. He is often mentioned by doctor Swift, in his letters. Swift charges prince Eugene with the deſigns mentioned in the two laſt articles §; but biſhop Burnet * and the Whig writers ſpeak of him in a very different manner.

§ Hiſtory of the four laſt years of Queen Anne, p. 76 of vol. xv. * Hiſtory of his own times, vol. iv.

The

A Letter ſigned Charles Johnſon, and addreſſed to Charles Adams; but indorſed by Sir William Ellis, "Mr. Ken." 22 February, / 4 March, 1712." 1712. March.

He gives an account of affairs in England.—The feigned names are explained in Sir William Ellis's hand.

SIR,

"BY one of our late mails I received a letter from you, but without date; however, it being the only one I have of yours unanſwered, you will have no difficulty in judging of what I ſpeak. Mr. Wat. Thomas [Mr. Lilly] who is, at preſent, a part of our family, deſired me to tell you, that he had yours of the 18th inſtant, which he will anſwer ſhortly, as buſineſs ſhall ariſe. What I hinted in my laſt, of Mr. Mathew Jude and party [the Low Church], ſeeming in a diſpoſition to play ſome frolick of youth [riſe in rebellion] has even a greater appearance than before. But how to give direction for Mr. Kee's [the King's] behaviour, in ſuch an event, is not eaſy, at this diſtance, to do; however, what I am aſked, I will tell you the thought of our houſe and partners. At what time, or in what court theſe gentlemen will think fit to proſecute

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The Marquis de Torcy relates, in his Memoirs, that he had his maſter's orders, to offer four millions of livres to the Duke of Marlborough, at the Hague, in 1709, if he employed his intereſt in contributing to a peace †. His Majeſty's words are, "I don't in the leaſt queſtion, but you avail yourſelf of the opportunities you have of ſeeing the duke of Marlborough, to let him know, that I have been informed of the ſteps he has taken, to hinder the progreſs of the conferences of peace, and even to break them off entirely; that I had been the more ſurpriſed thereat, as I had reaſon to believe, from the aſſurances he had already given, that he was willing to contribute to this end; that I ſhould be glad his conduct was ſuch, as to deſerve the reward I have promiſed him; and in order that you may be able to come to a clearer explication, I am willing you ſhould give him a poſitive aſſurance that I will ——— In ſhort, I am willing you ſhould offer the duke of Marlborough four millions, ſhould he enable me to keep Naples and Sicily for the King, my grandſon, and to preſerve Dunkirk with its fortifications and harbour, and Straſburg and Landau, in the manner above explained, or even the ſame ſum were Sicily to be excepted out of this laſt article ‡."

De Torcy does not tell what anſwer the duke of Marlborough made to theſe offers.

"At the ſame time, news came, that the dutcheſs of Marlborough, firſt lady of the bedchamber to the Queen of England, was diſgraced. The duke of Marlborough himſelf gave notice of it to his nephew, the duke of Berwick ‖."

† Vol. i. p. 299. ‡ Ibid. p. 391. ‖ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 75.

their

1712. March. their frolic, is difficult to ſay; it is talked, as if Mr. Diederick Hamilton [Hannover] was to come hither, aſſiſted by couſin Jaſp and party [the Dutch]; and to countenance his coming, Mr. Jaſelin's relations [the houſe of lords] are waiting a favourable opportunity to give him an invitation. Be it by this, or what other means ſoever, Mr. Matthew Judd [the Low Church] begins his work; it ſeems abſolutely neceſſary to6, that Mr. Lours [the King] ſhould be upon the place as ſoon as poſſible, to take care of his own effects; his aunt Suſan [Scotland], if one may believe her, will give him a moſt hearty welcome; and though ſhe cannot advance much money for carrying on of the ſuit, yet his adverſaries will probably be no better ſupplied; every body being unwilling to venture in the preſent ſtate of things, in which there are hardly three perſons, how long ſoever friends, who would be able to take council together. In ſhort Mr. Lours [the King] will undoubtedly provide himſelf the beſt he is able, and for the reſt *Deus providebit*. There is a report here, as if he intended to make a journey to ſee his kinſman Obedia Townſend [Savoy duke] and country; but, to tell you true, his friends think that a great way off. But it is time to tell you ſomething of our public matters. The occaſional-bill, whatever miſery might be intended by it, has not yet raiſed any ſtir, nor gives the leaſt appearance of doing ſo. Prince Eugene, beſides his feaſting from houſe to houſe, has propoſed very little buſineſs; and, if he thinks fit to ſtay a month longer, in the ſame way, will be as little mentioned as any enſign in his army. Our court keeps ſtill its diſpoſition for peace, in which it is backed by the houſe of commons; but the Tory majority in the lord's houſe is but ſmall, and by the abſence of ſome of them, they are now and then trapped in an odd vote. In a little time, we ſhall ſee what is to be hoped for, as to peace; and as that proceeds or goes back, our parties ſhape their hopes. Pray my ſervice to honeſt Hicks, and tell him his friends are well, but want to hear from him. I am, &c."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 26.

Letters from Nairne to Abram.

Deſiring him to go to Holland, and incloſing a letter from the Earl of Middleton to the Abbé de Polignac.

Nairne to Abram.—March 3d.—" To give him notice I had ſent a bill to him of 574 gilders, in a letter incloſed to Hackett, to be delivered to him at his arival in Holland. I bid him loſe no time to come

away, and endeavour to be informed of every thing relating to the trade he was charged with, in order to give the neceſſary light for the King's ſervice to the Abbé Polignac in Holland, or to tranſmit hither." 1712. March.

Nairne to Abram.—March 3d —" By the name of Sanderſon with his bill, and to tell him, when he went to Utrecht, to ſend a meſſage to the Abbé Polignac, to let him know he was come, and had a letter from Mr. Maſſay [Lord Middleton] for him; and that he would wait his directions to go to him either in public or privately, as he ſhould think fit."

Nairne to Abram.—March 6th.—" To cover my lord's letter to the Abbé Polignac, in which I told him to go by his own name in Holland, to write as ſoon as he arrived, and continue to give account of all that came to his knowledge relating to the King's affairs; and that he ſhould receive new directions from Mr. Maſſey [lord Middleton], as occaſions offered to require them." Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 27.

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé de Polignac. Ibid.

Nairne incloſed this letter to Abram; and it appears from it, that Abram's real name was Menzies.

Tranſlation.

SIR, St. Germains, March 6, 1712.

" THE perſon who will have the honour of delivering this to your Excellency, is the Sieur Menzies, whoſe fidelity and capacity I am acquainted with of a long time. He is thoroughly inſtructed in every thing that regards our Iſles: He will give you all poſſible lights concerning them; and I doubt not but you will be ſatisfied with him. He has no other orders from this place but to follow yours.

I ſhall add nothing further, Sir; not doubting but you are thoroughly perſuaded that I am, very reſpectfully, &c."

Nairne to Abram.—March 10.—" To tell him that there being no occaſion of any factor, at preſent, at Halloway's [Holland], and he being more uſeful where he is, I had orders to bid him ſtay in England, and continue to correſpond as uſual. I owned his of the 15th February, and hoped this letter would come in time enough to ſtop his journey." Ibid.

Nairne

1712. March. *Nairne to Hackett.*—" To bid him forward Abram's, and keep the two former for Sanderſon by him till further orders."

Mr. Menzies, ſo often exhibited under the feigned name of Abram, is the Scotch gentleman mentioned by Monſieur Menager, in the account of his ſecret negociations in England.

Menager having ſigned the preliminary articles of a ſeparate treaty between France and Britain, employed the time he ſtaid afterwards in London, in attempting, according to his inſtructions, to render ſome ſervice to the court of St. Germains, and introduced the ſubject in a converſation with Mr. St. John. They foreſaw, that the King of France would be obliged, in the enſuing treaty, " not ſo much to abandon the chevalier, as to acknowledge the ſucceſſion of the crown in the houſe of Hannover, as it was mentioned in the ſecond preliminary *."

Menager propoſed that a ſecret article ſhould be made by the Queen, to diſengage the King from all the obligations of ſuch agreements upon ſuch ſubſequent occaſions as might happen; and a declaration from her Majeſty, that all the engagements the King ſhould enter into in the treaty of peace, ſhould be ſo underſtood by the Queen. St. John was afraid the Queen would not ſign ſuch a declaration; but he thought ſhe would declare, by word of mouth, that ſhe would be ſatisfied to underſtand the treaty in ſuch a manner; and that whenever ſhe diſengaged the King from it, the obligation on him, as to the recognition of the ſucceſſion, ſhould ceaſe. Bolingbroke mentioned this propoſal to the Queen; and, with her conſent, introduced Menager to Mrs. Maſham, that he might learn her Majeſty's intentions from that lady, as he himſelf did not chooſe to meddle further in the affair.

Two points were agreed upon between Menager and Mrs. Maſham: Firſt, " that, for the ſatisfaction of the people at home, and the allies abroad, the King ſhould be required, in the Queen's name, to abandon her brother and his intereſt, on pretence of adhering to the ſucceſſion as it was now eſtabliſhed."

2d. " That nevertheleſs, this ſeeming to abandon the ſaid intereſt, was to be ſo underſtood, that the King ſhould not be obliged, in caſe of her Majeſty's deceaſe, not to uſe his endeavours for the placing the ſaid prince on his father's throne, to which he had an undoubted right †."

* *Minute of Monſieur Menager's negociation.* † Ibid. p. 276.

Lady

Mrs. Maſham told him, "that it was the preſent unhappineſs of the Queen to poſſeſs the throne of her brother, which ſhe had no other claim to than what the political meaſures of the ſtate had made legal, and in a ſort neceſſary; which, however, ſhe believed, gave her Majeſty oftentimes ſecret uneaſineſs: that this was not all the misfortune, but that, by the ſame neceſſity of ſtate, ſhe was obliged, not only againſt her diſpoſition, but even againſt her principles, to further and promote the continuance of the uſurpation, not only beyond her own life, but for ever. That I might be ſure, under ſuch circumſtances, it would be an inexpreſſible ſatisfaction to her Majeſty, to ſee herſelf delivered from the fatal neceſſity of doing ſo much wrong; and if it could be poſſible, with ſafety to the religion and liberties of her ſubjects, to have her brother reſtored to his right, at leaſt, after her deceaſe, if it could not be done before." 1712. March.

"That it was true the Queen did not ſee through this; and it ſeemed next to impoſſible, "the rage and irreconcilable averſion of the greateſt part of the common people to her brother being grown to ſuch a height:" nay, ſhe ſaid, the Queen found it would be impoſſible to enter upon any treaty of peace, or ſo much as to let the people hear of putting an end to the war, without entering into the ſtrongeſt engagements poſſible for the confirming the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover; "a thing that I am ſure, ſays ſhe, is all our averſions;" and we have no retreat but to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in hopes of his ordering things ſo at this treaty, that he may be at liberty to ſupport and aſſiſt in the work, whenever an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf: that, to this end, the plenipotentiaries from hence, "though there was no communicating any thing to them by way of confidence," ſhould be inſtructed not to inſiſt upon things more than neceſſity obliged; and "ſome reſerves, ſure," ſays ſhe, "may be made, to leave room for juſtice to take place in time to come *."

Menager, upon his arrival at Utrecht, where he acted as one of the plenipotentiaries from France, found that the Britiſh miniſters had not received the private inſtructions which lady Maſham gave him reaſon to expect would be ſent to them; and he afterwards diſcovered, that the agents of the court of St. Germains had made the concerns of the chevalier the ſubject of a private negociation with the miniſtry in

* *Minute of Monſieur Menager's negociation*, p. 282.

1712. March. England. Theſe agents were obliged, at laſt, to write to the King of France "in plain terms, that the miniſtry in England were men of no honour; that they had held them in ſuſpenſe for a long time; and that now, they not only did not come to the point with them, but declined any converſation on the ſubject; only ſaid in general, that a certain perſon would be ſent over to Utrecht, who ſhould diſcourſe by word of mouth freely, and ſhould ſettle that affair ſo as ſhould be agreeable to all parties *."

Lady Maſham, in a letter to Menager, dated St. James's, March 2, 1712, ſays, "I take it for granted, that they (the court of St. Germains) are fallen into the hands of my Lord Treaſurer: he loves a ſecret, and is famous for making intricacies, where there is a ſterility of intrigues; and no leſs renowned for cauſing every thing of ſuch a nature to miſcarry. If their aſſurances are from him, I doubt not, he values himſelf upon having deceived them; and if the perſon to be ſent to Utrecht comes from him, I dare promiſe you, that when he comes there, he wants his inſtructions †."

Menager, who hated all the agents of the court of St. Germains, and was equally hated by them, ſays, that "all this was owing to the impatience and jealouſy of the court of St. Germains, who, though the King had agents of his own in London, who, perhaps, did their utmoſt, yet they at St. Germains, being uneaſy, could not refrain ſending a ſecret embaſſy themſelves. This, it ſeems, was a Scotchman, who pretended great intereſt with a Scotch lord, who was an officer of ſtate in England; but either the meſſenger failed in the intereſt he pretended to have, or the Scotch nobleman failed in what he promiſed to do for him; ſeeing the ſum of his negociation was briefly this; that after a long ſtay, he performed only theſe two notable exploits, viz. firſt, that he ſpent a great deal of their money; and ſecondly, that he ruined and expoſed the buſineſs which he was intruſted with; and at laſt, came away with nothing but an empty promiſe from the ſaid Scotch lord, that a perſon ſhould be ſent over to negociate that matter with the French and Britiſh miniſters together ‡."

Menager had ſtrong prejudices againſt the earl of Middleton. He gives the poſtſcript of a letter he wrote to lady Maſham. "A Scotch-

* *Minute of Monſieur Menager's negociation*, p. 305. † Ibid. p. 310.
‡ Ibid. p. 314.

man from St. Germains, and a Scotchman in your court, have been the agents to deceive one another, and to abuſe their maſters. As to the inquiring who the ſecret has remained with, they confeſs now, at St. Germains, that it has really remained with no body: for ſo ill a choice did they make of their agent, that he has not only expoſed his errand but his employer: and our people in London are very free to ſend word hither how ill he has acquitted himſelf; though, by the way, I muſt obſerve, that this was not done till after they had been amuſed with the perſuaſions of this perſon, to believe things were in a good train, when they were indeed in hands who intended nothing leſs than to perform what was propoſed *." 1712. March.

Menager's account of this negociation appeared ſo extraordinary, that it hath hitherto met with little credit from the public; but it will be found to coincide with what relates to Menzies, under the borrowed name of Abram in Nairne's letters, and with the account which the well known John Plunket gives of his own intrigues. He acknowledges, that he allowed himſelf to be amuſed with promiſes by the earl of Oxford.

A letter from Mr. Lilly, under the Signature of H. J. and in an affected bad ſpelling, and addreſſed to Mr. Edward Jones, at Mr. John Hackett's, Merchant, in Rotterdam.——Jones is Sir William Ellis; the letter is indorſed by him, "*Mr. Lilly; dated* 10 *March, but came with the letters of four pacquets, of which the freſheſt was of* $\frac{1}{12}$ *April,* 1712." Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 15.

"A Good friend of mine, of whom I formerly deſired you to give a juſt character to his father [Mr. Sheridan] at Amſterdam [St. Germains], I hope will be with you before this; and this is to recommend him to your friendſhip and good offices, in the way of trade. I have writ to the ſame purpoſe in the incloſed to Allen [my lord Middleton], which pray let my friend know, for he knows nothing either of that or this; only I told him I would write to you, to let him have a liſt of the goods and the debts that are with you [a copy of the cyphers], that he may give me an account ſometimes, for I have tried him, and can truſt him, as alſo does the college where he is in very good eſteem; and they will take kindly how much ſoever he is employed there, as alſo all the friends of old Ambros [church of England] that know him: by

* *Minute of Monſieur Menager's negociation,* p. 316.

1712. March. his means I got two of the books left here, which Mrs. Puke [Traveller] ſhould have carried to Mr. Kitron [the King], which now muſt wait another opportunity. The laſt I had from you was of the 18th laſt month, which I deſired the bearer to let you know I had received it, having nothing worth the poſtage to tell you, or friends there, but what I know you had from other hands; yet I neglected not your buſineſs with what acquaintance I had of little Patrick [the parliament], more eſpecially his couſin Hilſon [houſe of commons], whom I found more kind. I hear couſin Knox [the King] is to leave your town of Rotterdam [St. Germains], and go either to Amſterdam or Toruire, for better trade. You know Stanhope, the merchant in Shut [Scotland], would put him into preſent buſineſs, and he wants ſuch a one juſt at this time for a book-keeper. But if you cannot get him in there, what think you of Knowles at Amſterdam [King of Sweden]; I hope you have not neglected him all this time; his ſiſter Suſan [the kingdom of Sweden] was always kind to Knox [the King], and to his brother Scrimger [Scotchmen], who would not fail going to ſee him, if he were ſo near as I have heard him ſay.—My humble ſervice to Mr. Sands [Mr. Stafford]. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Emerton [F. Eyre]; and ſay ſomething obliging from me to honeſt Jackſon [Mr. Innes]: I have nothing worth their charge for particular letters to them. God ſend us a good meeting. Yours, ſincerely,

H. S."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 10.

"*Extracts of a letter from Mrs. Jane Murray, 14th March, 1712.*"

Theſe extracts are in an unknown hand.

The ſtate of affairs in England, and anecdotes of the times.

AFter her ordinary compliments, ſhe ſays, "It cannot be determined to what place the King is to go, till the peace is concluded; but ſhe hopes it will be near England. She thinks Mr. Harley will be for the King's coming firſt into England, rather than to Scotland, when all is diſpoſed for that; meantime, E. M. * will let the King know to what place he is to go, as ſoon as that is reſolved upon."

Princeſs Anne has been indiſpoſed, but is now better.

A report of the King's being indiſpoſed.

E. M. deſires an anſwer to his laſt letter to the King.

* Earl of Mar.

She

She aſſures that the King's concerns are in a better way than E. M. writes in his letter. 1712. March.

E. M. a hearty friend to the King, but very cautious.

She is mightily taken up in managing the King's friends who know not the ſecret, and are alarmed at every thing that ſeems contrary to his intereſt.

That it was mighty well taken that the King had ſent an intimation to his friends to go again to parliament, and join with the court.

She thinks Harley, and even the princeſs Anne in danger, from theſe Mohocks, who commit great abuſes. She ſends a printed liſt of theſe of that party now in priſon.

She longs for the picture, and to hear from the King.

"I forgot to tell you this diſmal report has diſtinguiſhed the honeſt men by their faces, and that was ſeen in the face of multitudes, that have been kept ſecret in their hearts. God ſend good news, or all your friends will be heart-broken."

Letters from Nairne to Berry and Abram.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. P. 28.

Nairne to Berry.—March 17.—"To acknowledge his of the 19th February, deſire him inquire further about the place deſigned for the King's removal: that the King was glad to hear that Laton and Pen were ſtill honeſt, and to find that he, Berry and others, had ſtill good opinion of Young [princeſs Anne] and Baker's [Harley's] intentions."

Nairne to Abram.—March 17.——"To anſwer his of the 22d; glad to hear Mariſhal and Athol were come up, but do not well ſee what meaſures Snel's family [Scotland] can take to redreſs themſelves, or ſerve the King at this time; theſe being dark times, and friends and foes hardly to be diſcerned; ſo no advice could be given them, but to keep united and do for the beſt, according to the lights they have upon the place: that the King longs to hear from Mr. Brown [lord Balmerino], to know if he delivered my lord's letter to Lamb [Leſly].

"That Jonathan's [the King's] trade goes well may be poſſible, though the appearances be very oppoſite, but that I could not be of his opinion, that it was as ſure as demonſtration, eſpecially Jonathan not being truſted by

1712. March. by Charles [the Queen] or Honyton [Harley], with one word of comfort from themſelves; at the ſame time, ſuch unanimous ſteps are made on all ſides, in favour of Laurence [Hannover], that he has deſired, long ago, to know what Joſeph's [the King's] friends adviſe as to the place of his removal at Phips [the peace]. It is hoped Charles [the Queen] will not propoſe ſending him to Rome, which would be very unkind, and where he declares he will never go, unleſs he be forced."

The Pretender foreſaw that the King of France would be obliged, by the treaty of peace, to diſmiſs him from his dominions, and he preſented the following Queries to the Marquis de Torcy.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 26.

"*Articles neceſſary to be explained before I can leave France.*"

They are in his own hand-writing.

Tranſlation.

"1. WHO is to provide for my maintenance? How much is it to be, and how ſhall it be paid?

2. What treatment ſhall I receive, and what ſecurity ſhall I have in the place to which I am to go? How, and with whom, and by whoſe means is all this to be concerted?

3. If they inſiſt on a Proteſtant country, ſhall I and my family be allowed the free exerciſe of my religion, ſince without that I cannot go there?

4. Why ſome town in Germany, where the exerciſe of the two religions is tolerated, ſhould not, in that caſe, be a proper place to reſide?

5. What objections are there againſt Cologne, Liege, Flanders, or Lorraine, if I can have the neceſſary ſecurity in theſe places?

6. Having a ſecurity only in the place where I am to reſide, can I leave it; ſince otherwiſe I ſhall be a priſoner in that country, and cannot reckon myſelf free, unleſs I am at liberty to go and come wherever I chooſe, without paſſports, and without being obliged to give any reaſons for my journies, according to the permiſſion which a general peace gives to every one? This was already demanded for me at Gertrudenberg, and at the Hague. They made no difficulty about it; and it may be

be even neceſſary for me in certain caſes, for example, in caſe the air of a certain town or country does not agree with me. 1712. March.

7. For what purpoſe is all this demanded of me? How long is it to continue, and what advantage ſhall ariſe from it to me? it being neither juſt nor reaſonable to diſtruſt me in my own affairs.

Laſtly and principally, How ſhall a correſpondence be ſettled with me in the country where I ſhall reſide, and what meaſures ſhall be taken, in caſe of my ſiſter's death, to ſecure to me what, according to all the laws which have been made, muſt then belong to Hannover?"

The following letter is in the Pretender's own hand, and indorſed by him, "*a letter to my ſiſter.*" It is indorſed by Sir William Ellis, "Copy of the King's letter to the princeſs Anne, March 28, 1712."

A Letter to Queen Anne, from her brother.

Rough Draught. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iii 4to. No. 26.

"IN the preſent ſituation of affairs, it is impoſſible for me, dear ſiſter, to be any longer ſilent, and not to put you in mind of the honour and preſervation of your family; and to aſſure you, at the ſame time, of my eternal acknowledgment and gratitude, if you uſe your moſt efficacious endeavours towards both. Give me leave to ſay, that your own good nature makes me already promiſe it to myſelf, and with that perſuaſion, I ſhall always be ready to agree to whatever you ſhall think moſt convenient for my intereſt, which, after all, is inſeparable from yours; being fully reſolved to make uſe of no other means, but thoſe you judge moſt conducing to our mutual happineſs, and to the general welfare of our country. Your moſt entirely affectionate brother."

A letter from Mrs. White.

Ibid. vol. iv. No. 16.

Rather Extracts from it in Sir William Ellis's hand, who calls them,

"*Copy of the three firſt pages of Mrs. White's letter, which are written in a cut paper. The letter is not dated, but came with thoſe of* $\frac{18}{29}$ *March.*"

About reſtoring the Pretender at the Queen's death, and the part the Earl of Oxford acted.

"WHAT you ſee demanded by England will not be inſiſted on by the parliament, in relation to his leaving that country, if the King of

1712. March. of France is firm in desiring the King's stay; for, although Harley is, as I have always told you, a Whig, and an enemy to the King, the parliament would be friends if they could find a way to show it. But he cramps all, and makes each man afraid to appear inclined to the interest their inclinations would lead them to. All well-inclined are enraged at Harley's proceedings, and that part of the commons they call the October-club of forty. He screens, I mean Mr. Harley, that not any of the first nobility can get an audience, but with the utmost difficulty; so that he will govern this affair, I mean the peace, and certainly intends to make up with Hannover, although at present they differ. But, after all Hannover's attempts have failed, he will be glad to make up with Harley. But the best part of the gentry, and half the nobility, are resolved to have the King; the parliament would do it in a year, if it could be believed he had changed his religion. They would not impose it, but would have it reported, to give them a handle: for to change, on that account, would render him unworthy of wearing what was so got; but they tell me, they do not desire it to be done, only said to be done.

The paper that comes a-part is from Mr. Plunket, who would have M. Torcy to know the contents; it is what prince Eugene has been contriving with the cabal.

Princess Anne and Harley have had it discovered to them, that prince Eugene and the cabal have laid a design to have Harley, the keeper, and St. John taken off; and the ways that are now practised * was to be the forerunner, and done as a frolic, till it had raised a tumult, and in the disorder to act that part, and Hannover's agent here was in the consult. Princess Anne was terribly frighted, and Harley has got lodgings in her house, and after it is dark does not stir out of that house: the honest men wish him out of the way, but dare not appear against the peace, because it would ruin the nation; they would be glad otherwise to oppose it, because it would ruin him; for the nation cannot bear the war a year longer, but would sink.

What is on the fourth page is not written on the cut paper.

She says the paper that comes apart is from Mr. Plunket; but there came no paper apart with this letter, or by this ordinary; there came one with

* The Mohocks sent, by night, through the streets.

her

her laſt letter, which was delivered together with her ſaid letter, and no other is yet come*. 1712. March.

The Earl of Middleton to Berry.

An allegorical letter.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 28.

SIR, March 31ſt.

"MR. Arnold's letter to Nelſon [Middleton], of the 4th, O. S. came ſafe, with Berry's incloſed, which was delivered to Pleſſington [the King] and Wiſely [the Queen], who deſired me to tell Berry, that they were very glad to hear he had ſeen Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough]. They are fully perſuaded, that he is now very ſorry that he has not followed their advice, in compounding their debts, whilſt he had ſufficient effects in his hands; but it is the misfortune of very many juſt men to let themſelves be over-ruled by pretended friends, who have different views. However, pray ſee him as ſoon as you can; and you may very truly aſſure him of the friendſhip that Goodall [the King] has for him, the confidence he has in him, and the aſſiſtance he expects from him; for, though his affairs are in a low condition, by reaſon of his loſſes at ſea, yet his prudence and experience may be of great uſe; and his ſubſtantial aſſociates may put him in a condition to appear again on the Exchange, and eſtabliſh his credit on a ſure bottom. But it is very natural for Pleſſington [the King] to expect to hear from him, to know by what ways and means, when and how he deſigns to do him juſtice,

'Squire Young [princeſs Anne] is ſo entirely in Goldſmith Baker's [Harley's] power, that we cannot tell what judgment to make of him. Manning [the King of France] knocks under the table; ſo that we muſt ſhift for ourſelves. Nothing but want of bread can make us go to Mr. Deane's door; being ſenſible that would be the greateſt miſery that could befal us. I am confident that Gurney [Marlborough] and Gilburn [Godolphin] will be grieved at heart to ſee our preſent diſtreſs, and uſe their beſt endeavours to relieve us.

R. CROFTON [MIDDLETON]."

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* It appears, however, that M. de Torcy was well informed, concerning the cabals of the Whigs and the deſigns of prince Eugene and Marlborough. Vid. his memoirs, vol. ii.

1712. April. *Letters from Nairne to Abram and Berry, from the 31ſt of March to the 12th of May.*

The Queen's Jointure.—The Pretender and his ſiſter take the ſmall-pox.—The princeſs dies.—He recovers, and leaves St. Germains.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 29. *Nairne to Berry.*—March 31ſt.—"To cover my lord's letter to him, and to tell him that he might ſhew it to Gurney, as from himſelf, and in confidence."

Nairne to Berry.—April 3d.—"With a draught of a letter of attorney about the quit-rents [the Queen's jointure].

I told him the King had the ſmall-pox."

Ibid. p. 30. "Mr. Dicconſon's draught of a letter which I wrote to Berry, with a letter of attorney the 3d of April, 1712."

The draught which Mr. Nairne mentions here, is in the earl of Middleton's hand, and as follows.

SIR,

"THE Queen having ſome aſſurance, that, at this treaty of peace, her jointure will be allowed her, or rather a penſion equivalent to it, her deſign is to make uſe of your aſſiſtance in the receiving of it; but that matter not being yet ſettled, ſhe is not willing to have it publickly ſpoke of, or to ſay any thing further relating to it, than to conſult about a form for a letter of attorney, or power to authoriſe you thereunto.

The difficulty conſiſts in this, how to avoid owning the government in what ſhe ſigns herſelf, and yet not to offend it; ſo that to compaſs theſe two points, and yet make the inſtrument valid, is the matter you are deſired to adviſe with ſome judicious council about.

Should the Queen ſtyle herſelf Queen-mother, ſhe ſuppoſes, that will not be allowed; ſhould ſhe ſtyle herſelf Queen-dowager, that would be a leſſening of herſelf, and a prejudice to the King her ſon; which ſhe will never do.

The queſtion is, therefore, whether the inſtrument may not be good without any title at all, only the word "We"; (for in as much as it will be ſigned Maria R. and ſealed with her ſeal, one would think the perſon would

would be ſufficiently denoted): but if that be not ſufficient, then whether any other expreſſion can be invented to the intent mentioned. 1712. April.

Our council here think ſhe might ſtyle herſelf thus: 'Mary Queen Conſort of James the Second, late King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.' to all unto whom theſe preſents may come, ſends greeting, &c.: and ſo go on according to the form here incloſed. In fine, you are deſired to adviſe about this matter, and ſend the reſult, as ſoon as with convenience you can, that her Majeſty may not be to ſeek in ſo material a point, when the time comes to uſe it.

If the incloſed form, upon other accounts, be improper, pleaſe ſend a draught of ſuch an one as is thought fit; and, if it muſt be drawn upon ſtamped paper, pleaſe to ſend a ſheet or two alſo.

Her Majeſty is to allow you two hundred pounds a year, as a ſalary for this trouble, beſides all incident charges, and is ſorry her circumſtances will not permit her to make it more conſiderable; however, is deſirous that what advantage was to be had by it, ſhould be given to you, preferable to any other perſon, as a mark of her Majeſty's ſenſe of your conſtant zeal and fidelity in her ſervice."

Nairne to Abram.—April 3d.—"With a letter from my lord to Mrs. Watſon. I bid him deſire the Scotch peers from the King to join together in every thing to go along with princeſs Anne and Harley, and to forward the peace. I told him the King had the ſmall-pox." Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 29.

Nairne to Berry.—April 7th,—"To tell him how the King was, and that Mr. Ogle † did not correſpond here; but if he could by himſelf, or ſome other, engage him to correſpond, or at leaſt to ſend by another hand what advices might be for the King's ſervice, it would be kindly taken; and that he ſhould uſe his influence with Baker [Harley], to convince him that his true intereſt was to join with Goodall [the King]." Ibid. p. 31.

Nairne to Abram.—April 7th.—"A note in Mr. Innes's letter to tell him, I had wrote to Hackett, to ſend him a bill of 500 livres. I wrote to Hackett accordingly, and bid him keep the other 500 livres till further orders."

Nairne to Abram.—April 10th.—"To cover my lord's letter to Watſon, and captain Murray's to his nephew. I told him how the King was,

† It is not known who is Mr. Ogle.

and

1712. April. and that he would certainly travel when he was well, and change air. I bid him know the doctor's advice about what air would be fit for him; and told him we ſhould be able to judge of Charles [princeſs Anne] and Honyton's [Harley's] kindneſs, by the place they ſent him to."

Nairne to Berry.—April 14th.—"To tell him the princeſs had got the ſmall-pox; and that both the King and ſhe were in a very good way, and that the Queen was very well: that Pleſſington [the King] counted upon parting from Manning at the peace, but that it was uncertain where his friends, Young and Baker [princeſs and Harley] would allow him to ſet up ſhop."

Nairne to Berry.—April 17th.—"To give him account how the King and princeſs were."

See this account, D. N. vol. i. No. 58. *Nairne to Berry.*—May 5th.—"I ſent him Dr. Garwin's and Dr. Wood's account of the princeſs's ſickneſs and death; and told him, that the King was now entirely recovered, and the Queen as well as her affliction could allow her to be."

Ibid. p. 32. *Nairne to Abram.*—May 8th.—"I told him the King was quite recovered, and beginning to go abroad; and that we reckoned he might begin his journey in about three weeks hence."

Nairne to Abram.—May 12th.—"I told him the King carried no Jeſuits with him, but that he carried all his proteſtant ſervants with him; that my lord and Mr. Innes went along, and that I ſhould follow. I bid him take ſome prudent method to caution Freeman and Sparrow to be very wary in ſeeing or dealing with their friend Mildmay, not to give jealouſy to Honyton [Harley.]"

Nairne to Berry.—May 12th.—"I told him of the Manley Galley [the King] being fitting out ſoon for a voyage; that no Jeſuit was to go; that all the proteſtant ſervants went; that it was hoped the church of England would ſee by this the King's inclination towards them; he being reſolved, on this, as on all other occaſions, to be juſt and kind to them; and to be an impartial common father. I told him Mr. Crofton [Middleton] would write to himſelf concerning Gurney [Marlborough] and Ryder, and for the letter of attorney about the quit-rents; that we had no directions, as yet, and that we expected to hear further from him upon that ſubject."

"*A copy*

1712. April. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 16.

"A copy of the three firſt pages of Mr. White's letter of $\frac{22 \text{ April}}{3 \text{ May.}}$ *Which are written in a cut paper, in Sir William Ellis's hand."*

The ſubject of her letter of the $\frac{18}{29}$ *March continued.*

"MR Plunket is gone, and you muſt not refuſe to meet him, with all the ſpeed you can, at Mr. Hacket's at Rotterdam. He will tell you what will be of the greateſt conſequence to the King, and to the King of France; he is ſent by Mr. Harley and the cabinet-council; his ſtay may be but ſhort; you muſt make haſte. I hope the King is in a condition of health to give his orders to you. My lord Middleton may, if he pleaſes, acquaint the King of France's miniſter, Monſieur de Torcy, to ſend one too, or let you bring back what is fit they ſhould know. By arts, Mr. Harley has kept Mr. Plunket from going till now; but he cannot now hinder the King's being eſtabliſhed; for it is reſolved by the parliament and the leading men. The diſcovery of the allies and Hannover have given the blow.

Where the King was to land laſt time, is where his friends deſire may be the place; but things are not ripe yet. Mr. Plunket will let you ſee how all things are carried; and he deſires you may be the perſon ſent to meet him. He wrote to you, by my direction; and when you come to Rotterdam, you muſt not take notice he is Mr. Plunket, but call him Rogers to the merchant, Mr. Hacket, who does not know him. I need not deſire this to be the greateſt ſecret; you will gueſs at the reaſon of it.

The King of France is ſure in the wrong, not to grant us every reaſonable thing; ſince it is reſolved to make a ſeparate peace. The Whigs, ſure, muſt have uſed art to bring them to refuſe us good terms, which would juſtify our leaving the others to treat for themſelves.

All the practices I have ſent you word of, will be laid before the parliament. It has ruined Hannover; he will never come here, if he comes not now, by the Whigs means, and contrary to the deſire of princeſs Anne and the parliament, and all the body of the church party; the Dutch dare not venture on ſuch a proſpect.

You muſt write to Mr. Plunket, and incloſe it to Mr. Hacket, and Mr. Plunket will ſend for it before you come, that he may know you are coming. Direct your letter for Mr. Rogers.

1712. April. Pray know, of my lord Middleton, what account Monſieur Azlini brought of what Mr. Plunket gave him to deliver to the King, and be very punctual in it, if he did deſire that one ſhould be ſent from the King of France.

What is written on the 4th page is not in the cut paper."

A letter from ——— to ———.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 9.

Condolance on the death of the Princeſs, and the Pretender's ſickneſs.

April 22d.

"I AM very ſorry that winds have been ſo croſs, that my dear kinſwoman ſhould have any addition to her diſtracted mind on my account; for I am very well, and have often told you ſo, could my letters get to you, which I hope they have long before this, and that Mr. Maſſy [lord Middleton] has had mine in anſwer to his laſt. I wiſh you all happineſs in your new employment, though the occaſion of it was diſmal to all; and you cannot imagine how generally ſhe is lamented, even by thoſe, that have ever been enemies to her family. I and mine have ſhared ſo in your loſs that we thought our ſorrows could have no addition, when we heard your Chevalier was recovered; but now we find our miſtake; for, ſince we had yours to my daughter Jeany, 'tis ſaid at court he is deſpaired of, and on the Exchange that he is dead; that he eat too much meat, and got a cold with going out too ſoon. If this be true, all honeſt people will think no more of this world; for ſure never was mortals ſo unfortunate as we. You may gueſs at our condition; which, by the worſt of natures, would be pitied. Your doctor gave us hopes, laſt night, there was no good grounds for ſuch reports; but whom to believe, or what to think, our concern is too great to know; but every moment we are either going or ſending to inquire for comfort, but find none yet. Pray Heaven this day gives us ſome, for the wind is fairer for it. I beg you will make my condoling compliment, for to write it myſelf to your only miſtreſs is tormenting her now; but pray aſſure her I grieve for her loſs, and the ſenſe I am ſure ſhe has of it, to a degree not to be expreſſed, but felt with true affection and duty, and to yourſelf and partner all love and faithful ſervice from Bob and me, who begs he may be remembered when you make my compliments; for he is more concerned than ever I ſaw him.

This

This is to acknowledge the receipt of two of your letters. I would have writ laſt poſt for my mother; but ſhe was ſo well ſhe would write herſelf. I do not queſtion but you muſt gueſs at the concern my ſiſters, &c. were in, when we received the news of your loſs; upon my word I was ſtupified with it, and cannot ſtill help being anxious about the brother's health, notwithſtanding your aſſurances of his recovery; for we have ſo many cruel reports about him, that it is enough to make one diſtracted. Pray aſſure his afflicted mother of my moſt humble duty. God in heaven ſend her comfort, for ſhe wants it; nothing but her goodneſs could reſiſt ſuch a ſtroke. We are all well and entirely yours. My ſiſter deſires you would make her compliments, as ſhe is entirely yours." 1712. April.

A letter from Mr. Matthews to———.

Nairne's paper's, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 16.

It is not ſigned, but it is in the ſame hand with the letters ſuppoſed to be Mr. Matthews's, *i. e.* duke of Buckingham, whom the Jacobites called lord Mulgrave.

The ſame ſubject continued.

Dear Sir, April 22d.

"I Will not take the liberty to trouble you with my concern for our late loſs. It is ſomething I cannot expreſs; and yet is light when I conſider the condition my deareſt nephew (the King) is in. You will know it is for him, and for him only, I have taken pains; 'tis in him I had propoſed my whole ſatisfaction, and ſhould it pleaſe God for my ſins to deprive me of him, I am reſolved to quit the ſtage of the world, and paſs the remainder of my days in quiet; ſince I have no other of my name, to whom I can leave the fruit of my labour.

I am told he is moſt dangero ſly ill. Why do you not write? Judge my concern by your own; and, by no means, be ſilent on this occaſion, let the conſequence be what it will. Adieu. God give us all comfort, and him health. I aſſure you I know now what it is to pray moſt heartily, and to addreſs Heaven with fear and trembling, In all events, be comforted my deareſt friend, and love me, as I truly love you. My heart is full. My poor ſiſter's (princeſs Anne) heart will be broke with the inſufferable affliction."

1712. April.

Extracts of a letter from John Scrimger.

All the letters ſigned John Scrimger are probably from Mrs. Jean Murray. The following, which is in the ſame hand, is ſigned J. M. but the extracts inſerted here are copied by Mr. Nairne.

Nairne's Paper's, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 11.

The ſubject of the two preceding letters continued.

April 22d.

"I Had yours, laſt night, of the 21ſt, to give me the fatal news of that worthy lady. I was like a poor diſtracted thing as I am. &c."

"If I did not know the King's affairs perfectly well, your fears would have caſt me to the gates of death. No, no. All is as my heart can wiſh; and I am not eaſily content with every little affair concerning him. Take my word, all is right, and will ſoon bear. All his friends are earneſt for his changing his lodgings, and rejoice he is to leave France. I confeſs it ſtrikes a damp ſometimes upon me; but I muſt ſubmit to his lawyers, who know beſt what he is to do. Alas! I was to-day to have ſent him a pacquet from his friend, but he has delayed it till I hear again. O! what is my dear angel doing at this time? He repreſents himſelf always to me as my bleſſed ſaviour. Men and angels cannot tell the heart I bear to him. I hope God will pity me, and preſerve him. I know that is all that is wanting, and that you will ſoon ſee. I hope you are to go with him to his new houſe, and pray God for it; it will put me out of all my ſenſes, if I do not often hear of you and from him; and, to be ſure, nobody will be ſo kind and ſo careful as I now find you are. I thank you ten thouſand times. For God's ſake, continue it to me. Is he not my all on earth? It is like a mill-ſtone about my neck to keep me from writing to him. If we do not hear any more bad news, we will write on Friday, and I muſt beg of you to repreſent E. M——r's faithful duty to him, and tell him, I am ſure he would give 500 guineas, at this moment, for a thing he promiſed: he ſaid it was both for his own ſake and mine, and he does this day pity me at his heart. I have no eyes in my head, but that which look like red blood. We parted about an hour ago. He kept the firſt illneſs from me, till I had yours. When I had yours of the 3d, I was for coming to ſee him, and roared and cried I would do it; and I told him I would not deſire to ſtay but four days with him, and I would be back before his affairs wanted me; but E. M——r told me, the world could not ſave my life, I would die before I was two days journey. I ſaid if I died

died coming back I did not care, but I was ſure I would not die in the going; the joy to ſee my dear angel would ſupport me. All my friends in general were againſt it; but it was to E. M——r I was to ſubmit. I had intereſt enough to have come the ſhort way. I truſt in God I ſhall ſee him ſoon, and give me the ſatisfaction to aſſure him of my humble duty, and leave my poor heart with him. I am ſorry to trouble you with ſo long a letter, but pity my preſent diſtraction, and believe, Sir, &c." 1712. April.

"I cannot omit to tell you, that a worthy perſon, whom you know to be my relation, is a great friend of yours, and ſays he knows not an honeſter man; and that is D. Hamilton, and I am ſure he is what he ought to be. He run away when he found me, laſt night, and could not ſee my tears."

There is another long letter in the ſame ſtrain from Mrs. Murray, ſigned John Scrimger, and dated the 25th April, 1712. But the above is a ſufficient ſpecimen of her manner.

J. Johnſon to ——.

This letter is in the ſame hand with the letter of $\frac{22 \text{ February,}}{4 \text{ March.}}$ ſigned Charles Johnſon. The key is in Sir William Ellis's hand. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 17.

On the death of the Princeſs and the Pretender's illneſs, and the peace of Utrecht.

Dear Sir, April 22d, 1712.

"I Was ſat down, with great delight, this day ſev'night, to rejoice with you in the happy recovery, as I then thought, of our two friends [the King and Princeſs], when a report was brought me in of what, God knows, has been too well confirmed ſince, and which made the pen fall from my hand. Well! God's will muſt be obeyed, and we muſt be truly thankful, as we ought, for the ſafety of one, who muſt now be doubly dear to us, and is, indeed, our only comfort and hopes. I will not undertake to tell you what his friends have felt during the event of ſo doubtful a diſtemper; when, even thoſe who are leſs ſo, have expreſſed a concern upon this occaſion. Should there be the leaſt remains of any hectical diſpoſition, we hope he will remove, for ſome time, into a milder air and warmer climate. You will excuſe this officious impertinence;

1712. April. tinence; but I do not ſay this as the opinion of only one phyſician: the whole college (Mr. Lilly, Downes, &c.) are moſt heartily yours, and think themſelves infinitely obliged to you for your conſtant remembrance of them, and your frequent accounts of late, which honeſt Mr. Rye [Edwards] has not failed to communicate to us, in concerns which touch us ſo very ſenſibly, that public affairs have loſt their taſte; nor indeed, if I was ſo diſpoſed, is there much to ſay. A peace is no ways doubted to be well advanced; but whether the negociations at Utrecht contribute much to it, is more than I can ſay. The houſe of commons is ſummoned, with great ſolemnity, to meet the firſt of May our ſtile; and it is the general expectation to have a ſketch of the peace then laid before them.

I know not but it may be my lot to go to Holland in a little time; and if ſo, I am ſure it will be my greateſt pleaſure, to be anywiſe uſeful to you there, or any friends with you: however this matter is, you ſhall be ſure to hear from me again very ſhortly. I am ever, Sir, &c.

You will pardon me the trouble of the incloſed to Mr. Flig [Mr. Taylor]."

May. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 15.

Mr. Lilly to Sir William Ellis.

The ſame ſubject continued.

This letter is addreſſed "For Mr. Edward Jones, at Mr. Hackett's, merchant in Rotterdam;" and it is indorſed in Sir William Ellis's hand, "Mr. Lilly, $\frac{9}{20}$ May 1712." It is in an affected bad ſpelling.

Dear Sir, May 9th.

"HANNAH [Mr. Lilly] ſays, yours of the 29th paſt was the joyfulleſt ever her eyes ſaw; for it reſtored her to life, after being dead about a week, but not to perfect health, for her dear Lowder [the princeſs]; and her heart bleeds for poor Quaille [the Queen]. But we muſt ſubmit to the will of God; the world is his, and he may do in it what he pleaſes. We ſee Kings and princes have their afflictions, as well as our poor families; and a little time will bring us all together again. I hope you have ſeen the gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) I recommended to you. He is a worthy man; I ſent a book or two by him, but have not heard

heard from him but once, upon his firſt getting to Amſterdam [St. Germains], and he could not then tell me how to direct to him, and he knew not I had writ to you concerning him, and may neglect going to you; but if you hear of him at the Exchange or otherwiſe, pray ſend for him, and let him know this, and that his friends are in pain for him, not hearing from him, nor knowing how to write to him. It was by his means I recovered two of the books the old woman [Mrs. Traveller] left behind her, elſe I had never got one of them. Let him know I writ to Allen [my lord Middleton] concerning him; incloſed to you, I writ of other matters, but have had no anſwer from him ſince; ſo he is a letter in my debt: I pray my hearty ſervice to him and good landlady [lady Middleton], and tell him, his houſe at Putney [the peace] is near finiſhed and will be ready for him; and if he has any further commands for me, let me know them. You are conſtantly remembered at the college, with ſincere reſpect and kindneſs. Ned ſhewed me yours of the 14th; but neither he nor I could make any thing of Alban [church of England]; ſo that is to be explained. Is Mr. Emerton [F. Eyre] ſtill at his houſe in your town, or gone to Toruine [Liege] where he lived before? His leaving off trade, at this time, for himſelf, is of great ſervice to his maſter, and I doubt not, he did it very willingly, in which I have done him juſtice here; from what I know of him myſelf, I have really a great value for him, and would let him know it from myſelf, if it would be worth the poſtage; therefore, pray do it for me. My kind ſervice to good Mr. Sands [Mr. Stafford], and honeſt Jackſon [Mr. Innes]. When ſhall we three meet again? God keep us all; my heart is full. Yours moſt ſincerely,

H. S." 1712. May.

Copies of two letters, ſuppoſed to be from Mrs. Jean Murray.

They are indorſed "Mrs. Jean." The copies are in Mr. Nairne's hand. See the originals ſigned John Scrimger, ibid. No. 12. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 21.

The Earl of Mar's intereſt with the Queen and Oxford.—His attachment to the Pretender.—He is determined to bring him over.

May 9th.

"LET me ſee the dear hand of Mr. Kennedy [the King] again. I ſent you one incloſed from E. M. this day fourthnight, and I

1712. May. writ another myſelf ſince, but have had no returns, which makes E. M. uneaſy. He longs for your opinion of the circumſtance of your law-ſuit; he believes 'tis all for your good and advantage, in all points, and is very angry with me that I cannot be content; and then he will tell me, if it were to ſave Mrs. Ord's [Queen Anne] ſoul from death, ſhe could not proceed otherwiſe, nor faſter. Your friends do not know this, and they come every day with ſome new ſtory to me. But my joy is, that you are ſecure, on all hands, as E. M. tells you in his laſt. Scotland is always ready, but I am ſure it will be England that will have the firſt honour; but all your friends may ſubmit to that, for I am at my old ſaying, Welcome Turk, Jew, and Infidel, to help to end that long law-ſuit; and I dare ſay it will end in great joy and friendſhip.

The parliament is out of town, and will not be in town till Monday; and, for that reaſon, E. M. is out of town for a few days; but deſired me, if I had any letter from you, to ſend an expreſs for him. I need not tell you how he longs for his preſent, although he ſays, he has no doubt of ſeeing the orignal in a ſhort time. I am ſure he takes true pains for it, and this is doing him juſtice. All your friends and correſpondents may do that piece of right, to own it is he of all the Scots has the beſt intereſt with Q. Anne and E. Oxford; and alſo he is believed by the Engliſh as a good and great lawyer, and a man of much goodneſs and honour. If he was not my kinſman and dear friend, I would ſay much more; but that I can juſtify. His being a faithful attorney to you, is perfection enough to make him happy in this world and in the next; a good conſcience is the world's eaſe; and I am ſure, 'tis a great eaſe to my poor heart, to ſee the friendſhip of your creditors increaſe every day, and it will bring you with eaſe to town, when your debts will be compounded, and I am well informed not to be uneaſy at your leaving France. It is the ſafeſt way to bring you to your own; and that you are not to ſtay long in any ſettled place till then, only tour about till your debts are near paid; and the parting word between E. M. and me, when he went to his country-houſe, was to beg me to chear up my ſpirits, I ſhould ſee my beſt beloved, and that he would then tell all my faults. So the Almighty God permit it me, is my poor and hearty prayer. Yours, &c."

SIR,

SIR, 1712. May.

"I Hear there will be ſome pocket-money provided for you, as well as for the Queen. I do not deſire to name another perſon; God's will is to be done. The loſs is great, and I can juſtly ſay, it was ſenſible to me. Sir, for God's ſake, ſettle a way of correſpondence, that E. M. may write to you about your law-ſuit; and for me, if I do not hear from you, it will be my death. D. Hamilton was with me laſt night; he and Kilſyth, and lord Balmerino, and others, are always very earneſt to know what E. M. thinks or ſays. I tell them, they may aſk himſelf, I do not know his thoughts; and 'tis always his requeſt to me, to let them think and ſay what they pleaſe; but to keep Queen Anne's ſecret and lord Oxford's, and it is the beſt ſervice I can do. Sir, I muſt not omit to tell you, the E. Mar's only ſiſter is married to the moſt honeſt man that can live; he has been married about ten or eleven weeks; he is a man of a good eſtate and power; he is a parliament-man, and will contribute to the laſt farthing he has, to pay your debts; he bore a part with me, in my tears and affliction. It will be great joy to him, if you will honour him to be remembered to him in my letter. Sir Hugh Paterſon of Bannockburn went out of town with E. M. Mr. Prid is a good man; mind him, I beg."

Mr. Plunket, under the name of Rogers, to Mr. Watſon [E. of Middleton]. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 13.

The original is not in Plunket's hand, but the key is in Sir William Ellis's. It is indorſed by him, "Not dated, but ſuppoſed to be written before he left London."

Negociations for the Pretender's ſervice at the peace of Utrecht.

SIR,

"ONE Mr. Rogers [Plunket] being deſirous of an accommodation between Mr. Jenkins [the King] and his ſiſter, in hopes to reconcile them ſo far, as that ſhe might let him enjoy his pretenſions, deſcended to him by birthright, laboured to compaſs ſo good a work, and in order thereunto, he provided as follows.

Firſt, by ſounding Mr. Simſon and his aſſociates for ſeveral months together, not perceiving in them a real diſpoſition for an agreement with Mr. Maine [King of France], with an inclination to do juſtice to Mr. Jenkins

1712. May. Jenkins [the King], with ſafety to themſelves; but the current running too ſtrong againſt them, for ſuch an attempt, at that time, they reſolved to take a year or two's time to ſtem it, though they knew it would redound to the prejudice of the ſiſter and all her tenants, the ſaid Rogers [Plunket] conceiving they wanted but a plauſible handle to juſtify ſuch proceedings, reſolved to procure them one if poſſible.

Accordingly, being intimate as well with Mr. Goodman as with all thoſe that were entruſted by him, he became maſter of all their ſecrets, and of the methods that were taken to prevent the ſiſter from entering into any accommodation with Mr. Maine [King of France], in order to do Mr. Jenkins [the King] juſtice, and produced the vouchers from time to time to Mr. Simſon, whereof he got as many as were ſufficient to juſtify the ſiſter's [P. Anne] making a ſeparate agreement with Mr. Maine [King of France]. Upon which ſhe took courage, and made a firm reſolution to treat with him at all hazards; whereupon, Rogers [Plunket] was pitched upon, as an indifferent man, to deliver a meſſage to Mr. Maine [the King of France] to that purpoſe. But, upon ſecond thoughts, he being found more uſeful and capable of rendering further ſervice here, Mr. Simſon ſent another that was a creature of his own; but, in the mean time, Mr. Maine [the King of France] ſent hither one Mr. Ciprian, in order to try the ſiſter [Princeſs Anne] and Mr. Simſon's pulſes, which Mr. Rogers [Plunket] communicated to Mr. Simſon, wherewith he ſeemed to be well-pleaſed, whereby a true underſtanding was ſettled between them, which has been the foundation of the preſent agreement between them.

Mr. Williams's maſter [prince Eugene's], having a dark notion of the matters, and conceiving them to be much to his detriment, came hither by the inſtigation of the Wylens [Whigs], in order to fruſtrate and render all abortive, coſt what it would; wherein he was ſo deſperate as to form a deſign of laying violent hands on the ſiſter, rather than he ſhould be diſappointed of his ends; but Mr. Rogers [Plunket], being vigilant upon this occaſion, found means to diſcover all his intrigues: and, accordingly, communicated the ſame, from time to time, to Mr. Simſon and his aſſociates, which put the ſiſter [princeſs Anne] upon a reſolution of cloſing immediately with Mr. Maine [the King of France] and keeping a good correſpondence with him for the future, in order to do Mr.

Jenkins

Jenkins [the King] juſtice, upon occaſion; whereby it is in Mr. Maine's [King of France's] power to give the reſt of his adverſaries what terms he pleaſes, about which we ſhall not diſpute much with him. 1712. May.

Mr. Rogers [Plunket] deſires you would be pleaſed to meet him at Rotterdam, where Mrs. White directs her letters: for he has orders from Mr. Harris [Harley] to ſet out immediately;

Being with reſpect yours,

R——RS."

Plunket to Mr. Watſon.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 13.

The original is in Plunket's hand, and decyphered and indorſed by Sir William Ellis.

Rotterdam, May 9th, 1712.

"MRS. White having aſſured me, before I parted from London, that you were to meet me here, at Mr. Hacket's, at my arrival; I ſtayed two days here, thinking I could enjoy that happineſs, to impart to you ſomething that might be uſeful for Mr. Jenkins [the King] to know, at preſent. A poſt or two before I left London, I ſent you the general heads of them, that you might judge whether your coming hither might be requiſite or not.

If Mr. Jenkins [the King], or Mr. Jacob [the King of France], thinks well of it, I will conſign the papers and vouchers to one of thoſe gentlemen at Utrecht; but I muſt have a letter or ſome token or other to introduce me to them. I ſhall call for an anſwer at Mr. Hacket's houſe, and forbear going to Utrecht till then; being, in the mean time, with due reſpect.

Your humble ſervant to command,

ROGERS [PLUNKET]."

Sir, Pray ſpeed your anſwer.

Rogers to ſome foreign Miniſter.

Ibid.

In Plunket's hand, and written probably to one of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

Tranſlation.

Rotterdam, May 9th, 1712.

"AS you aſſure me, that the ſmall efforts I made, during eighteen months, to ſerve your maſter were agreeable to you, I take the liberty

1712. May. liberty to assure you, that I am now come hither to render him still further service. I have papers which will be of great advantage to you, when you have them in your hands. It is in your master's power to give laws to his enemies. It is of the utmost consequence to you, to send here a man of abilities. I shall put into his hands the papers which I have along with me, and communicate to him my thoughts concerning them. I am come to this place with orders to remain for some time; for this reason, I do not think it proper to wait of you personally.

If you do not judge it proper to send any one to me, you will send me a letter to introduce me to your friends at Utrecht, and I shall communicate to them my sentiments and my papers; the affair is too delicate and of too much consequence to lose more time. Embrace the opportunity, and matters will succeed hereafter to your liking. My address is, To Mr. Harper, merchant, for Mr. Rogers at Rotterdam. I am, with great respect, yours,

ROGERS."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 13.

Rogers to Mr. Watson.

The original is in Plunket's hand. The key is in Sir William Ellis's, and it is indorsed by him, "Mr. Rogers, 11th May 1712, from the Hague."

Hague, May 11th, 1712.

"I Gave Mr. Hacket a letter, in order to be sent to you; 'twill be of use to Mr. Jenkins [the King] and especially to Mr. Jacob [the King of France] at this juncture. I have some things of moment to communicate to you, relating to Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] affair. I am come hither to do him service. His immediate re-establishment depends much on my good success here; and when Mr. Jacob [the King of France] knows the sentiments of those gentlemen, that sent me, he will think himself in a condition to give what terms he thinks fit to his antagonists, and establish his affairs for the future. But, as those things cannot be so well done by writing as by word of mouth, it is fitting Mr. Jacob [the King of France] should send one along with you to meet me at Rotterdam, at your friend Mr. Hacket's; or, if that should not be found the best way, let me have a letter to those gentlemen at Utrecht, and I will discourse them at large, especially of Mr. William's [prince Eugene's] negociations at London. That letter I sent you this post is

his; he ſent it hither the 15th of February laſt. It had great influence on Mr. Sanſon and the reſt of his companions, and will make them firm to Mr. Jacob's [the King of France] intereſt for the future. 1712. May.

I am heartily ſorry for the death of Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] ſiſter. The loſs of her, at this time of day, is inconceivable; however, if Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] affairs is rightly managed, he ſtands fair to be reſtored to his right. It is not proper I ſhould go in perſon to Mr. Jenkins [the King] or Jacobs [the King of France] becauſe I am under direction, and my preſence here is much more uſeful to them, as they ſhall be made ſenſible in due time.

Young Mr. Sheridan is arrived here lately from London. I gave him, laſt winter, ſome papers to keep. He has them ſtill, I ſuppoſe, in his cuſtody. Pray lay an injunction upon him to keep them ſafe; for they will be of great uſe to Mr. Jenkins [the King] and Mr. Jacobs [the King of France] hereafter; having no more to add, but that I am with due reſpect,

Your humble ſervant and true friend,

ROGERS [PLUNKET].

I am extremely glad to hear Mr. Jenkins [the King] is in a fair way of recovery."

Mrs. White to Mr. Watſon.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 14.

This letter is decyphered by Sir William Ellis.

The meaſures taken to reſtore the Pretender.

"SIR, May 12, 1712.

"YOUR laſt letter has given me a great deal of concern, becauſe I do believe it had been of great conſequence to the cauſe in Chancery, that you ſhould have ſettled the accounts with Mr. Rogers. He could have told you what the beſt counſellors had ſaid to him, upon his laying the merits of the cauſe before them, Mr. Tom Weſt [lord Mulgrave] who is a friend to Mr. Jenkins [the King] told Mr. Roger [Plunket] that what he had informed him of, would do Mrs. Beſs Smith [England] the greateſt ſervice that had been done her ever ſince the ſuit began, (which has been theſe twenty odd years), and Mrs. Beſs Smith [England] has very nobly rewarded him for that ſervice; for it has diſ-

1712. May. covered Mr. Sandys's [Hannover's] practiſes, and laid them open, which would have ruined Mrs. Dibby [princeſs Anne] who abhors him now. Mr. Rogers [Plunket] did believe, that young man [Mr. Sheridan] was ſent by Mr. Peregrine [Fergusſon] to Mr. Jenkins [the King], becauſe Mr. Peregrine [Fergusſon] did acquaint Mr. Tom. Weſt [L. Mul.] of Mr. Rogers's buſineſs, unknown to Mr. Rogers; for he had taken meaſures to have it laid before the friends in Mr. Medlicot's family [the parliament]; and the pleading firſt council [cab. coun.], both at a time, when he found Mr. Hans [Harley] concealed all from them; but when Mr. Peregrine [Fergusſon] had taken that way, Rogers was ſatisfied, though he was not privy to the doing it, for it had the end he wiſhed; and in a little time it will be laid before Mr. Medlicote himſelf [the parliament], though he is very tender in openly expoſing Mr. Sandys [Hannover], becauſe of the tenants love to him yet; but all the others, that are injointly with him, will be openly expoſed, which will juſtify Mrs. Beſs Smith [England] acting apart from them; a greater ſervice could not be done to Mr. St. John [the King] than this has been. Mr. Tom Weſt [lord M.] has been informed, that Mr. Wealy of the country of Mr. Peregrine [the Scots Whigs] has ſent to Mr. Sandys [Hannover] to aſſiſt him againſt Mr. Carres [Church of England], and deſired him to come to them; therefore, now Mr. Carres has no better way, than by Mr. Jenkins [the King] to do himſelf juſtice; and that is what he is reſolved on. But the many difficulties he muſt go through, is what they are labouring under, becauſe of the jointure Mrs. Dian Johns [princeſs Anne] has upon the eſtate; and after her death it will be too late, becauſe of the entail that will then take place. Mr. Peregrine would have had Mr. Rogers to have let him have managed it; to have a friend of his to have come to him, to ſettle the accounts, and ſaid, Mr. James Staff [Mr. Stafford] would, he believed, come himſelf to ſettle the accounts with Mr. Rogers [Plunket]; but he having given Mrs. White direction to write to you, he would not alter that; ſo that he will be diſappointed extremely, becauſe, for many reaſons, he cannot do it, by writing at a diſtance; beſides, you may gueſs how impoſſible it is to direct you, by writing all the particulars of what he would let you underſtand, for he knows a great deal of the affairs of the entailed eſtate. He ſaid, he did not acquaint the young man [Mr. Sheridan] of

any thing, not believing him a proper perſon; but Mr. Peregrine having done that to Mr. Tom Weſt [lord Mulgrave], he believed, by the young man's dying of a ſudden then, away he had ſent him; but Mr. Rogers has no patron [cut paper], and cannot get the work done any other way, effectually; ſo you will not have the work. I fear he is, what I told you, expecting Mr. Sam Hamey [Sir William Ellis]; he will write to him: Mrs. White gave him a direction how to write. He, poor man, is in danger in that ill air, conſidering his weakly conſtitution, ſo he will ſtay as little a time as he can; but he has much to do, being fully apprized of his buſineſs, from the firſt hands. I believe there could be nothing of greater uſe in the cauſe, than your ſending this account with him; but ſince that, you ſay, cannot be done, pray write to him, and let him know the reaſon, and tell him how you think it ought to be done. Direct for Mr. Rogers as you ſend Mrs. White's, to be delivered to him by Mr. Hacket; ſo you and he muſt do it the beſt way you can; the term is now, and it will be a great damage to thoſe you value moſt, not to know how to inſtruct the counſel. Your friend Mr. Matthews, tells me, that he has writ to you. He is now in Mr. Medlecot's family [Scotch parliament], and that more than half of thoſe children, wiſh us well, as he does the proſperity of your couſin St. John [the King]; but they were deceived in this laſt affair, in relation to Mr. Jenkins [the King] by Mr. Hans [Mr. Harley], and hate him heartily for it; But you know, they muſt take no notice of it, but are reſolved to make what reparation they can, and as ſoon as they can do it. Mr. Peregrine is ordered to receive 100 *l.* for laying the buſineſs of Mr. Rogers before the lawyers [cabinet council]. Mr. Tom Weſt [duke of Buckingham] has got it done, on that account, by Mrs. Debby's [princeſs Anne's] directions. I have not ſeen him a great while, he and I being long ſick." 1712. May.

Letters from Nairne to Berry and Abram.

The Pretender's removal.—The Queen's jointure.—The Jacobites deſired to ſupport the Miniſtry.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 32—3.

May 19—26.

Nairne to Berry.—May 19.—"I received his of the 22d of April; a caution about his ſeeing Armſworth [Marlborough]; that he take meaſures to avoid giving jealouſy to Baker [Harley] and Young [princeſs Anne]; that we were endeavouring to profit of his advice, as to the

1712. May. quit rents [the Queen's jointure], though it was feared, Wisely [the Queen] must be content to take what the creditors will give. and in their own way; and that Maning "having measures to keep would not press too much on that point, for fear of displeasing; that Goodall [the King] and Wisely [the Queen] were well; that nothing was said, as yet, to Goodall, as to his journey when or where."

Nairne to Berry.—May 26.—"I told him the King was perfectly recovered, and was riding out daily; about Ogle's unwillingness to meddle; that the case of the additional quit rents was fairly laid before Maning; that the place and time of the King's departure was not fixed yet; that Maning was close and reserved with him, upon all his transactions with Young [princess Anne]; desired him to communicate what he could learn of these matters; that Plessington's [the King's] too great distance might prove very prejudicial to him, in case Young [princess Anne] should die in that interval, because Hannover would, in that case, be certainly before him, and that it was Baker's [Harley's] true interest to prevent this, and to manage matters so, that he might not be sent too far off; that Lorraine would be more convenient, and more liked than Switzerland."

Nairne to Abram.—May 26.—"To answer his to my lord, of the 2d of May, concerning Paterson [Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn]. He is desired to represent to Paterson, how dangerous it would be for the King to be removed too far off, because, being at a distance, it would be out of his power to prevent Hannover upon any sudden accident; in which case, Hannover getting the start of him, with the help of Holland and the Whigs, it would be morally impossible for the King's friends to do any thing for him after that; that it was Harley's interest to look to this, that he might assure Paterson of the King's discretion and secrecy in any thing he told him, in confidence; that it would be dangerous speaking to Calliford about the Queen's jointure, which must be left to Harley, to secure in his way. The Jacobites to be advised to go along with him in every thing. Lorraine proposed as more convenient than Switzerland."

Rogers to Mr. Watſon, i. e. *Plunket to the Earl of Middleton.* 1712. May.

An Account of his negociations continued—It evidently appears from his Letters, that the King of France obtained a peace by the means of the Jacobites. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 13.

The original is in Plunket's hand, and indorſed by Sir William Ellis; "Mr. Rogers, May 26, 1712."

Hague, May 26, 1712.

"YOURS of the 20th came to hand the 24th. I am glad that my letters, eſpecially that of Mr. Williams [prince Eugene], in French, came ſafe to your hands. I hope you will excuſe me for ſending ſo much blotted. I did not know, but Mr. ——— might have private orders to ſearch me, as I was coming abroad: this apprehenſion made me blot out a great many things and croſs, that it be looked on as a thrown away paper. It is a true copy of the original: he is a German that wrote it, as you may ſee by the orthography. It took extraordinary with the great one.

I go, in a day or two, with the imperial reſident to Utrecht, where I ſhall have a long diſcourſe with the other miniſters, of which I ſhall give you as good an account as I can. But you will pardon me, if I do not it, as fully as I ſhould: my motions are ſo narrowly obſerved, that I can hardly get a fair opportunity to write any thing as I ſhould do.

I hope, by this time, you received the papers I ſent to you by the laſt poſt. The reſt I expect from London every poſt that comes in, which you ſhall have as they come to hand. But I am afraid they will not give you that light into the matters as I could give you by word of mouth: as for the gentlemen at Utrecht, I ſhall not trouble my head much about them. If Mr. Jacob [the King of France] and his ſubſtitutes don't think it worth while to be fully appriſed of the ſervices that have been done for him, this year and three quarters paſt; I don't know why he ſhould be courted to it. He may thank Mr. Jenkins [the King], or he ſhould not have found matters go ſo well to his mind as they do; for I can tell you, from the very mouth of the greateſt one at the helm, in England, that they would not dare cloſe with Mr. Jacobs [King of France] without thoſe papers; nor could Mr. Jenkins's ſiſter [princeſs Anne] be brought to any thing, if ſhe had not them laid before her, and have we been daily keeping up their ſinking courage and drooping and wavering ſpirits,

1712. May. ſpirits, and told me, that they had nothing elſe that could bear water, but the papers which I have been procuring for them all this while, with the hazard, not only of my own, but other gentlemen's lives, beſides other expences I have been at? It is true, at preſent, and eſpecially here, I am handſomely allowed, in the laſt letters I had from London, that I gave them greater light into affairs than they have had yet, and were pleaſed to return me hearty thanks for it; but I cannot do that ſervice I would or ſhould for Mr. Jenkins [the King] or Jacob [the King of France], if I have not the aſſiſtance of ſome body, to communicate from time to time what paſſes between me and thoſe of the oppoſite party.

I am courted much to go to Vienna, in order to lay before the Emperor, what I know of affairs relating to his intereſt; but as my inſtructions confines me to this country, I gave a plauſible excuſe, which will, I hope, ſatisfy thoſe that made me the propoſal; being in haſte, I remain your affectionate friend and ſervant,

ROGERS."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to.

The blotted Scroll of a Letter from prince Eugene (probably to Count Zinzendorff) mentioned in the preceding to Mr. Watſon.

He gives an account of his intrigues in England.

Tranſlation.

London, February 15th, 1712.

"I Don't imagine I ſhall be able to leave London as ſoon as I propoſed. The Whigs continue always to ſow the ſeeds of diviſion, by forming new projects for deſtroying entirely, if poſſible, the party now in power, and they flatter themſelves much, to accompliſh this the more eaſily, that the treaſurer, who is at the head of it, is univerſally hated, that is to ſay, by both parties; conſequently, no one will regret him. It is for this reaſon they urge me to ſtay for ſome time longer, in order to ſee what their projects will come to. I ſhewed them again, that they would have the ſame ſucceſs with the former, and that my ſtay would be of no advantage to them, as my preſence ſerves only to ſour the minds of the miniſtry; and, in order to diſengage myſelf the more from them, I communicated to them the ſentiments of the Grand Penſionary, upon the clauſe which I ſent to you, in my diſpatches of the 25th and 29th of January. They anſwered me abruptly; and among the reſt, the Duke of

of Marlborough, that the grand Penſionary had changed his ſentiments very ſoon, ſince he began to be apprehenſive of diſobliging a handful of factious members in the houſe of commons, and to be afraid of a miniſtry who are penſioners of France, and conſequently enemies to the common cauſe, and will continue ſo as long as they ſubſiſt. It ſeems to me, that the States have already forgot, that they formerly reſiſted France and England at once; and if I am not miſtaken, they will find themſelves ſoon in the ſame neceſſity. "Yes," ſays Baron Bothmar, "of ſending thither the prince of Hannover, as they ſent the prince of Orange, to deliver the nation and to prevent the ruin of the common cauſe." 1712. May.

They urged me inſtantly to ſend you the following particulars to be added to thoſe, which I ſent you in my diſpatches of 25 and 29 of January, and to make up a memorial of them, to be printed there firſt, as it might then be printed here without any ſuſpicion.

The Queen of England, upon her acceſſion to the crown, declared the following particulars.

That trade being the ſupport of the nation, and ſhe having religion ſo much at heart, had made no difficulty of engaging in this war, though the nation was then in debt, being well convinced, that ſhe could not be ſecure upon the throne, while Spain was in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Bourbon; and ſhe had engaged herſelf deeper in this war than ſhe had at firſt propoſed, to the great detriment of her kingdoms.

But the meaſures of the preſent miniſtry ſufficiently ſhew, that they were not hearty in the cauſe from the beginning, and that the moſt diſcerning ſee very well, that every thing tends to a ſeparate peace, and to pave the way more eaſily for her brother. I told them, that appeared very probable; but that the Penſionary would ſtart the ſame objections, as baron Bothmar did not think proper to undertake ſuch a delicate affair without communicating it to his maſter; and that it is now too late to produce any great effect, as the people in England were already biaſſed by the reſolutions of the houſe of commons; but the junto made the following anſwer: "by this method of proceeding, we ſhall never ſucceed, for you made the ſame objection to the loans which we had propoſed from the bank and from rich merchants, by engaging the revenue of the kingdom of Hungary, and other hereditary dominions; and by that means, the Emperor would find himſelf in a condition, jointly with

1712, May. with the States-general, of beſieging a town, and at the ſame time, taking the field, by which, of conſequence, he would put an end to the ceſſation of arms, and infallibly break up the conferences at Utrecht, and impoſe the people to believe all the projects that might be formed. I imagine we have ſtill time enough to infert this in the memorial.

I anſwered them, that we were fooliſhly employed in building the tower of Babel, for there are not three among you or us of the ſame ſentiment. Sometimes you would chooſe to have the prince of Hannover, and ſometimes you would not; and I ſee that the greateſt number of you are for an ariſtocracy; and what vexes me moſt is, that you have obliged the Emperor to make demands, from the greateſt part of which he will be obliged to deſiſt."

June. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 19.

Rogers to Mr. Watſon.

The original is in Plunket's hand, and decyphered and indorſed by Sir William Ellis, as uſual.

An account of his negociation continued.

SIR, Utrecht, June 3, 1712.

"SInce my laſt to you I had two letters from London, wherein I am deſired not to ſtir from hence till orders from Mr. Han [Harley]; and if I can ſend over the fellow, and not to appear in that matter myſelf, for weighty reaſons, which I ſhall know hereafter. The Engliſh of this I take to be, that they are for having that man over, in order to ſtop his mouth, or lay him aſide, ſo that he can do no ſervice to Mr. Jenkins [the King]. By the laſt letter I am deſired to tell my friend, the reſident for the Emperor, that the Engliſh court is willing to make up the breaches and keep a good correſpondence for the future, provided they come into the preſent miniſtry's meaſures: this I communicated to the ſaid reſident this morning, who ſeemed well pleaſed with it. How far this will be conducive to Mr. Jenkins [the King's] intereſt, or Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] affairs, I leave you to judge. We ſhall now think of the propereſt method to bring this thing to bear. If Mr. Jacob's [the King of France's] manager thinks this accommodation will affect his maſter's intereſt, let him ſpeak to me in time. I believe it will do good to Mr. Jenkins [the King], ſeeing the Emperor ſeems ſatisfied as things

things stand now, he should have his own; but if he thinks this accommodation will in the least prejudice him, it shall go no further. I had no more papers coming, I sent again this post for them. I am, &c. 1712. June.

I shan't send the fellow to London, but rather dispose him to come into our interest, and, by this means, keep Harris [Harley] in awe, and make him more pliable; for he knows none can do him more harm, at present, than I. These two points ought to be reserved for hands of higher reach than mine; therefore I should have the help of good heads while I am here: it is not every day such opportunities as these offer."

There is a letter from John Scrimger [Mrs. Jean Murray], dated London, June 10, 1712. D. N. iv. 4to. No. 18. It is written with her usual enthusiasm; but it appears from it, that it was the general opinion, and that Mr. Menager owned it, that the King of France was much obliged to the English Jacobites for the peace.

Letters from Nairne to Abram, Berry, and Hacket; and from Middleton to Mrs. Watson, from 5th to 19th June. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 33.

The Pretender's removal from France—Measures for his restoration.

Nairne to Abram.—June 5.—"I told him again of the danger of the King's going far off, in case the princess should die suddenly: bid him discourse of it with Paterson, thank him for his good services, and assure him of secrecy, and that the King would have no dealing with Mildmay, but would trust to Christopher [princess Anne] and Honiton [Harley]. I told Freeman's son should not only go with the King, but also be put in his father's place; and that Throp [probably some protestant clergyman], would also go, and have the King's leave to exercise his calling, and that not one of Cowley's family [Protestants] would be left behind."

Nairne to Berry.—June 5.—"I repeated the danger of the King's being at too great a distance, in case of accident; bid him send a fair draught of the power of attorney, with all the amendments proposed by his lawyer and himself, with a sheet or two of stampt paper: told him he should have directions how to write when the King parted."

1712. June. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. P. 34.

Nairne to Abram.—June 13.—"To incloſe a letter from my lord to Mrs. Watſon, in which was a little cypher, and a paper to be given by her to the doctor."

"My lord's letter was as follows here below, and the paper is upon the following ſheet."

The Earl of Middleton to Mrs. Watſon.—June 12.

"THIS is to tell you that I writ by the laſt poſt, and that the incloſed is for the doctor, with a new key, that the old one may not be diſcovered. Perſuade him to take it, if he thinks it may be uſeful; it is all written in a hand he has ſeen before, that he be ſure nobody elſe knows any thing of it; and that he may aſſure his friends, but eſpecially Honyton [Harley,] that it is no penny-poſt letter from Williamſon [the Whigs]. If he thinks it uſeleſs or dangerous to meddle with it, I have nothing to ſay, but ſhall ſtill have the ſatisfaction of doing my duty for my well diſcerning friends."

Nairne to Hacket.—June 13.—"I writ to Hacket to recommend the letter to Abram, in which was my lord's for Mrs. Watſon, with the little cypher hereunder, and the following paper; and I ſent him at the ſame time the name of *Waterſon*, being an addreſs for Biſhop Giff—'s letters to Dr. Singleton, which I bid him forward to me."

"*Cypher or Key of the following Paper.*"

Richard	is	The King.
Thomas		Princeſs Anne.
Lawyers		The miniſtry.
Troops		The parliament
Tartars		The Whigs.
Janiſaries		Tories.
Craſſus		Hannover.
Crœſus		Marlborough.
Pedlars		Hollanders.
Letter of attorney		Treaty.
Sir Roger		London.

Jones

1712. June.

Jones - - - - - Canaan.
Marriage - - - - - Union.
Augures - - - - - Biſhops.

Nairne wrote in the margin, "paper in my lord's hand ſent to Mrs. Watſon for the doctor, June 12." p. 35.

"There is nothing more frivolous than to go about to prove what carries a clear evidence along with it. A mathematician would be laughed at, that ſhould undertake to demonſtrate that two and two make four; and, in doubtful caſes, it is ſufficient to prove the fact, and learned men muſt decide.

"What is more evident than that Craſſus [Hannover], with the Pedlars [the Dutch] and the Tartars [Whigs], have declared againſt Thomas [Queen Anne] and his lawyers [miniſtry], and that there is no means to ward that blow but by doing juſtice to Richard [Pretender]? One muſt want both ſenſe and manners to miſtruſt ſuch eminent perſons; and it would be as abſurd to inſtruct them in the ways and means of managing a matter ſo neceſſary for their own ſecurity, and the advantage of their pupil Canaan. As for inſtance, would it not be a ſtrange preſumption to tell them that delays are dangerous, that if Thomas [Queen Anne] ſhould die, whom God preſerve, Craſſus [Hannover] muſt certainly get poſſeſſion, becauſe the decrees made in his favour, though unjuſt, could never in that caſe be reverſed? That Richard is a perſon of too much ſpirit to ſubmit, but would immediately appear armed, with equity, and ſupported by many good friends and relations, to aſſert his right; ſo that the eſtate in debate would be utterly ruined, and the preſent lawyers [miniſtry] could not eſcape the rage of Tartars [Whigs]; and that though Cræſus's [Marlborough's] caſe be not ſo deſperate, yet it cannot be doubted but he wiſhes he had made better uſe of his time.

"That the ſureſt way to prevent theſe miſeries, is for Thomas [Queen] to ſend a letter of attorney [treaty] to his brother Richard [Pretender], and when that is ſigned, to call him home immediately, when the troops [parliament] are diſperſed in their reſpective quarters: that this merry meeting muſt be at Sir Roger's [London], to make it more ſolemn and ſecure, by ſurpriſing the Tartars [Whigs] in their head quarters, by a good guard of Janiſaries [Tories]: that thoſe who never had a good thought of Richard [Pretender] would crowd to embrace him, and tell him, as they did his uncle, that it is the happy day they all wiſhed for:

1712. June. that when the troops [parliament] were aſſembled, and the brothers ſhould appear together, they, no doubt, would not only applaud what had been done, but would make a ſecure title to the eſtate: that it would be dangerous to begin with the troops; for, beſides the caſe of mortality already mentioned, they are fickle and humourſome; and even the Janiſaries themſelves are jealous of one another.

That there is more prudence, and as much courage ſhown in preventing danger, than by running into it: many great occaſions have been loſt by too much caution; whereas, by ſtealing a march the ſecret is kept, and the enemy found unprepared: that for that end and purpoſe, Richard [Pretender] ſhould be as advantageouſly poſted as can be, to prevent Craſſus [Hannover] in caſe of the worſt.

Theſe conſiderations, and many more, would be ſuperfluous to be offered to ſuch vigilant, clear-ſighted lawyers, which is the beginning and end of this ſcrible."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 36.

Nairne to Berry.—June 19th.—"I approved his caution in trafficking with Gourney [Marlborough]; told him how dangerous it would be, at this time, to give any jealouſy to Young [Princeſs Anne] or Baker [Harley]: that the journey was not fixed yet, neither as to the day nor place: that what he adviſed of the duke of Lorrain making difficulty, was probable enough; that it were to be wiſhed Young and Baker would conſider well the danger of diſtance and delay; and that they would loſe no time to ſhorten Goddall's [the King's] travels, and haſten to ſecure his marriage, for fear of accidents: and that young Sparrowr was not named to go; but that he, and all others, had leave to follow if they had a mind."

Nairne's Papers. D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 22.

A letter from the Duke of Hamilton, with a French tranſlation, both in cyphers, but decyphered.

June 19, 1712.

"IF you knew all that has happened to me, you would not wonder at my ſilence hitherto; but if Mr. Hall's health could have permitted his coming to you, the King would have had the beſt accounts which the duke of Hamilton could have ſent; but you cannot imagine, as things are at preſent, the difficulty of truſting any one, people are grown ſo corrupt.

corrupt. I was ſorry to find, by yours of the 19th, to Moncrief, that the King was kept ſo much in the dark; for, though we are ſo here, I did not doubt but Queen Anne had explained matters fully, with relation to the King of England, to the King of France, and he to his Britannic Majeſty. Will not you ſend me a new addreſs, and I ſhall explain matters? I aſked one from Leſly, who gave it, but I durſt not uſe it hereafter, upon account 161, or hope or hobby. But what is ſaid now is more to try if it comes ſafe, than any thing elſe; oppoſite to 113 ſet Abbé Gaultier, or Colſton. 1712. June.

If 231 is not, I am indifferent to other things: compliments are not neceſſary, where deeds ſhall give conviction of fidelity. If the King of France remembers 33, he will not refuſe the duke of Hamilton; and he hopes that the King of England will intereſt himſelf for him, and the Queen likewiſe. The duke of Hamilton has been much preſſed to go ambaſſador to Vienna; but lately inſinuations have been made to him, as if they would ſend him to Philip after the peace; but hedid not chooſe to engage himſelf in any thing, until he knew the King's ſentiments upon it; he will do in that what he thinks fit.

The preſent ſituation of affairs gives more hopes than any particular man can tell you. But if the King will let the duke of Hamilton know with whom he may communicate himſelf here, he will ſpeak without reſerve to them. Place Richard Hamilton oppoſite to 129, or Huſie. I am ſure I have wearied you now, for it is long ſince I uſed this way of writing; but I cannot omit to preſent my duty to the King and to the Queen."

It appears they were not able to decypher the whole of this letter: we find the following note after the French tranſlation.—"Note, That the names which are between the lines are explained as well as we were able to gueſs at their meaning, it being impoſſible to be ſure of it; but with regard to the reſt, we have found out the key."

Both the tranſlation and this note are in Mr. Nairne's hand.

Rogers

1712. June. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 19.

Rogers to Watſon, &c. Plunket to Middleton.

The original in Plunket's hand, and decyphered and indorſed by Sir William Ellis, "Mr. Rogers, June 20, 1712, from Rotterdam."

An account of his negotiations continued

Rotterdam, June 20, 1712.

"I Had the honour of yours before I left Utrecht; and was ſurpriſed to find by it, you had not my letters of the 23d ult. with the incloſed papers relating to Mr. Williams's [prince Eugene's] negociations becauſe it will be of ill conſequence, to me in particular, if they ſhould fall into bad hands; Mr. Hacket tells me he ſent them as uſually, and that they will come ſafely to your hands. I wiſh his words may prove true. I wrote to you as you deſired, with a great deal of freedom; if Mr. Harris [Harley] ſhould find them, it may turn to an ill account to Mr. Jenkins [the King]. As ſoon as he comes from his country-houſe, I ſhall deſire him to let you know to whom he ſent them, that you may inquire after them.

'On my arrival here, I found a letter from Mr. Cyprian [Menager, as I conjecture], wherein he tells me, his ſon was to ſet out from thence the 5th inſtant, by Mr. Jacob's [the King of France's] orders, to ſupply the defect of your coming to me. You will be pleaſed to deſire him not to give himſelf the trouble, for I communicated all to one of the gentlemen at Utrecht; beſides, he could not do it ſo well, or any foreigner. If it be he that is to bring me yours of the 25th laſt month, I'll receive him kindly, and impart to him ſomething that may be uſeful for Mr. Jenkins [the King] to know, to whom you will pleaſe to give my humble duty, and let him know that the relations I ſent to Vienna ſince I came hither, have had good effect, and made ſuch an impreſſion there, that they ſeem to hint, as if they would willingly have Mr. Jenkins [the King] home to his own houſe, and forward it as diſcreetly and ſafely as they can. Here they begin to ſpeak favourably of him, which they did not uſe to do.

To-morrow morning I go to Utrecht, and the next day to Amſterdam and North Holland. Pray let me know per next, if you had my letter and the papers; I wrote you two from Utrecht. I am loth to trouble Mr. Hacket, becauſe he is timorous. When you write next direct,

direct, if you think it fit, to Mr. Gibbons, at the Portugal Ambaſſador's, at Utrecht; it will come ſafe. Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] friends at Utrecht, ſeemed well pleaſed with the account I gave them of things. They thanked me; but I told them they ſhould thank Mr. Jenkins [the King], and that what was done is owing to him; and if Mr. Jacob [King of France] gives but a helping hand, he may be ſoon at home, if rightly managed; for we have laid ſuch ſchemes for it, that he can hardly, humanely ſpeaking, miſs of carrying his point. I am, &c." 1712. June.

The following letter is not ſigned, but is marked on the back in the hand which decyphered it, "Mr. Mathews; dated $\frac{1}{12}$ July, but came with the letters of $\frac{4}{15}$ July, 1712." John third earl of Mulgrave roſe to high preferments, both civil and military, during the four reigns he lived in. He was created marquis of Normanby by King William, in the 6th year of his reign; and duke of Normanby by Queen Anne, on 9th March, 1702-3; and duke of Buckinghamſhire on the 23d of the ſame month. He made his addreſſes to her ſome years before her marriage with the prince of Denmark; and though they were checked as ſoon as diſcovered, ſhe always retained a great regard for him. He was married at this time, for his third wife, to lady Catherine Darnley, natural daughter to King James II. by Mrs. Catherine Sedley. The Jacobites, who acknowledged no titles given after the Revolution, called him always lord Mulgrave; and he is mentioned under the names of Mr. Mathews, and Tom Weſt, in their correſpondence.

*Mr. Matthews to Mr. Watſon**.

He gives, in this letter, an account of a converſation with Queen Anne.—The ſtate of affairs in England with reſpect to the Pretender's reſtoration.—The ſentiments and intentions of the Queen, and of her Miniſtry.

Original. Nairne's Papers, vol. iv. 4to. No. 76.

$\frac{1}{12}$ July, 1712.

"I Have conſidered very ſeriouſly the ſubject of your laſt letter, and the more I reflect upon it, the more diffident I find myſelf; not only from the importance of the ſubject itſelf, ſo nearly concerning the welfare of my nephew [the King's affairs], for which I have the tendereſt

* Duke of Buckingham to the Earl of Middleton.

concern,

1712. July. concern, as I truly love him, and deſign him my heir, notwithſtanding the difference of religion; but aſide from the great difficulty of giving an opinion, where I do not well underſtand the law. Yet, that I may leave nothing undone, I muſt ſay it is my opinion, that the chief matter is to regain my brother's [princeſs Anne's] good liking. I ſhall, therefore, mention ſuch ſteps as I think Harry [the King] may beſt take to pleaſe his uncle [princeſs Anne,] and at the ſame time, get the good will of the old ſervants and tenants, who I find in general much better inclined to Harry [the King] than to his couſin [Hannover]. You know the firſt diſlike my brother [princeſs Anne] took, was upon Harry's [the King's] changing his religion; though, as I have often told him, it was no more than he might expect from the manner of ſending him abroad; for I did not think ſo very young a man, indeed you know he was a very boy when he went, ſhould be truſted altogether to his own conduct, and the event hath ſhewn my fears were not in vain. Yet my brother [princeſs Anne] will not ſo much as own any imprudence, far leſs any fault, as I think it, in this management; and whenever I touch upon this ſtring, I can very ſeldom get any other anſwer, than, 'You ſee he doth not make the leaſt ſtep to oblige me. I have no reaſon to think he values me or my eſtate, and therefore I am reſolved to give it to Dick [Hannover].' Once, indeed, I was obſerving to him, that my couſin Richard [Hannover] frequently abuſed his beſt ſervants; that he often ſhewed very little reſpect for himſelf; that he ſeemed to me, by his behaviour, to think it not in his power to alter the will he had made; and that, underhand, he gave him all the obſtructions he could in the management of his eſtate, for no other reaſon, that I could ſee, but becauſe he could not put what ſervants he had a mind about him; that for my part, I ſhould not think it ſafe to have ſervants near me recommended by a perſon of Dick's [Hannover's] temper; and that Harry [the King] never offered any thing like this. I am ſenſible this made a very great impreſſion on my brother [princeſs Anne]; for he replied very haſtily, 'What wouldſt have me do, Jack [lord Mulgrave]; you know, as the law ſtands, a Papiſt cannot inherit: and, therefore, ſhould I alter my will, it would be to no purpoſe, the law would give it all to Dick [Hannover], and therefore I had better do that with a good grace, that I cannot help.' I told him then, I believed Dick [Hannover] himſelf was no better than a Papiſt;

that I had good grounds to ſuſpect him, for I never ſaw him at church in my life, nor did I ever hear he went thither; and certainly a Papiſt was better than one of no religion at all. I then ſaid, that I had been told, that, by deeds of truſt, and by other devices, the lawyers often found means to evade the act of parliament; and I do not doubt, but if he would give good fees and good encouragement, the law would ſpeak whatever he would have it: that the lawyers never ſuffered an act to be made without a loop-hole to creep out at, and I believed it was ſo in this caſe. Beſides, brother, ſaid I, you know Dick hath not the reputation of being the beſt huſband in the world: but, added I then, this his wife's behaviour too well excuſeth; yet, at the ſame time, give me leave to tell you, brother, this doth not ſo much commend your ſettlement, ſince it is plain you have no certainty that Dick's children are his own. This made him very uneaſy, and he ſaid upon it, 'you muſt not believe all that is reported upon that ſubject. However, be that as it may, I do not ſee how I can undo, what I myſelf have done, and done in ſuch a manner: Harry [the King] may thank himſelf for it. He knows I always loved him better than Dick [Hannover].' I could not think it proper to preſs further at this time, but rather choſe to leave him to his own reflections on what had paſſed, and, in the mean time, I will conſult ſome good lawyers what can beſt be done in ſuch a caſe. I am convinced, that if Harry [the King] would return to the church of England, all would be eaſy; nay, for what I know, if he would but barely give hopes he would do ſo, my brother [princeſs Anne] would do all he can to leave him his eſtate. I am ſatisfied he hates Dick [Hannover], and loves Harry [the King] now rather better than ever. 1712. July.

I was in the country about a month ſince, and could not but be pleaſed to ſee how almoſt all the tenants careſſed me; on my conſcience, it was for Harry's [the King's] ſake, whoſe part they know I always take. Old Tom Simmonds [lord Mulgrave] told me a thouſand ſtories of Dick [Hannover], and ſwore when his leaſe was up, that he would not renew again, if Dick [Hannover] had the eſtate. Ah! Maſter, ſaid he, if Maſter Harry [the King] was not a Papiſt, we would ſoon give Mr. Richard [Hannover] his belly-full of law; we would all turn tenants to Mr. Harry [the King], and ſee whether Mr. Richard's [Hannover's] annuities would hold out againſt ſuch an eſtate; i'faith he ſhould have

1712. July. enough of law before he ſhould ſet a foot here. You certainly remember old Tom [lord Mulgrave]; he is worth, at leaſt, 5000 *l.* which he hath got by his own induſtry; and I verily believe he ſpeaks the hearts and minds of his fellows.

By what is above, you will pretty plainly perceive my [lord Mulgrave's] opinion, and I would have Harry [the King] remember he is not the firſt of his family who have thought a good eſtate worth changing an opinion for, and ten thouſand pounds a year is a pretty thing for a young fellow to play withal; but if his ſcruples are ſo very ſtrong, that he cannot go this length, let him endeavour to try to make his uncle [princeſs Anne] believe, at leaſt, that he is in himſelf deſirous to come back, but is aſhamed, leſt the world ſhould think he changes his religion for an eſtate, which he will hardly get quietly, if at all, without it. Pray tell him this in the ſtrongeſt terms, and that I myſelf [lord Mulgrave], though my fondneſs makes me overlook it, would be very glad that he was of my opinion; much more, he may well think, is expected by my brother [princeſs Anne], who is, and ever was, very obſtinate in all his opinions: if, therefore, Harry [the King] can prevail upon himſelf to do as much on his ſide as I will do on mine, I by no means deſpair of perſuading my brother [princeſs Anne] to conſent to let him go live on the eſtate in Yorkſhire [Scotland] where he hath moſt friends; and when he is once there, the reſt will ſurely follow at my brother's [princeſs Anne's] death, who I muſt tell you by the bye, notwithſtanding his care to hide it, I can perceive to be ſo infirm, that it well behoves Harry [the King] to be ſpeedy in his reſolutions, leſt Dick [Hannover] ſhould, in that caſe, get into poſſeſſion before him, which, by the help of God, he ſhall never do, at leaſt without a law-ſuit; but then Harry [the King] muſt join, or nothing effectual can be hoped for. Pray give him my kind love, and deſire him carefully to conſider his old uncle's advice, and to take this with him, that I find he can hardly depend upon the tenant's aſſiſtance, whilſt he continues the opinion he is of; and that whoever tells him the contrary, deceives him; my aſſiſtance and firm friendſhip he may be moſt ſure of at all events, and in all circumſtances. Tell him likewiſe, and I have pretty good means to know it, that my brother [princeſs Anne] and his beſt ſervants are now ſo angry at Dick's [Hannover's] late inſolence, that if Harry [the King] will but put it in their power to help him, they will

do all they can for him; and I do not know but my brother [princeſs Anne] may go ſo far as try his intereſt to get an act of parliament to ſettle the eſtate on him, which, in my conſcience, he hath friends enow to obtain, if he will go heartily about it. Adieu. Love me as I do you." 1712. July.

Two letters from Mr. Sheridan, under the name of Singleton, to Mr. Jones †. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 26.

This probably is the Mr. Sheridan whom the Chevalier de St. George appointed to be governor to his ſon, and who came over with him to Scotland in 1745.

Negociations to reſtore the Pretender.

LETTER 1ſt.

SIR, July 3d, 1712.

"MR. Napper [Netterville], to whom I delivered the meſſage you entruſted me with, deſires to know where Allen [lord Middleton] lives, and how he may direct a letter to him. I promiſed to write to you about it, and to let him know your anſwer. He aſſured me, at the ſame time, that old Putney [Peace] would ſoon be at liberty, and make his public appearance in three weeks or a month's time at fartheſt. As for news, this place is altogether barren ſince the parliament broke up; for though the reſolutions, on which the happineſs or miſery of Europe depend, muſt all come from hence, yet we are never acquainted with the truth of them, till we find it by their effects, and the reception they meet with on your ſide of the water. According to the laſt advices we had from thence, the Dutch, and conſequently the reſt of the confederates, will, after all their bluſtering, come into her Majeſty's meaſures, which will certainly prove their ſafeſt way; but of this we ought to expect informations from you that are on the ſpot. Mr. Leſly, I ſuppoſe, writ to you by laſt poſt, and therefore I ſhall add no more than I am, Sir, &c."

THO^S. SINGLETON.

LETTER 2d.

SIR,

"IT is ſome time ſince one Plumtree, an attorney of this town, informed you that he had put into my hands ſome papers which might, hereafter, prove of the greateſt conſequence to Mr. Knox [the King] and Mr. Kennedy [King of France]. Having myſelf lately been obliged to

† Sir William Ellis.

1712. July. make a journey into the North, I had put theſe papers into the cuſtody of a friend, who being himſelf abſent at my return, I could not get them back till lately. After looking them over, as attentively as I could, I cannot ſee how they can be of any great uſe hereafter, unleſs it be as a proof of the zeal and induſtry of the perſon who collected them, and who, as far as I can judge, had chiefly in view the ſervice and advantage of Mr. Kirkton [the King]. That gentleman can beſt tell how far his intereſts are linked with that of Mr. Putney's [the peace]; but it cannot be doubted but the latter has been much forwarded in his affairs, by the light thoſe papers have given Henderſon [Harley], who thereby diſcovered the knavery of Edward [Emperor], and his ingratitude to Quanton [Queen Anne] and Eden [England], and his cloſe union with Wiſhart [the Whigs]. This, Sir, is all that I can ſay at this diſtance; but I ſhall take particular care to preſerve the premiſes till we meet, as I hope we one day ſhall. I ſuppoſe you expect that every letter from hence ſhould bring you a great deal of news; but inſtead of that, I can only tell you that our affairs are managed with greater ſecrecy than ever, which I think is one important proof that the changes made ſome time ſince, have been for the better; and I believe we ſhall be daily more and more convinced of this: for though the Whigs talk big, they loſe ground viſibly, and the calumnies which they continually throw on the Queen and miniſtry, with the utmoſt efforts of malice and impudence, have little effect on the body of the people, who heartily long for peace and Dunkirk, which we hope is, as this day, in Engliſh hands. The Whigs do all they can to poſſeſs the people with a notion that there are evil deſigns on foot againſt the ſucceſſion; and they are even malicious enough to give out, that Scotland is, by the peace, to be yielded to the Chevalier de St. George; but there is nobody ſimple enough to give ear to ſuch ſuggeſtions. All friends here are well, except Rowley [Rivers], who is dying, and poor Sanders [lord Somers] who cannot live long, and is already dead in effect, to the great grief of Harry [Hannover] who depends more on him than on any one friend beſides. I hope, Sir, you will do me the juſtice to believe that I am, with the greateſt reſpect and ſincerity, Sir, &c.

Jo. SINGLETON [SHERIDAN].

Letters

Letters from Nairne to Abram.

1712. July. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 36.

Nairne to Abram.—July 3d.—"I told him we were ready to remove at a day's warning, but no day fixt yet, nor place; that uncle Arthur [the King] waited (as we believed) to have Dr. Edgebury's directions in that matter; that we hoped Morley had informed Paterſon and other friends of the nicety of Jeny's [the King's] conſtitution and preſent circumſtances, as to travelling; and that we hoped all would be directed for her good."

Nairne to Abram.—July 7th.—"To deſire him to inquire if Mrs. Oglethrop had credit with Honyton [Harley], and how far."

A letter from S. Johnſon.

Negociations in England for the Pretender's reſtoration.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 24.

SIR, July 8th, 1712.

"THE thoughts I had of changing place are now over, at leaſt for ſome time; the preſent world is in ſo troubled a poſture, one would be glad to ſee it ſettle a little. In the mean time I will give you the beſt account I am able of our private affairs: poor Mr. Matthew Turner [the low-church] and partners are upon their laſt legs; and if, in two or three months, they are not able to give ſome new turn to their buſineſs, which muſt be by ſome notable trick of youth [rebellion], their great dealing will dwindle to nothing, and their name be almoſt forgot upon the Change. To do them right they are not idle; and yet I hardly think they will make any great venture; or if they ſhould, I hope we may be able to turn it to ſome profit in our way; for, indeed, the ſtruggles and endeavours they and Mr. Diederick Gould [Hannover] have hitherto made, have been very uſeful to us, and brought our buſineſs into credit; ſo that I have often thought we have as good ſervice from thoſe that do not love us, as even our beſt friends. What buſineſs Mr. Stephen Coſen [Mr. Thomas Harley] may be employed in to Mr. Diederick [Hannover] I cannot ſay; but I am very much miſtaken if it be at all complied with, be it what it will, ſuch is that gentleman's temper and preſent humour. You will wonder when I tell you, that Mynheer Klaas [the King of France] begins to come into good buſineſs, and to be mentioned in the city, as a very

1712. July. very honeſt man, and a fair dealer. The giving up his intereſt in Mr. Barty's houſe [Dunkirk] to accommodate his friends Mr. Ezekiel White and partner [the high-church party], has given him great reputation, and will ſo eſtabliſh his trade here, that our old correſpondents [the Dutch and the reſt of the allies], will either be obliged to come into it, or we ſhall leave them to themſelves, if not worſe. I muſt not forget to acquaint you how great ſatisfaction Mr. Kreely's [King of England] management, of late, has given here: friends and foes all ſpeak of it, tho' to different purpoſes; the event, however, is infinitely to his ſervice. Thomas Harriſon [lord Somers] and Mr. Noy [lord Rivers] are both dangerouſly ill, and their recovery much doubted; but though theſe gentlemen were conſiderable in their way, yet I ſhall be much leſs concerned for what becomes of them, than I am for the death of honeſt Mr. Nicho's wife [captain David Floyd]: her diſtemper was the jaundice, to which ſhe had been ſubject ſeveral years; but it increaſing of late upon her, ſhe went down to the Bath, where ſhe died the ſecond of this month, O. S. and was buried there the 4th. I tell you theſe circumſtances for the ſake of their young relation with you, who it is fit ſhould be acquainted with it; but the manner of doing it I leave to your prudence and good nature. Certain it is, ſhe was a moſt excellent woman; and applied herſelf to every relation, and in every circumſtance of life, with a cheerfulneſs and conduct which I know not where to equal amongſt all my acquaintance. You will pleaſe to give my hearty ſervice to the young gentleman, and tell him the reſt of his friends are well, though in great grief, as is very juſt. I am, Sir, to you and the whole family, a moſt ſincere and humble ſervant,

S. JOHNSON."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 37.

Nairne to Abram.—July 17th.—" I told him Philip's ſudden thought was not practicable, unleſs adviſed by Row, and invited by Chriſtopher [princeſs Anne]; without which the King of France would oppoſe the King's going."

Rogers

Rogers to Mr. Watſon, i. e. *Plunket to Middleton.*

1712. July. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 23.

The original decyphered by Sir William Ellis, and quoted on the back as uſual.

Negociations and intrigues in Holland.

Utrecht, July 21ſt, 1712.

"I Wrote you three letters by Deſborde's addreſs; and having had no anſwer, I am afraid they did not come to hand. I ſend this by the way of Rotterdam, to let you know that young Ciprian is ſtill at the Hague, and don't come near me, but gives out he is come on purpoſe to ſpeak to me. I did let him know the ill conſequence of his ſtaying at the Hague, and of his idle talk at this time. Pray ſend to him to go back from whence he came, and by no means let him go for England; you cannot imagine what prejudice it may be to Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] affairs: he is not in the leaſt fit for buſineſs, and eſpecially of moment; he is known to be ſuch in London. Henceforward you will ſee the effect of our labour theſe two years paſt; and it will be found in a little time, that we laid a good foundation to bring home Mr. Jenkins [the King]. If you would but recover the papers I ſent, you could eaſily gueſs how matters may go in time. Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] friends promiſed to let me know, in a little time, whether they fell into their friends hands in that country. It appears, by their diſcourſe, they did fall into their hands. The Whigs in England loſe ground every day; and to regain it, they openly give out, they will make ſuch another attempt as the Tories did in 88. Their friends in this country will give them all the aſſiſtance they can; the rather, becauſe they ſeem well aſſured the fleet and the army are not well-affected to the Queen and preſent miniſtry; and conſequently will ſide with that of Marlborough and the Whigs on this occaſion. This is what hinders the Dutch and the allies from coming into the peace.

The Tories laugh at what they can do or ſay, and ſay they do not value the Dutch nor the reſt of the confederates. How theſe great feuds and animoſities will end, time will ſhew. Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] friends are for having him declare himſelf of your ſtamp, that they may have a handle to declare for him, and exclude his competitor or rival. I ſend two letters to my lady Litcot by Mr. Jacob's friends [King of France's

1712. July. France's miniſters]; they will have them in a poſt or two, with an account at large of the ſtate of the affairs. I ſhall ſtill continue to ſerve Mr. Jenkins [the King] to my power. I am, &c."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. P. 37.

Letters from the Earl of Middleton and Mr. Nairne to Abram, Berry, Scot, and Mrs. Watſon.

The Pretender's removal.—Meaſures for his reſtoration.—He ſaw lord Bolingbroke at the opera.—He was preſſed to change his religion.

Nairne to Abram.—July 24th.—" I told him that there was no news yet of our going to the country; and that I wiſhed Charles [princeſs Anne] would be ſo good-natured as not to oblige us to remove until he ſent for Jeny [the King] to his own houſe, where he might be uſeful to him."

" *Lord Middleton's letter ſent to Mrs. Watſon, 28th July, to be given to the Doctor.*

" I Was in hopes that the intereſt you had with Tom's lawyers [princeſs Anne's miniſtry] might have given you an opportunity of advancing the match propoſed, for the only perſon who can diſpoſe of the party, Mrs. Overbury, [duke of Ormond] by name, is utterly unknown to us; nor had we ever any correſpondence with her; and as to her inclinations, that is what we deſire to know. The world, judging by intereſt, think ſhe ought to be favourable, and rather marry her niece, where ſhe may procure great advantages to herſelf, than to a malicious, covetous fellow, who will make her account for the laſt farthing that ſhe has received during her guardianſhip; and this was the drift of the former ſcribble, to which I ſhall add nothing."

It is evident the court of St. Germains were of opinion, that Marlborough, if he had continued in power, would at length ſerve them. Middleton, having furniſhed his correſpondent in this letter with reaſons for convincing the miniſtry of the dangers of delay, concludes with theſe words: " The greateſt ſhould take example by Crœſus [Marlborough], to make good uſe of their time: the ſtar of the moſt fortunate is not fixed; and juſt now the cracked bully of the age has been ſeverely bang'd for his preſumption."

Nairne

Nairne to Abram.—July 28th.—" To ſend him my lord's letter of this date to Mrs. Watſon: that Paterſon was unjuſt to think that Jeny [the King], or any about her, had not the diſcretion to keep their own ſecret; and that he might aſſure him, nothing of what Morley had writ here from Paterſon could ever come out; but if people would have groundleſs fears and jealouſies, there was no help for it: that Jonathan [the King] was not yet gone to the waters; that he was very well, and had no need of them; and that he had rather doctor Honyton [Harley] would invite him to come and drink good claret with him at Chriſtopher's, &c." 1712. July.

Nairne to Abram.—July 31ſt.—He mentioned, in this letter, the different remittances he had made to him, from December 1709, to the amount of 3000 livres. It appears the court of St. Germains was always ſix months in arrears. Seventy livres per month were paid to a major Home, who is never mentioned in theſe letters, but when a bill is ſent to him incloſed to Abram.

" I anſwered his, viz. Abram's, of the 8th, to Bayard [Sir William Ellis;] told him the King was ſtill here, and ſtill in the dark."

Nairne to Berry.—July 31ſt.—" To tell him, that the King and Queen were well; that the King's journey was ſtill equally uncertain, as to time and place; but we expected Ab. G. [Abbé Gaultier's] coming would decide all." Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 38.

The Earl of Middleton to Berry.—Auguſt 4th.—" I imparted to Mr. Goodall [the King] what you writ to me, the 8th of July, of the diſpoſition the court of Chancery ſeems to be in, to reverſe the decree in favour of Mr. Harper [Hannover], and to leave the equity of the redemption of the eſtate in queſtion in Mr. Aylmer's [probably Queen Anne] diſpoſal and nomination; and that Hampton will (as your informer thinks) be eaſily inclined to give his conſent to ſuch a decree, but probably with a limitation excluding all the family of the Cottons [Roman Catholics].

Mr. Goodall [the King] thanks you for the notice you give him of this matter, and bids me tell you, that it will ſtill be a great ſtep gained, to have Harper's [Hannover's] decree reverſed, and the nomination left in Aylmer: for though Pleſſington [the King] will never comply with the limitation above mentioned, yet when a rich and numerous family are

1712. August. turned out of doors, and the houſe left empty, it will be much eaſier to get poſſeſſion of it.

I think it is demonſtrable, that neither Edward [England] nor Aylmer [Queen Anne] have any intereſt to oppoſe old Cotton [a Roman Catholic], of which you ſhall hear by the next. In the mean time, Mr. Goodall [the King] deſires you would let him know your informer's name, which ſhall be concealed with poſſible ſecrecy; becauſe it is the character and credit of the perſon that gives credit and weight to what he ſays."

Nairne to Berry.—Auguſt 7th.—" I told the King did not approve of Sackville's propoſal to Churchill; that he had had no commiſſion from him upon that head; and that he would not accept of ſuch a ſmall ſum from a debtor that owed him ſo much. Told him it was neither the King's intereſt nor inclination ever to ſee the Dean's face, though he was related to him; that Young [princeſs Anne] and Baker [Harley] might expect all their hearts could deſire from Manly [the King]; and that his relation to Dean or Cotton could not hinder him from making England happy."

Nairne to Abram.—Auguſt 7th.—" I owned the receipt of his to Bayard [Sir William Ellis] of the 15th, and anſwered moſt of it, about Philip's propoſal, confirmed by Dr. Hicks, Sackville, and Prior."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 39. *Nairne to Abram.*—Auguſt 18th.—" To anſwer his of the 22d July, and tell him the King's departure from St. Germains."

Nairne to Abram.—Auguſt 25th.—" What he ſaid upon the model I had ſent him of the Manly gally was very obliging, and kindly taken by Goodall: that the King was to go to Rheims in Champaigne, till he had ſecurity for going further with ſafety: that a ſeparate peace with France was to be wiſhed: that the truce was proclaimed in Paris yeſterday."

Nairne to Abram.—Auguſt 28th.—" I told him the King was as civil to Gendron * as he could, and I aſked him if he had any credit with Honyton [Harley]. I told him the King had ſeen Mr. St. John at the opera."

Ibid. p. 40. *Nairne to Berry.*—September 1ſt.—" Wiſely [the Queen] was here to-day, and dined with Kenedy [the King], who is in better health and heartier than ever I ſaw him at Stanley's. Whether Mr. Singleton

* Probably Prior.

[Sheridan]

[Sheridan] has ſettled any thing with Kemp, as to Goodall's eſtate or Quintin's quit-rents [the Queen's dowry] is as yet unknown to us." 1712. September.

"Amongſt other news from France, we are told that lord Bolingbroke happened to be at the opera, with the Chevalier de St. George, where they could not but ſee one another; ſo I ſhould be glad to know what my lord ſays of that knight, and whether he likes him, for they tell me he is a tall proper well ſhaped young gentleman, that he has an air of greatneſs mixed with mildneſs and good-nature, and that his countenance is not ſpoiled with the ſmall-pox; but, on the contrary, that he looks now more manly than he did, and is really healthier than he was before; and they ſay he goes to Chalons."

Nairne to Berry.—Chalons, October 21ſt.—"Pleſſington [the King], Wiſely [the Queen], and Crofton [Middleton], are truly concerned for your condition (Berry had been ſick); I hope next letters will bring us better news of your health. The Manly gally was never ſo tight nor in ſo good repair as at preſent; ſo I think Edwards [England] and his partners can never venture their ſtock upon a ſafer bottom in all reſpects; and the ſooner they ſet her to ſea immediately after the peace, the better. I pray God Aylmer [princeſs Anne] and Baker do not loſe their market, by delaying too long, and giving time to Hunter [Hannover] and Wanly [the Whigs] to prevent them." October. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 44.

Nairne to Abram.—November 4th.—"I told him the King had actually been preſſed lately by ſome indiſcreet zealous friends to part Roper [Roman Catholic Religion]; and that he, Abram, did very kindly and prudently to prevent thoſe indiſcretions as much as he could. That the King would make Cowley [proteſtants] as happy and ſafe, without quitting Roper [R. C. religion], as by quitting him, and this ſhould be ſufficient to ſatisfy all reaſonable perſons. I told him, Mr. Innes had ſent him 500 livres extraordinary, which the King had granted him; and that, when the Queen's jointure came to be paid, his allowance would be paid him on the place, which would ſave him the exchange." November. Ibid. p 45.

Nairne to Berry.—November 14th.—"That I had particular orders to congratulate his recovery, in Pleſſington's [the King] and Crofton's [Middleton's] names. That his letter to Davenant was ſent by Pleſſington to Wiſely [the Queen]. That the hopes he had of bettering the quit-rents in time were comfortable. That Honyton's [Harley's] inten-

1712. December. tions continued ſtill dark and equivocal; but that we hoped Price's [the parliament's] behaviour would let us know more of Honyton's mind."

Nairne to Scot.—December 10th.—"I told him, my lord would be very glad to ſee Audley [Auchterhouſe], if he came as a factor from the merchants upon ſome good account; but that the King left always to the traders the choice of their own factors. As to advice or directions, the King could give none to his friends in Scotland, at preſent; being adviſed, by his beſt friends, to do nothing at preſent for fear of ſpoiling any good intentions ſome perſons may have for him. That all depended on Harley, who being a dark man, nobody knew well what to reckon upon, and how to act; therefore, in the uncertainty, nothing ſeemed more prudent, than to wait to ſee how things would turn. In the mean time, if his friends in Scotland had any advice or information to ſend him, he expected it of their friendſhip, and left to their prudence to do what they thought might be moſt for his ſervice."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 47.

Nairne to Scot.—December 14th.—"To deſire him to conſult whether my lord Clermont's (he was the earl of Middleton's ſon) eſtate would be in danger, in caſe he came after the peace to join the King, and to ſend his and the beſt lawyers' opinion, which way the eſtate might be beſt ſecured."

Nairne to Berry.—December 23d.—"I told him, that if Young and Honyton [Harley] made no ſtep, during this parliament, towards Pleſſington's [the King's] ſettlement, it would look very ſuſpicious, that their intentions are not good."

Original. D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 32.

Mr. Matthews to Mr. Watſon, i. e. *Buckingham to Middleton.*

Dear Sir, December 23d, 1712.

"AN accident hath ſome time confined me at home; but, I thank God, I am now well. I could not write ſooner, having always carried my letters to the poſt myſelf. There is little news here: all friends [princeſs Anne] are well; and, as far as I can judge, my couſin's [the King's] law-ſuit is likely to go for him; but lawyers are extremely tedious. Pray ſend me a large cypher, part words, part figures, and then I ſhall ſometimes be more plain. Adieu. Love me as I do you.

I wiſh

I wiſh you could get me a copy of a treaty made in 1677 or 78, between England and Holland, by the then duke of Ormond and the prince of Orange. I believe a friend of yours or Mat. [L. Midd.] hath it." 1712. December.

Nairne to Berry.—December 31ſt.—"I am ſorry Edward's [England's] chief truſtees who do not paſs for perſons very fond of Roſs [religion] upon other occaſions, ſhould be ſo very nice upon his account with ſo honeſt and ſo fair a dealer as Pleſſington [the King], who will give them all the ſtrongeſt aſſurances their hearts can deſire, that his inſeparable partner Cotton [Catholic] ſhall never moleſt their friend Roſs [religion]; but on the contrary, that he will be a truer friend to all Edward's [England] family, but moſt eſpecially to Cary [church of England] than ever Harper [Hannover] can be. It is natural enough for Cary [church of England], to wiſh Pleſſington [the King] would marry in his family; but it can never be thought reaſonable or friendly to preſs him to that marriage. For any thing of that nature, that is either done or may ſeem to be done by force or intereſt, can never have that good effect that is propoſed of mutual union and confidence; and, therefore, I can hardly believe that any that wiſh Pleſſington truly well, will ever preſs him either upon marriage, or upon parting with his friend Cotton [Catholic R.] who is ſo harmleſs a creature that he has neither power nor intention to diſturb in the leaſt any of Cary's family [church of England]; for, if Pleſſington ſhould comply with any ſuch propoſal at this juncture of time, it would only ſerve to leſſen his credit, even with thoſe that require it of him; for, if they will not truſt his word now, when they ſee nothing but firmneſs, integrity, honour, and ſincerity in him, they'll certainly have much leſs reaſon to truſt him, when they ſee him turn away ſo ſlightly, a poor friend that he has been bred up with, for they'll either think he is very weak or very inſincere, and in either of theſe caſes, they'll have reaſon not only to diſtruſt him, more than they do now, but even to deſpiſe him. But I hope Young [princeſs Anne], and Baker [Harley], and Price [the parliament] (if they have any good intentions towards their relation) will find a way to make both themſelves and him happy, without being uneaſy to him upon this nice point." Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 47.

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1712.

1712. THE embaſſy of the earl of Rivers made little impreſſion on the court of Hannover. The Elector ſent back a written anſwer by him, and authorized his own miniſter, the baron de Bothmar, who had come over with the duke of Marlborough, on the 18th of November 1711, to deliver a long memorial to the miniſtry. It was publiſhed in the Daily Courant of the 5th of December, and gave great ſatisfaction to the Whigs, but very great offence to the Tories; and the miniſtry charged Bothmar with eſpouſing a party, and intermeddling very unſeaſonably in the affairs of Britain. Dr. Swift throws ſome light on this ſubject, in his Hiſtory of the four laſt years of Queen Anne.

"It was the misfortune of his Electoral Highneſs," ſays this confident and advocate of the miniſter, "to be very ill ſerved, by Monſ. Bothmar, his envoy here; who aſſiſted at all the factious meetings of the diſcontented party, and deceived his maſter, by a falſe repreſentation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of thoſe, to whom he confined his converſation. There was likewiſe at the elector's court a little Frenchman, without merit or conſequence, called Robithan; who, by the aſſiſtance and encouragement of the laſt miniſtry, had inſinuated himſelf into ſome degree of that prince's favour, which he uſed in giving his maſter the worſt impreſſions he was able of thoſe whom the queen employed in her ſervice, inſinuating that the preſent miniſters were not in the intereſt of his Highneſs's family; that their views were towards the Pretender; that they were making an inſecure and diſhonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was againſt them; and that it was impoſſible for them to preſerve much longer, their credit or power."

It

It is certain, the Elector, who had hitherto affected to be a friend to both ſides, or, at leaſt, to be attached to neither of the parties which divided the nation, diſcovered different ſentiments this year, and might be conſidered as at the head of one of them. The miniſtry ſent over in the beginning of the year Mr. Thomas Harley, a couſin of the earl of Oxford accompanied by Mr. St. John, brother to the ſecretary, in order to remove whatever prejudices might have been infuſed into his Highneſs againſt their proceedings, and to perſuade him to come into their meaſures. Mr. Harley ſtaid long in Holland, and did not arrive in Hannover until the 12th of July. 1712.

The Queen in her ſpeech to both houſes on the 6th of June, expreſſed herſelf in this manner: "The aſſuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as by law eſtabliſhed, in the houſe of Hannover, to theſe kingdoms, being what I have neareſt at heart, particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged, in the ſtrongeſt terms; but to have an additional ſecurity, by the removal of that perſon out of the dominions of France, who has pretended to diſturb this ſettlement."

But neither Mr. Thomas Harley's declarations and remonſtrances to the Elector, nor the Queen's aſſurances to her parliament, nor the profeſſions of attachment contained in the prime miniſter's letters, could reconcile his Highneſs to the meaſures which were purſued in Britain; or perſuade him, that the miniſtry were well affected to the ſucceſſion in his family. He was particularly alarmed, by a reſolution of the commons againſt the Barrier treaty; whereby they declare, that, under pretext of ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown, and a barrier to the States, many articles had been inſerted, in the treaty, deſtructive to the commerce of Great Britain, and diſhonourable to her Majeſty. When Mr. Hampden moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give particular inſtructions to her plenipotentiaries, that, in the concluſion of the treaty of peace, the ſeveral powers, in alliance with her Majeſty, might be guarantees to the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of theſe realms, as ſettled by act of parliament, in the illuſtrious houſe of Hannover, the houſe rejected his motion; and reſolved, that they had ſuch an entire confidence in the repeated declarations her Majeſty had been pleaſed to make, of her concern for aſſuring to theſe kingdoms the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as by law eſtabliſhed, that they could

1712. January. never doubt her taking the proper meaſures for the ſecurity thereof. This reſolution of the commons increaſed the Elector's ſuſpicions of the miniſtry.

The baron de Bothmar had returned to be the Elector's envoy in Holland, and his plenipotentiary at the treaty now negociating at Utrecht. The baron de Grote was ſent in November to be his envoy extraordinary in Great Britain. Bothmar, Grote, and Bernſdorff, preſident of the council, and Monſieur de Robethon, ſecretary for the embaſſies, being privy counſellors to the Elector, give one another, in their letters, the title of Excellency.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

The Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia.

He blames Bothmar.—Complains that he joined the Whigs, who were never friends to monarchy, and could not be attached to her family.

MADAM, Hague, January ½d, 1712.

"I Have, from poſt to poſt, put off writing to your Royal Highneſs; ſtill hoping for ſomething agreeable to fill my letter, and make it worth your reading. At laſt, I imagined the opening of the parliament would have furniſhed me with ſomething I might have enlarged upon; but the violence of their proceedings, on one ſide and t'other, makes a man, as your Royal Highneſs knows me to be, not partial of either party, not well know what to write, eſpecially ſince they write me from London, that Monſ. Bothmar has now declared himſelf of the Whig-party; ſo that my finding fault on that ſide, would be oppoſing the ſentiments of your court; and when one has not the liberty to find fault on both ſides, when they give occaſion, one can't, with half the pleaſure, turn one's pen, when it is confined only againſt one ſide. One is not at liberty, they tell me now, to remember the villany of a party, who cut off your royal anceſtor's head *; nor to remember, amongſt others, their actions, that, when they were in power, they acted contrary to your illuſtrious houſe; and when the heads of them were preſſed, by well-wiſhers to it, to ſettle ſome diſtinguiſhing allowance on your next ſucceſſor, they rejected it, with an inſolence unbecoming them; nor when it was thought

* His lordſhip, though a maſter of diction, was but an ordinary genealogiſt. Charles I. was Sophia's uncle and not her anceſtor.

by

by an act, they ſhould have made proviſion for their ſpeedy coming after the demiſe of the Queen, they found out, on the contrary, an expedient to lay the foundation of a republic, by inveſting, by act of parliament, the ſovereign power in certain places of which they were themſelves maſters, and by their behaviour thought to have kept for life; all this inſtead of making it high-treaſon for any one to do any act of ſovereignty between the demiſe of the Queen and the coming over of the ſucceſſor, as was propoſed by ſome of the Tory party, who, to my knowledge, and as I'm an honeſt man and a Chriſtian, deſigned to have voted an allowance fit for the preſent maintainance of a ſucceſſor, and told me when I was in England, they were ſure of the Queen's conſent. I believe I mentioned this before to you; but matters are ſince changed. I cannot tell what to ſay. Is it permitted me, Madam, to remind your Royal Highnes of the diſcourſe I have formerly had the honour to have with you on this ſubject, when you uſed to blame extremely the conduct of poor Monſ. Shuts, for declaring ſo violently of one party? Did your Royal Highnes not uſe to tell me, that a prince ſhould ſtrive to be a prince of his people, and not by eſpouſing a faction give diſtaſte to two thirds of his ſubjects; eſpecially a ſucceſſor, who is called in to the ſucceſſion, by both parties, whoſe ſucceſſion both parties were to maintain, and whoſe ſucceſſion always meets with the greateſt oppoſition from thoſe who have now the folly to range themſelves on t'other ſide? You were pleaſed, Madam, ſometimes, to tell me, that you ſaw the nation eſtabliſhed in the proteſtant ſucceſſion for the good of itſelf and poſterity, and not out of affection to your perſons, who the greateſt part of the nation knew not; that you were ſure that very reaſon alone would ſupport your ſucceſſion, and to meddle in intrigues and parties could only create perſonal and party diſtaſte, and make oppoſition to your ſucceſſion, which elſe could never happen, as long as the reaſon and motive, which induced the nation to ſettle the ſucceſſion on your family, ſubſiſted. But I hope theſe idle ſtories, the public hear of Bothmar's ſiding with the faction, are falſe like many others; I know impartiality temper is the character of the Elector; and I muſt do Monſ. Bothmar that juſtice, that here I found him extremely impartial and temporate. I knew upon the firſt bringing over the general points, he objected the words The Proteſtant, had been better than The Preſent Eſtabliſhment. I told him, that certainly

1712. January.

1712. January. the laſt expreſſion was the ſame as the firſt; for the preſent eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion was that in the Elector's family. I told him, I believed they didn't juſt hold to the old beaten words, being they would have theſe preliminaries appear entirely general, in every point, that none could take it amiſs, and that it might not appear as reſtrained as the former were; and, therefore, they avoided the ſame words. That, if he had nothing elſe to aſſure him of the ſincerity of the intentions of the miniſtry in favour of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, though all their lives and actions have ſhewn, that is their firſt principle, yet they would not have choſen the biſhop and me, being they knew both our principles, and that we had both the honour to be perfectly known to your court, eſpecially myſelf. Bothmar ſeemed ſatisfied with the diſcourſe and aſſurances he had from me, whilſt I had the honour of ſeeing him alone; though, after the duke of Marlborough came hither, he was ſo often taken up in his Grace's company, I had not the ſame opportunity of converſing with him, which I was ſorry for, being Monſ. Bothmar is one I had always a perfect eſteem for; and ſhould have been glad of his aſſiſtance to have advanced in my negociations the intereſt of your moſt illuſtrious family."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

The Princeſs Sophia's anſwer to the Earl of Strafford.

She juſtifies Bothmar.—The duke of Marlborough's contemptuous manner of ſpeaking of the Queen.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, January 8th, 1712.

"I Have no reaſon to complain of your ſilence, ſince you have been pleaſed to make amends, by the long obliging letter, which I have ſo much pleaſure in reading; although I was very much ſurpriſed, that you ſay to me, that they have written to you from London, that Mr. Bothmar has declared for the Whigs. But, as you ſay, towards the end of your letter, that the rumour may be falſe, I ſhall have no difficulty to convince you, that it is; and you will ſee, by the memorial, which he has given on the part of the Elector, that neither Whigs nor Tories are mentioned in that affair. But as the Queen did the honour to my ſon, the Elector, to demand, by my lord Rivers, his opinion of the preliminaries of peace, he thought it was his duty to give it, which he would not have done, if her Majeſty had not commanded him; and it was neither

ther by his order nor by the order of Bothmar, that the memorial has been printed. But it's ſaid, her Majeſty has not been diſſatisfied with it. You ſay, likewiſe, that you are of no party; yet if that party, who beheaded the King, my uncle, ſubſiſted ſtill, as you ſay they do, there could be now nothing laid to their charge. I imagined, however, that that party was long ſince extinct; yet we have clearly ſeen, in theſe latter times, that the parliament have done what they pleaſed, in diſpoſing of the crown. 1712. January.

The favourable ſentiments, which you ſay they entertained towards me, have had no effect; therefore, I am obliged to them only for their good intention; and as I know none of them but you, I alſo believe, that it is to you alone I owe thanks. The good-natured lord Rivers told me, he clearly perceived I was of the Duke of Marlborough's party. I anſwered, that, if the Queen had made an ape her general, and that he had gained ſo many battles and towns, I would be equally for him: and I ſee that you have forgot how little I was obliged to his wife; and as for himſelf, he never ſpoke to me of any thing which had any concern with the advantages of this houſe. His expreſſion, in ſpeaking of the Queen, was always, that ſhe was a very good ſort of a woman †. He repeated this frequently, and it appeared to us too low a commendation for ſo great a princeſs. But I have not the talent of reaſoning ſo well, by letter, as you have. I can only aſſure you, that I have always the ſame ſentiments, which you knew me to have had; and that I ſhall always be, my Lord, &c."

The Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia.

The ſubject of his letter January 2d. continued.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

MADAM, Utrecht, the 12th of January, 1712.

" I Can't ſay any one of your Royal Highneſſe's letters are mor agreeable or better writt than another. But they are every one ſo very agreeable, that always the laſt I think the fineſt and moſt agreeable. I have now, Madam, before me that your Royal Highnes honoured me with of the 8th inſtant, which is mixed with ſo much goodneſs, and yet giving me ſome agreeable rubbs, that I ought to fill this letter rather

† Theſe were alſo his expreſſions to the court of St. Germains. Stuart Papers, Nov. 1711.

1712. January. with excuſes for my former, than to preſume again to juſtify any thing in it; but as contradiction is the life of converſation, as I have often heard the late Queen of Pruſſia, your daughter, ſay, ſo I hope your Royal Highneſs will not take it ill, if in anſwer to what you are pleaſed to write, I juſtify a little my former arguments, and ſay, that I believe it is not to be doubted, but the ſons and grandſons of thoſe live, who were of the party who did that barbarous murder on the King your Royal uncle, and all thoſe are ranged in the party of the preſent Whigs; and certainly the ſame diſcourſe is now held, and has been ſince time held among them, as was in thoſe former unhappy times; therefore, one has reaſon to apprehend from the ſame race, and ſame principles, the ſame facts; and I believe no true Whig will, in his conſcience, where he is put to it, and has any conſcience, ſay that he loves monarchy better than democracy. Now the danger thoſe princes run, that make uſe of a party, whoſe principle and conſcience is againſt them, is obvious to all the world: and I yet, I ſay again, naturally I am of neither party, but was for moderation, till I ſaw it ſo abuſed, that it only put the government in danger; then, out of love to my country, and not till then, I put myſelf and intereſt entirely into the other party; not that I am perſonally angry with any one man of the party, but really the buſineſs of party is ſo confounded, that even a native of our country can hardly diſtinguiſh them; and how much leſs could Mr. Bothmar, who has not been, in all his lifetime, in England not above five or ſix months at moſt, and therefore very, very unfit to meddle in ſuch nice matters, eſpecially he not ſpeaking the language; and not only to draw himſelf into a matter he could not underſtand, but alſo the Elector his maſter, whoſe apparent intereſt it was not to have meddled to have ſet any one of either party againſt him. I may almoſt venter to ſay in confidence to your R. H. who has always ſhown a particular indulgence for me, that I knew from whence the ſpring of that memorial came, and the violence of thoſe people, I fear, will do great prejudice at your court; and pray believe me, Madam, the Queen and all her preſent miniſters are entirely well diſpoſed for the ſucceſſion of the crown in your family, and nothing can turn that diſpoſition; no, not even the unkind way of remonſtrating and blaming their intentions and proceedings in print, by way of memorial: and pardon me, Madam, if I ſay, that, if the Queen had made an

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overture of her intentions, and aſked the Elector's ſentiments, by lord Rivers; was it not by that lord, and in the ſame ſecret manner, the Elector ought to have ſent the Queen his anſwer, and have told her his ſentiments? Was my lord Rivers, whoſe eſtate and quality is ſo great in England, nor fit to be truſted with them? And is that a way to anſwer the Queen's confidence in the Elector; to give ſo general an anſwer to lord Rivers, and to print ſo particular a one at ſuch a conjuncture?" 1712. February.

Extracts from the Electreſs's anſwer to the Earl of Strafford.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Hannover, February 12th, 1712.

"I Am very well pleaſed to ſee, that my letters give you pleaſure, and that you have obſerved in them the favourable ſentiments which I entertain of you; and that you have not forgot that the Queen of Pruſſia found, that contradiction ſupported converſation. But I will not contradict you any longer about the whigs; for you know them better than I do, and the intrigues of England better than the baron de Bothmar, who has not been ſent there to reform them. But the Elector only gave him in charge to teſtify his reſpect to the Queen, and to addreſs himſelf to thoſe of council, to whom he gave the memorial, and who may have printed it; for it was not printed by order of the Elector, nor of baron de Bothmar. I ſuppoſe your multiplicity of buſineſs has prevented you from reading it; or, that they have, perhaps, falſified it. For this reaſon, I ſend it to you, that you may ſee it correſponds, word for word, with the anſwer which the Elector gave to my lord Rivers; and when that Lord was aſked, in order to have his opinion, if he would not chooſe to read it, he anſwered, that that was not neceſſary, and put it up in his little coffer.——He (the Elector) is very grateful, that the Queen has been pleaſed to make the ſucceſſion the firſt article of the peace, after the acknowledgment of her Majeſty. I imagine, theſe will be the articles the moſt eaſily granted, by France; having formerly acknowledged King William and the Pretender, at the ſame time. I wiſh, the point of leaving Spain and the Indies to the Emperor, was as eaſy; and that you may obtain, as you do not doubt, a good peace, which is ſo much wiſhed for."

Extracts

1712. February. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Extracts of a letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia

He will take care of her intereſt in the treaty of peace.—The Tories are her ſincere friends.—The Whigs uſed the Queen very ill.

Original.

MADAM, Utrecht, February 18th, 1712.

——" I Have this comfort, that, in ſpite of all inſinuations to the contrary, I have begun, by making the French, at the very firſt conference, declare themſelves ready to acknowledge your ſucceſſion to the crown of England, and that they will ſend the Pretender to travel where we pleaſe. This we did artificially enough, at the firſt conference, in ſpite of all the intrigues were uſed to hinder us from ſpeaking till the French had been obliged to give their ſpecifique explications; and this we did, without that any Whig can pretend the leaſt merit in it; though I believe, they who always ſtrive to attribute all to themſelves, will ſtrive to attribute what has been done at home to their induſtry. However it is, at leaſt, they muſt own it was not oppoſed by the Tories.—— I am glad, in one part of my arguments, your Royal Highneſs ſeemed to aqueſſe, that you never loved or liked the dutcheſs of Marlborough's character; and that you thought the duke's way of ſpeaking of the Queen was in too ſlighting a manner. If your Royal Highneſs had known and ſeen as much as the Queen has done, you would think much worſe of both; really, Madam, a prince is happier that rules the hearts of all his people, than he who is ſet up by one, and ſets himſelf at the head but of one party. In a limited monarchy, he reigns but over half his people. The temper and conſtitution of England is mightily miſtaken by ſome people; this the Queen ſaw, that by reigning by one party, was but being a ſlave to the heads of that party; and therefore, when ſhe firſt made her change, it was poſitively reſolved not to ſtick to parties, but to thoſe who ſerved her beſt. However, the other party's oppoſition and violence may have made her change her mind for the mere neceſſity at this conjuncture; if your Royal Highneſs was but to hear half the ſtories I heard, when I was laſt in Britain, you would wonder how the Queen's patience could bear ſo long what ſhe has borne; ſuch uſage no miſtreſs of a family would have borne from their menial ſervants. But I hope there is an end of it, and that ſhe will ſpend the reſt of her days happily,

as

as ſhe really deſerves to do for her many good qualities. We are now all hard at work, and we ſhall put that article of your Royal Highneſs's ſucceſſion, and obliging France to promiſe, that they ſhall not, neither directly nor indirectly, aſſiſt the Pretender; that I hope you will have reaſon to be ſatisfied with us. I wiſh I knew any thing you deſired more, in theſe negociations; ſince really, beſides the honour, nothing could be more agreeable to me, than to receive your commands and execute them." 1712. February.

Extracts of the Princeſs Sophia's Anſwer to the preceding Letter.

Tranſlation.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Hannover, Feb. 25, 1712.

"YOU do me juſtice, when you take in good part, what I ſaid joking about things which are paſt."——"But it appears that, what I wrote to you, has happened, and that the French made no difficulty of acknowledging the juſt title of the Queen and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The King of France told me himſelf, the day that his Majeſty ſwore to the peace upon the goſpel, that that clauſe had been always a part of it, and would continue, as long as it was for the advantage of his dominions: however, I am very much obliged to you for the compliment, and for the obliging offer which you are pleaſed to make of employing your good offices, if I had any thing to deſire in this reſpect; but I imagine I ought to depend upon the good pleaſure of the Queen, and of the Engliſh, for what they think proper to do for my family; and not upon the favours of France, which naturally will be always contrary to it."——"With regard to the dutcheſs of Marlborough's improper behaviour towards the Queen, I have known it and have been thoroughly convinced of it long ago."

The Princeſs Sophia to Queen Anne.

Hannover Papers.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Herenhauſen, Feb. 29, 1712.

"I Received, with a reſpectful gratitude, the honour which your Majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon me, by the gracious letter which your Majeſty condeſcended to give in charge to Mr. Harley. You could not give ſo agreeable a commiſſion to any who had more merit, and was better qualified to obey your orders; he has gained the eſteem of all.

1712. May. all thoſe who have ſeen him, and I ſhall have ſtill greater reaſon to be better ſatisfied with him, if he acquaints your Majeſty, as he promiſes, how entirely I am devoted to your intereſts, and how much I wiſh to be honoured with your commands, in order to ſhew, by my obedience, to what degree I am, &c."

Extracts of a Letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

He gives her an Account of the proceedings in Parliament, and of the diſpoſition of the nation for a peace.

MADAM, London, May 26, 1712.

"IT is now ſome time ſince I deſigned myſelf the honour of writing to your Royal Highneſs; but at Utrecht I delayed it, from time to time, hoping to have had ſomething worth ſending you, and that, at laſt, the French, would have explained themſelves; but as they keeped us in expectations, and put us off from week to week; I likewiſe differed my writing, and was, at laſt, ſent for ſuddenly over hither, where, though I have been eight days, I have been in ſuch a hurry, that I have hardly had time to ſeek or pick up any thing worth writing; however, the honour your Royal Highneſs is pleaſed to allow me, is too precious for me to neglect, even though I have little more than the repetition of the zeal and true attachment I have for your Royal Highneſs and your intereſt. I found the miniſtry very buſy about a bill of Reſumptions, which they had a great mind ſhould paſs the houſe of lords, and was very nigh it, as no doubt your Royal Highneſs has heard, being the laſt and concluſive votes, were equal; I was out of the houſe, wanting the formality of being introduced as Earl, which I was to-day, after the Queen was gone from the houſe, where ſhe has been to paſs a money-bill; ſo that I was neither obliged to vote againſt the court and miniſtry, nor againſt my late Maſter's grants, nor againſt a good one he has given me. I thought it a very difficult point, and am glad it is ended as it is. The whole town was in expectations the Queen would have ſaid ſomething to-day about the peace; but not doing it, the commons were very angry, and ſome warm ſpeeches were made, which ſhewed the great uneaſineſs there is in that houſe, to have a peace; ſo much that ſome expreſſed themſelves, that if the Queen met with any difficulty from her Allies, if ſhe would lay it before the parliament, they would eaſe her; but they

were told by a miniſter of ſtate, they muſt be eaſy, at leaſt, till Wedneſday ſe'night, and by that time, the Queen would lay ſomething before them, which was hoped would be to their ſatisfaction. This uneaſineſs ſhows that any peace almoſt would be agreeable to the nation, and yet, I am perſuaded we ſhall have a good one, and ſuch a one that was not expected, and muſt be reliſhed by every one who really wiſhes well to Europe; *for ſince it is thought ſo dangerous to leave Philip* on the throne of Spain, there may be means found *to remove him.*" 1712. May.

The Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia.

Congratulates her upon the Queen's Speech, and the addreſs of the two houſes.

June. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

MADAM, London, June 7, 1712.

" I Waited for this great deciſion, before I would venture to do myſelf the honour of writing to your Royal Highneſs from hence, and now the ſudden depart of the currier only allows me time, in all humility, to wiſh your Royal Highneſs joy of the proves, both the Queen, the houſe of lords, and houſe of commons, have given you, Madam, and the whole world, of the ſincere intentions they have to ſupport the ſucceſſion of you and your deſcendants to the crown of theſe kingdoms; and allow me, Madam, with your uſual goodneſs, to aſſure you, it is not a weak envious faction can ſupport your intereſt, if the voice of the nation is not for you; and though I am ſure you never believed me otherwiſe, than ſincerely and faithfully in your intereſt, yet I have heard, that the malice of thoſe who had eſpouſed, very much *mal-à-propos*, another party, had ſtrove even to miſrepreſent my ſincere attachment to the intereſt of your Royal Highneſs and your illuſtrious houſe; but believe me, Madam, that the miniſtry as well as myſelf are entirely in your intereſt, and thoſe that adviſe oppoſing them, are certainly in the wrong, as your Highneſs will ſee by the Queen's ſpeech and this addreſs of the houſe of lords, which was carried by 81 againſt 36; ſo you ſee, that without the new lords, by what majority this was carried, and how much the lords have loſt of the Whig faction, ſince the beginning of the ſeſſions; if I am not a true and faithful ſervant to your Royal Highneſs, no man in England is; for I proteſt, I am with the utmoſt duty and moſt profound reſpect, &c."

1712. July. Original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

The Princeſs Sophia's Anſwer to the Earl of Strafford.

Tranſlation.

Herrenhauſen, July 1, 1712.

"I Find it difficult to expreſs to you, to my own ſatisfaction, with what gratitude I have juſt now received the new marks you give me of your friendſhip, by concerning yourſelf ſo much in the honour which the Queen has been pleaſed to confer on my family, by inſerting its ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain in the treaty of peace. As this family is already entirely devoted to her Majeſty, I can only add my wiſhes, that her laudable deſign of concluding a good peace, may be accompliſhed with advantage to her crown and to her allies; as her Majeſty herſelf ſeems to wiſh. You wrote to me, however, in your letter of the 26th of May, in theſe terms; "for ſince it's thought ſo dangerous to have Philip on the throne of Spain, there may be means found to remove him." But it ſeems they have not been found. I don't know who could be ſo malicious as to deſign to ſet us at variance, by perſuading you, that I had received wrong reports of you; for I have no ſecret correſpondence with either Whigs or Tories, and you would be in the wrong to believe that any party could give me bad impreſſions of you, ſince I paſſionately wiſh to find opportunities of teſtifying to you how much I am, &c.

Auguſt. Original. Ibid. vol. marked Strafford.

Extracts of a Letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia. He was unjuſtly ſuſpected of correſponding with the Pretender.—He blames Bothmar.—Juſtifies the Tories.

MADAM, Utrecht, Auguſt 27, 1712.

"IN ſpite of all the pains taken to blacken the Queen's adminiſtration under the preſent miniſtry, and to render us all Jacobites, it would be endleſs to tell your Royal Highneſs of the intrigues to that end; but they will all turn to the ſhame of the contrivers, as will that lately detected on one Azzurini, an Italian, who finding his encouragement ſo great, had even forged a letter from the Pretender to me, though I never ſaw the man in my life-time, and am ſure, never gave the leaſt reaſon to the Pretender to imagine I was in his intereſt. You know, Madam, and the world knows, I am truly and heartily for the proteſtant ſucceſſion in your illuſtrious houſe, and ſhall ever be ſo, though I ſhould be aſſured never to have the honour to be employed under you, ſhould I out-live the Queen, which I really hope I ſhall not; for beſides the perſonal

ſonal eſteem and veneration I have for your Royal Highneſs, the intereſt and good of my country will make me ever oppoſe a Romiſh King, bred up with Popiſh and arbitrary principles; for I love liberty ſo much, that even the employment I have here, is ſuch a confinement to me, that I am uneaſy till it is ended. Your Royal Highneſs knows I always told you I was tied by obligation to neither party, but if to either, it was to that called the Tory, ſince I found ſounder principles and honeſter men, by much, in that, than in the other party. And ſince I was laſt in England and employed in this negociation, I am extremely confirmed in my opinion; and ſo would your Royal Highneſs, did you but know the falſeneſs and villany of the faction, as well as I do; but a little time, I am ſure, will make it plain to you; in the meantime, I am glad this ſtory of Azzurini will be laid clearly before your Royal Highneſs, and all the encouragements that fellow has had to go on to accuſe the moſt faithful of the Queen's miniſters, and your Royal Highneſs's humble ſervant. I can hardly believe Monſieur Bothmar could have given ſo much into that fellow's ſtories, as to have ſent his papers to the Elector, and to have given him money, and promiſe of being gentleman of the chamber to the Elector. Indeed it were to be wiſhed Monſieur Bothmar had had a better knowledge of the character of the Engliſh, before he had been ſent thither; for I doubt he has miſtaken them extremely, and has drawn others into his errors. I can't help telling your Royal Highneſs a ſtory I was told, by one that pretends to have been preſent. When Monſieur Bothmar and count Paſſieny [Paſſionei], the Pope's miniſter, was together at count Sinzendorff's *, Monſieur Bothmar rallying count Paſſiony [Paſſionei] upon his commendations of the Engliſh learning and libraries, told him; "ſtay a little, and you may go over, to do the affairs of your maſter." Count Paſſiony [Paſſionei] anſwered him, "that he had no occaſion, ſince one had been lately there, who had done the affair of his maſter much better than he could ever hope to do." 1712. Auguſt.

The Earl of Oxford to the Princeſs Sophia.

Without a date; but written when Mr. Thomas Harley went the ſecond time to Hannover. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

MADAM,

"YOUR Royal Highneſs's goodneſs to Mr. Harley has encouraged her Majeſty to employ him again to your Royal Highneſs, with

* He means count Zintzendorff.

1712. August. her Majeſty's utmoſt aſſurances of her reſolution to ſupport your ſucceſſion; and to do every thing which may quiet the minds of thoſe who are in earneſt for it.

Your Royal Highneſs's great ſagacity will eaſily diſtinguiſh thoſe, who clamour becauſe they have not all the power they deſire, and that, in a country torn by faction, which has been twenty years in gathering ſtrength, miſrepreſentations are unavoidable; but it is with pleaſure I can aſſure you, that the generality of the nation center in your ſucceſſion; and as your ſerene family are to reign over the whole nation, ſo you are too wiſe to be attached to a party.

The Queen's intereſt in the hearts of her people, has made her repeated declarations, in favour of your illuſtrious houſe, make great impreſſions on the people's minds; and I take leave to aſſure your Royal Highneſs, from many years experience and obſervation, that I am certain that this is a ſteady and fixed reſolution in the Queen, to ſecure and confirm your ſucceſſion; and as I have never varied in my zeal for it, ſo I ſhall make it my ſtudy to watch every occaſion to promote the intereſt of your Royal Highneſs, and particularly, to cultivate that friendſhip with the Queen which is ſo neceſſary for this good end, which I know her Majeſty ſincerely deſires; and I doubt not, but your ſerene family will think it to be for your intereſt, the world ſhould publickly know there is this good harmony. This will be a very effectual way to make the acceſſion to the throne eaſy and the poſſeſſion of it ſafe: my utmoſt wiſhes are to be ſerviceable to ſo good an end, and to convince your Royal Highneſs of the great veneration with which I am,

MADAM,

Your Royal Highneſſes

Moſt devoted, moſt humble, and moſt obedient ſervant,

OXFORD and MORTIMER.

The Earl of Oxford to the Princeſs Sophia.

September. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

London, Sept. 6, 1712.

"IT is, with the profoundeſt reſpect, that I do myſelf the honor to preſent your Royal Highneſs with my moſt humble duty, and to give you thoſe aſſurances, by letter, which my kinſman, Mr. Harley, has done, on my part, by word of mouth.

Give

Give me leave alſo, in the moſt humble manner, to return your Highneſs my thanks for the favour you have been pleaſed to ſhew Mr. Harley. Your goodneſs has obliged a whole family, and in a moſt particular manner, myſelf, who am, with the utmoſt duty and zeal for your perſon and moſt ſerene family, &c." 1712. September.

The Elector of Hannover to Queen Anne.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Herrenhauſen, Sept. 27, 1712.

"MR. Harley gave me the letters of the 8th of January and 11th of June, with which your Majeſty was pleaſed to honour me. I received, with the greateſt gratitude, this freſh mark of your kindneſs. It is impoſſible to be more ſenſible than I am, of the care which your Majeſty continues to take of the intereſt of my family. After the efforts which Great Britain has made during this war, there is no doubt, but the allies will be pleaſed to ſee her reap proportionable advantages, but at the ſame time, they have reaſon to flatter themſelves, that they ſhall feel the good effects of the obliging aſſurances, which your Majeſty has been pleaſed to give of procuring them a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction.

I am acquainted with Mr. Harley's merit; though the confidence which your Majeſty places in him, would alone have been a ſufficient inducement to me to eſteem him in a diſtinguiſhed manner. I doubt not, but he will make a faithful report to your Majeſty of my gratitude for your kindneſs, and of the inviolable reſpect, with which I am, &c."

The Princeſs Caroline to Queen Anne.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Hanſe, Sept. 29, 1712.

"I Received, with a moſt profound reſpect, the letter with which your Majeſty was pleaſed to honour me by Mr. Harley. It is impoſſible to be more grateful than I am, Madam, for all the favours which your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to ſhew me, and I humbly beſeech you to continue them to me, as to one who is fully ſenſible of their value, and who is, with a moſt perfect ſubmiſſion, &c."

The

1712 November.

The Princeſs Sophia to Queen Anne.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Nov. 12, 1712.

"AFter the favour which your Majeſty has been pleaſed to confer upon me, by honouring me with ſuch eſſential proofs of your good will by Mr. Harley, I imagined it was my duty to teſtify to you, by the baron de Grote, that I am truly grateful and reſpectfully devoted to you, and to whatever may contribute to your glory and your intereſt: I hope, Madam, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to hear him favourably, eſpecially when he aſſures you of my reſpects, and how much I wiſh to be honoured with your commands, in order to ſhow, by my obedience, that I am, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers.

The Elector of Hannover to Queen Anne.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Gohrde, Nov. 13, 1712.

"I Would imagine I made an unſuitable return to the continuance of the kindneſs with which your Majeſty honours me, and to the obliging aſſurances of it I have lately received by Mr. Harley, if I delayed to teſtify to your Majeſty how ſenſible I am of this, by ſending to your court a miniſter, in whom I place confidence. I have choſen for this purpoſe the baron de Grote, who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your Majeſty. I beſeech you to give a favourable attention to whatever he ſhall have to repreſent to you, and to be perſuaded that the ſole view of ſending him, is to convince your Majeſty that I ſhall never neglect any opportunity of giving you proofs of my gratitude for your kindneſs, and of the inviolable reſpect with which I am, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 1.

Robethon to Baron de Grote.

Additions to, and explanations of, the Inſtructions he received before he ſet out for England.—He is to aſk a penſion for the Electreſs.—He is not to give money to poor Lords, as Bothmar gave them reaſon to expect.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Gohre, Nov. 26, 1712.

"I Arrived from Garlow, with Mr. de Bernſtorff, but an hour before the departure of the poſt, ſo that I muſt anſwer, in great hurry, the letter with which your Excellency honoured me. It were to be wiſhed you had made theſe difficulties while you were here.

I never

1712. November.

I never told you that I would inſert the names of the regents in the blanks left in the copy of the inſtrument; there is not even room for them. I gave you the names of thoſe who were formerly, and who are now intended to be regents (to which have been added ſince, lord Lexington, lord Polwarth, and lord Annandale). There are ſeveral remarks on the laſt, and a cypher concerning the Queen's health.—Your Excellency muſt avoid to diſcover to any one that theſe names are known to you.

I come now to your remarks.

1. While lord Bolingbroke is ſecretary of ſtate, to whom ſhall your Excellency addreſs yourſelf? and how can you avoid to pay ſome attentions to him?

There will be no occaſion for this, if he is deprived of that poſt.

2. The officers which the Electreſs is to have in England, are but very few in number. She herſelf inſiſts to offer the nomination of them to Harley.

I added that to your inſtructions, contrary to my own opinion. But you are to underſtand it ſo, only in caſe your Excellency ſees no proſpect of ſucceeding in the affair without that offer; for if you can obtain the penſion ſimply, without any limitations or conditions, it will be certainly ſo much the better, and the Electreſs will be the more obliged to you.

3. The Elector would very much diſguſt thoſe who want now, by way of precaution againſt a caſe which is ſcarcely poſſible, to put him to the trouble of naming regents by ſeparate inſtruments.

The act of parliament gives that power only to the neareſt heir; therefore the Elector has it not, and the validity of his nomination at this time might be diſputed. It is to be hoped that the Queen and the Electreſs will not die in the ſame week.

4. As their Electoral Highneſſes always aſſured the Queen and her miniſters that none of the family would go to England without her Majeſty's conſent; that will be ſtill the caſe, if a penſion is granted to the Electreſs, and being under that new obligation to the Queen, they will be the more diſpoſed thereby, to do nothing but in concert with her. Beſides, the more the ſucceſſion is firmly eſtabliſhed, the leſs will the

preſence

1712. November. preſence of the ſucceſſor be neceſſary. Add to this the paſt conduct of their Electoral Highneſſes; for each party, in their turn, incited them to apply for an invitation to go to England, and they always rejected all theſe intrigues, being determined to do nothing in that reſpect, unleſs the Queen entreated them to it.

5. It is not probable that the Engliſh miniſtry will ſtipulate, on paying our arrears, that the troops will not return again to the Low Countries. If they ſhall think of any thing ſo fooliſh, your Excellency will be ſo good as to write about it to our maſter, and to wait for his orders.

6. Monſieur de Bothmar having given ſome poor lords reaſon to expect ſmall penſions, our maſter would never hear of it; therefore, your Excellency is in the right not to give a preſent of a crown without orders; you may demand them when the opportunity offers. If the houſe will enable you to make donations when you judge proper, or obtain the permiſſion of his Electoral Highneſs, let them do ſo. For my ſhare, I am a mere cypher when it is neceſſary to aſk a penny; and I cannot at all meddle in the affair. I am, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Extracts of a letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia.

MADAM, Hague, Dec. 11, 1712.

"NOT being able to write your Royal Highneſs any thing certain from England, I thought it better to differ the honour I now do myſelf till my return hither, that I may be able to give your Royal Highneſs ſome account of the true ſtate of my negociation.—I hope, in time, others will be like them [the Dutch], convinced of their errors, and ſee the Queen's miniſters have nothing leſs in their thoughts than the intereſt of the Pretender. I am glad the Elector has ſent Mr. Grot to England, who may make up what the other had ſpoiled, ſince your Royal Highneſs and your illuſtrious family has more friends in England than ſome miſchievous people would have you believe; for I am really of opinion that there is not one of a thouſand in the whole iſland that is a Jacobite, the proteſtant ſucceſſion is truly the intention and deſire of the people, even thoſe who have not had the honour of knowing ſo perfectly your Royal Highneſs, and the ſincere affection you really have for the Engliſh. I hope the nation will do nothing to demerit it; at leaſt I

will anſwer for myſelf, that I ſhall faithfully endeavour to ſhow your Royal Highneſs, and all the world, that there is no body with greater zeal and reſpect, &c." 1712. December.

Robethon to the Baron de Grote.

Original. Hannover papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 2.

Directions about his paſſage.—The guarantee of the ſucceſſion in the Barrier Treaty.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Hannover, December 16th, 1712.

"I Received your Excellency's letter of the 13th. I fear the contrary winds may detain you in Holland, longer than you wiſh. It is proper to take care that the captain of the yacht has not ſecret orders to delay your departure. When once he has your baggage on board, your paſſage will depend upon him, and he may loſe a fair wind on frivolous pretexts. The pacquet would have been leſs convenient, but more expeditious. Pleaſe ſpeak on this ſubject to his excellency Monſieur de Bothmar.

I am very well pleaſed there is a likelihood that the troops of his Electoral Highneſs will remain in their quarters on the Demer. The earneſt deſire of the Dutch to keep them, is a proof that they are determined to ſtand their ground, which is the only good plan they can purſue.

I don't doubt but the article of the barrier treaty, which ſtipulates the guarantee of our ſucceſſion is that which has vexed moſt the diſaffected; and they would chooſe, no doubt, to ſubſtitute, in its place, ſome bolder daſh, to tie up the hands of the Dutch, and hinder them from meddling, in any reſpect, in the Engliſh ſucceſſion. Your Excellency will ſee more nearly in England the intention of that faction, and if they ſhall prevail in parliament."

The remaining part of this letter concerns the affairs of Germany.

1712. December. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked ✱ Bothmar 10. No. 3.

The ſame to the ſame.

Lord Strafford's letter to the Electreſs concerning Bothmar.—The guarantee in the Barrier Treaty.

Tranſlation.

Extracts.

Hannover, December 20th, 1712.

——"I AM much obliged to your Excellency, for your letter of the 17th. When Mr. Whiteworth paſſed through this place a fortnight ago, he ſaid that the Peregrine yacht had orders to wait for him; ſo that you will have a travelling companion in him. It would be diſagreeable to miſs the wind, when it is favourable.

I entreat Monſieur de Bothmar to communicate to you the tranſlation of the letter written by lord Strafford to the Electreſs. He hopes, he ſays, your Excellency will make up in England what your predeceſſors had ſpoiled. To encourage you then, he ought not, at leaſt, to have turned his back to you. You will ſee there a great many who behave in that genteel manner.

The new method which theſe gentlemen take to guarantee our ſucceſſion in the new Barrier Treaty they offer, is infinitely captious. I don't know if his Electoral Highneſs will take notice of it ſo far, as to ſend orders to your Excellency, and to Monſieur de Bothmar on the ſubject. It is principally neceſſary to ſee firſt, what the States General will reſolve; and, if they will ſubmit to the terms which their good friend, lord Straf-ford, takes ſo much merit to himſelf for having procured to them. If they do, and the ſame torrent carries the Emperor along, and gives us a bad general peace, your Excellency will eaſily judge it will be impoſſible for us, in that caſe, to ſpeak entirely in the ſame tone in England, in which we would ſpeak if the war was continued.

Extracts

Extracts from the Electress's answer to the Earl of Strafford.

1712. December. Copy. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Translation.

Hannover, December 24th, 1712.

"I Have not only received the news of your safe arrival in Holland, with a great deal of pleasure, but I was also very well pleased, that the Queen conferred upon you a singular mark of her esteem, by giving you the order of the garter; for I interest myself very particularly in whatever gives you satisfaction."——"There are unlucky stars, and they have proved so to the Baron de Bothmar, according to what you say. I don't know, however, that they have been able to prove any thing against his conduct. It is to be hoped, that the Baron de Grote will be more lucky, though he cannot have better intentions than the other."——"But how is it possible to please every one, in a country where men kill one another in diversion, and where every individual follows his own opinion? Those who went from this place, never had any other orders but to address themselves to the Queen and to her council, as they might have told you. The nation gives, at least, room for reflections, on account of the different books and pamphlets which are published every day. They diverted me, while I was confined to my room by a Saint Anthony's fire, which I had in my head. To comfort me, they said it was a disorder of young people, but I do not find that I am become younger by it. I am, &c.

STUART PAPERS.

1713.

1713. THOUGH the attachment of the earl of Oxford to the proteſtant ſucceſſion had embarraſſed the intrigues of the Jacobites, throughout the year 1712, the moſt fatal ſtroke to their cauſe was the death of the duke of Hamilton. That nobleman was killed unfairly in a duel, in Hyde-park, on the 15th of November, while he was upon the point of ſetting out for France, in the character of ambaſſador-extraordinary. The ſecret object of his embaſſy, the Jacobites affirmed, was to obtain the Iriſh regiments in the French ſervice, to be conveyed with the Pretender, in a clandeſtine manner, to Scotland. The Queen herſelf, eager for the eventual ſucceſſion of her brother, is ſaid to have approved of this ſcheme. Her object was to enter into a treaty with the Pretender upon his arrival; by which ſhe was to permit him to remain, during her own life in Scotland, under the character of preſumptive heir of the crown. His friends in parliament were ſo numerous, that ſhe formed no doubt of being able to repeal the act of ſettlement. Theſe meaſures were prevented by the duke's death. But the Jacobites continued their intrigues, in Great Britain, with unabating diligence, and entertained great hopes of ſucceſs. The nation owed the diſappointment of their ſchemes to the timidity of their leaders, and the enthuſiaſm of the Pretender himſelf, in adhering to the Romiſh faith, contrary to the advice of all his friends. The following papers throw a new and very important light on the hiſtory of the preſent year. The ſecret intrigues of both parties are diſtinctly marked and accurately related; and a chain of facts is continued, in a manner that gives them authenticity.

A Letter

A Letter from Mr. Rogers [Plunket].

1713. January. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 37.

It is his own original letter; and was probably addreſſed to Sir William Ellis, as the key is in his hand.

News from England, and meaſures taken for the Pretender's ſervice.

"MRS. White tells me, you would have your letters addreſſed to Mr. Hackett. I can't give you a ſatisfactory account of matters till I have a key. I can tell you now that the Wudly [Whigs] deſign to ply the Carres [church of England] very warmly ſoon; there is, to my knowledge, ſuch another bomb as Mr. Williams [prince Eugene] was, flung in among them, which will make more for Mr. Jenkins [the King] ſtill. Mr. Harris [Harley] will be hard put to: the better for you.

Mr. Jenkins [the King], when he returns, will have a competent allowance given him; a part, to gratify his friends and ſervants: things will do well in the end. I laid things before Mr. Harris [Harley] and Tom [lord Mulgrave] that may turn to Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] account. I ſhall ſend you a detail of the matter by Mrs. White in a few days; becauſe I know it will pleaſe you. I am much yours,

J. R. [PLUNKET.]

Extract of a letter from Abbé Innes to the Earl of Middleton.

Original. Ibid. No. 49.

Middleton had followed his maſter, when he was obliged to retire from St. Germains.—The Tories propoſe to the Pretender to change his religion.

January 2d, 1713.

——"YOUR lordſhip will have ſeen Abram's laſt of the 9th, I think it is, with a very bold title-page and concluſion of a pamphlet, which the Queen ſent laſt night to the King. I ſend here the Review and Flying Poſt, which came in the ſame letter. I hope to be at Paris, Wedneſday, and ſhall obſerve the Queen's and your lordſhip's directions, in dealing with Mr. Stoner and Mr. Philips. By what Sir William told me at parting, I find he had already engaged Mr. Philips to correſpond with him; ſo ſhall come too late as to that. At the ſame time, I preſſed Sir William to know what he meant by the encouragement, he had before told both the Queen and me, their college had to be ſo uneaſy to the King about religion. He ſaid their encouragement proceeded from their reflecting that King Charles had been Catholic long

1713. January. before the reſtoration; yet that he temporiſed and never declared himſelf Catholic, till upon his death-bed; and that this encouraged them to hope, that the King, ſeeing the impoſſibility of his being reſtored without temporiſing, in the ſame manner, might be perſuaded to it. I let him ſee the caſe was no way the ſame; for whatever inclinations King Charles might have had to the Catholic Religion, he never was received into the church, till his laſt illneſs; whereas the King has been educated from his infancy in the Catholic Religion, and has all his life made open profeſſion of it. He could not but own the difference of the caſe; but ſeemed not to believe that King Charles had not been received Catholic before his reſtoration, though certainly he was not. However, he repeated again, that the King ſhould be no more teazed upon that ſubject.

My lord Newcaſtle happening to tell me, that he was acquainted with my lord Argyle, who is now at Paris, and that he would go to ſee him, I thought myſelf authoriſed, by your lordſhip's letter, to deſire him make your compliments, and return your thanks to that lord, for his civilities ſhewn to my lord Clermont and his brother; and the ſame compliment ſhall be made by my lord Maxwell, who is ſtill at Paris; for, as your lordſhip ſays, the more ways it comes to him the better."

The following letter was probably written by either Charles or Henry Straton, to the earl of Middleton or Sir William Ellis. The key is in Mr. Nairne's hand; and it appears, from the foreign poſtage paid for it, that it was ſent from Edinburgh.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 28.

Extract of a letter from "James Forbes to Jacques Clerice, at Mr. Hacket's, merchant, Rotterdam."

Anecdotes concerning the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke.

Evens, January 3d, 1713.

"YOUR friend Mr. Cary [Lockhart] writes to me from Porter's [London] quarters, that he is in friendſhip with Mr. Bruce z f p p v o z i n q y [Bolingbroke], and has lately had much freedom of converſation with him, by which he thinks Bruce [Bolingbroke] an honeſt man, and much in your uncle Frank's [the King's] intereſt; but, at the ſame time, he thinks Bruce [Bolingbroke] is not altogether well with

Mr. Gould's ſucceſſor [Harley], and ſeems confident that the latter is not pleaſed with the other's conduct in Fox's [France] family; and by what Cary [Mr. Lockhart] draws from Bruce [Bolingbroke], he judges Bruce doubts of Gould's good intentions. Whatever may be in this matter, it is fit Mr. Manning [earl Middleton] ſhould know it; and though it may be hard to penetrate into this dark man's deſigns, it ſeems almoſt impoſſible he can long conceal them; and it is thought his firſt; or at furtheſt ſecond meeting with Porter [the parliament] will diſcover much, which I heartily pray may be as you and I wiſh. 1713. January.

I am told from very good hands, that Mr. Harry h vi Gſn ſmo a niy [Thomas Hanmer] is a man of great parts, and has a mighty intereſt with, and influence on, both Mr. Porter [the parliament] and Mr. Gould [Harley] ſo that if there could be ways and means found to engage him to your couſin Knowld's [the King's] intereſt, it is thought he is capable to do very important ſervices. I cannot, to this minute, think on poor unfortunate Aſhby [duke of Hamilton] but with grief, eſpecially when I reflect what a loſs his death is to your uncle [the King], which is hard to be repaired in Stuart's [Scotland] family; for in it I do not know the head that can every way fill Aſhby's [duke Hamilton's] bonnet: but we muſt ſubmit to Providence, and I hope God will raiſe up other inſtruments, both capable and willing to give due aſſiſtance and ſupport to your uncle [the King] in his moſt juſt cauſe. So, wiſhing you and all your friends a happy new year, I bid you adieu, and am faithfully theirs and your moſt obedient

JA. FORBES.

Extracts of a letter from Lord Newcaſtle to the Earl of Middleton.

The Duke of Argyle's reception in France.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

St. Germains, January 4th, 1713.

"I Was, yeſterday, at Verſailles, where I ſaw the lord Argyle. He came there the night before, and ſaluted the King yeſterday at his levee. Some time after, he was ſent for into the cloſette, where he ſtayed about half an hour. It is not to be imagined what a puder all the court kept about him; as they do about the leaſt fellow that comes out of England, providing he be a Proteſtant or a parliament-man. Lord Argyle had

1713. January. had two mareſchals of France and a captain of the guards attending him wherever he went, which were the mareſchal de Villeroy, Tallard, and the duke de Noailles; a crowd of other courtiers following him, as if they would carrye him on their ſhoulders. He went laſt night to Paris, and parts, as he ſays, this day towards England; though he was much invited to make ſome ſtay. I was aſſured yeſterday, from a very good hand, who had it from Mr. de Torcy, that the Queen's jointure was abſolutely conſented to; and that it will not admit of the leaſt difficulty, the moment a peace is concluded."

Mr. Lilly to Sir William Ellis.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 27.

This letter, like the reſt of Mr. Lilly, is ſigned H. S. but it is marked on the back in Sir William's hand, "Mr. Lilly, $\frac{9}{20}$ January, 1713." It was ſent, according to Sir William's uſual addreſs, to Mr. Edward Jones, at Mr. Hacket's, merchant in Rotterdam. It is in affected bad ſpelling. Before it, is a memorandum by Mr. Nairne, mentioning that the letters which follow were written from England in 1713, by Lamb, Rogers, Mrs. White, Clinch, Straton, &c.

January 9th.

"YORS of the 30th paſt is with mi, in which a bill of fortin pounds eght ſhill for yor cuſen Hannah [Mr. Lilly], which ſhe has reſeved, and returns her thanks. Yor lau ſute is at a ſtand til term, which nou ſſon cums on. If you heve ani direkſons to give in the mene time, they ſhall bi followed. Pray God ſend you and us al a happi nieu yere. I hope you have ſeen Ned, tho' hi has litel to ſay. Your friend Lowry [Mr. Lilly's ſon] is nou with mi, and ſends you meny and meny ſervices. Prey rememmer mi kindly to Manley [lord Middleton] and Jackſon [Mr. Ineſe]. I rejoize to here of Mrs. Kirkton's [the King's] gud helth. God kontinue and inkreaſe it, and ſend us wance mor a happy miting, when there is eney wurth you ſhal know.

Yors ſinſerli and afektianatly.

H. S.

Extract

Extract of a letter from Abbé Ineſe.

1713. January. Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 12.

Jacobitiſm of Sir Thomas Hanmer.—Whiggiſh ſchemes of the Earl of Oxford.

Paris, January 9, 1713.

"LAST night I had a viſit from Phil §, who began with many excuſes, for his knight's [Sir Thomas Hanmer] having received the letter, as he did; and again repeated, that, as far as he could diſcover, the knight was an abſolute enemy to the Hannover ſucceſſion, and conſequently, that, at bottom, he muſt be our friend; though he was ſo reſerved, that it was hard to diſcover his machinations, and when he ſpoke, thought himſelf obliged to ſpeak in conformity to the preſent ſtanding acts of parliament. He told me at the ſame time, that the knight was ſo far diſguſted with Honyton's [Oxford's] proceedings, that he was reſolved not to return to England, till he ſaw what turn affairs were like to take; that he had already taken meaſures for going to the ſouth of France, and from thence into Italy, and waited only the arrival of my lord Shrewſbury, from whom he expects more particular information; and that, if that lord did not ſatisfy him as to ſome things, that he would immediately ſet out for Montpelier. This he told me, as a very great ſecret, though it cannot be ſo long now; for my lord Shrewſbury is expected here, this very night. I find they are nettled at Hamden's, a notorious Whig, being taken into favour, and now to be ſent to Hannover; and that Honyton [Oxford] has lately put in ſome of the moſt violent Whigs to be high ſheriffs in ſome counties, on purpoſe to influence the next elections, in favour of the Whigs. He has promiſed to ſee me again, before my return to St. Germains, and then I may know if this knight's reputation holds."

Mrs. White to Sir William Ellis.

Ibid. No. 35.

Not dated, but ſuppoſed to have been written about this time, as it was "received January 19, 1713." It is ſigned H. Kinder; but Sir William Ellis marks on the back, that it was from Mrs. White, and when he received it. The key to it is in his hand.

Philips.

1713. January. *About the Queen's jointure.—The Earl of Oxford's trimming conduct.—He diſpleaſes both parties.—He has ſent Shrewſbury, and would wiſh to ſend Lord Mulgrave* [*Duke of Buckingham*] *out of the way.*

SIR,

"I Have received yours of the 25th of November, with great ſatisfaction, and have anſwered it before, and writ to you to the ſame effect of this; but ſince you direct me to ſend again, by the old direction, the laſt not being found good, for fear that may not come to your hands, I get my friend, who incloſes this to his correſpondent, to take care of it. Mr. Rogers ‡ told me, he would write, and deſired a new patron §: and that then he would ſend what would be very acceptable, on all accounts. It is certainly in his power to do it effectually, as you will find. What I earneſtly deſired in my laſt, was, that you would uſe all your intereſt to fix the remittance of Mrs. Rachel Jones's [the Queen's] money, which will be returned from hence, by our friend [Mr. Arthur] that incloſes this. There is none ſo proper: his known honour, and integrity, and ſubſtance, is ſo unqueſtionable, that I think there cannot be the leaſt objection; but as the thing is conſiderable, one does not know what intereſt may be made. I did beg and do again, that you will be pleaſed to move it heartily. Mrs. Phillips [lady Middleton] can get it determined for him, with a word's ſpeaking; and as I told you before, Mrs. Harris [Harley] did deſire it may be ſo. He ſpoke to Mr. Rogers's friend to get it done; for he eſteems him it is deſired for. He ſent for him to him, and deſired him to remit a conſiderable ſum "for him that was of the beſt quality, that has been laſtly with you" [Secretary St. John], on Mrs. Dian. Mansfield's [princeſs Anne's] account; ſo that I beg you to get an anſwer from Mrs. Rachel Jones [the Queen], if it be not already done. As I begged before, you may, if you pleaſe, ſend yours to his correſpondent, to ſend the ſhort way, and it will come ſafe. I cannot change my opinion of him I have named [Mr. Harley]. On Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] account, he would engage all; but keeps the balance in his own power, to give a turn the way he thinks will prove moſt ſuitable to continue for his own private intereſt. He makes himſelf many enemies, and ſecures but few friends; for thoſe that are in Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] intereſt, abo-

‡ Plunket. § Cypher.

minate

minate the trimming way he takes; and he will not be able to go on much longer, without giving ſome other demonſtration than he yet has. Mr. Tom Smith [lord Mulgrave] is ſincere, and he will not be led in ſo dark a path. When Mr. Medlicote [the parliament] comes, there will be another ſtorm raiſed againſt him. Would Mr. Sandy [Hannover] come into his meaſures, he would, we all do believe, join entirely with him; and that is the reaſon, thoſe that are entirely for Mr. Jenkins [the King] do ſo rail and hate him. He depends only upon the widow's [princeſs Anne's] opinion of him, which will fail him, if Mr. Thomas Smith [lord Mulgrave] and his friends can prevail upon her. Mrs. Philips's nephew [lord Shrewſbury] will not do any thing in favour of Mrs. Rachel Jones's [the King's] relations. He is a very cautious man, and hates his principles, though he may wiſh otherways well, in ſome ſenſe. He is ſent to be out of Mr. Harris's [Harley's] way. He could wiſh without doubt, to get Mr. Tom [lord Mulgrave] away, on any plauſible account; but he acts ſuch a game, that cannot hold long, becauſe neither ſide can depend on him. The next term will ſhow a great deal what we have to truſt to. We have very good council, that will do the utmoſt at that hearing. You ſhall have a particular account how all paſſes. Mrs. White would beg, that if it were poſſible, you would get your friend, Sam Brown [Sir William Ellis], to ſend her, by ſome of thoſe that have now a privilege to carry what they pleaſe, twenty ells of taffeta, ſuch as they wear for mantuas, in ſummer, of a bright blue. It will take but little room, and it would oblige a friend of hers, if it could be done. It generally coſts a crown or ſomething more an ell. Pardon this trouble, and believe me moſt ſincerely, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant."

1713. January.

Extracts of a Letter from Father Innes to the Earl of Middleton.

Intrigues at St. Germains.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

Paris, January 9, 1713.

"I Never was more ſurpriſed, than when the Queen ſhewed me ſome letters the King had ſent her about Mr. Maſſey [lord Middleton], and the more I think of it, the more I am convinced, that villany muſt proceed originally, either from the Iriſh, to remove one they generally look upon as none of their friends, and to make way for one of their

1713. January. friends; or elſe, that it is a trick of the Whigs invention, to ruin Jonathan [the King], by inſinuating a correſpondence with them to give jealouſy to the other party; and by that means, to deprive Jonathan of the only perſon capable of giving him advice. They ſay Jonathan's friends deſire this removal: theſe good friends have of late found themſelves mightily diſappointed, in their threatening Jonathan, as they have done, unleſs he complyed, or as they term it, temporized in point of religion. It is very probable, they think Mr. Maſſey has contributed to his being fixed in that point, and may therefore have been glad of any pretext to get him removed."

The chevalier de St. George was, at this time, at Chalons ſur Marne, waiting for a ſafe-conduct from the duke of Lorrain, who did not think himſelf at liberty to give him one, without obtaining a ſafe-conduct for him, at the ſame time, from the Emperor. There are ſeveral letters from Mr. O Rouerke to the earl of Middleton, on this ſubject.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

Mr. O Rouerke to the Earl of Middleton.

Paſſports for the Pretender's removal to Lorraine.

Nancy, January 17, 1713.

"I Send your lordſhip incloſed a copy of the paſſport the duke deſigns to join with the Emperor's ſafe-conduct, which he received free from any burdenſome condition, as your lordſhip will ſee by Mr. de Craon's letter to me, which I join here, as giving an exact account of the ſtate of that affair. I do not know, whether the duke intends to charge me, either to ſend or carry the originals of theſe inſtruments, when he has his anſwer from the French Court; but ſtill I ſhall wait for his orders in that. I do not queſtion, my lord, but you will like the obliging manner that the duke's paſſport is worded, and am confident the King will find all the ſatisfaction he can wiſh for, in the duke's carriage towards him. I hope a cloſer neighbourhood will very ſoon create betwixt both, what is not common among ſovereigns, which is perſonal friendſhip. I hope your lordſhip will pardon me this reflection, and ſtand perſuaded, that no man is with a truer veneration, &c."

Mr. Craon's Letter to O Rouerke, mentioned in the preceding. 1713. January.

Tranſlation.

Luneville, January 17th, 1713.

"I Had the honour of writing to you, Sir, ſome days ago, that his Royal Highneſs had received from Vienna, a ſafe conduct for the chevalier de St. George, in the terms he wanted; and as the ſafe-conduct gives him no deſignation, but what will be comprehended in the paſſport of his Royal Highneſs, he ſent for Mr. D'Audiffret to inform him of it. He ſhowed him, at the ſame time, the paſſport, which he intends to give to the chevalier de St. George, of which Mr. D'Audiffret has taken a copy, to ſend it to his court, and to know from the King's miniſters, if it will ſuit in the terms propoſed. The King's anſwer will be known in four or five days. Theſe unavoidable delays, in ſuch a caſe, have hindered his Royal Highneſs from acquainting the chevalier de St. George ſooner with what he hath done, both at Vienna and in Holland, to ſatisfy him. He will have the anſwer of the States-general, before the end of the month, and hopes it will be conformed to that of the Emperor. He orders me to write to you all that has been done in this affair, in order that you may inform my lord Middleton of it, and that his Royal Highneſs may have the merit of all his diligence with the King. You will find incloſed a copy of the paſſport, with which his Royal Highneſs propoſes to furniſh him, and which you will be ſo good as to convey to my lord Middleton, &c."

Extract of a Letter from Lord Newcaſtle to the Earl of Middleton. Original. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

Paris, Jan. 24th, 1713.

——"AS to my lord Sroſbery [Shrewſbury, then ambaſſador at Paris] I can give you but very little account of him, for as I find, he is reſolved to keepe himſelfe out of the way of any of us, and he has as good as declared himſelfe upon that point.—I came hither this night, becauſe Sir Thomas Hanmart [Hanmer] and his company part very ſoon for Italy; we ſhall, I believe, meet wance before he goes away, and I will try to get ſomething out of him."

There was a Mr. Henry Straton, who received a ſmall penſion from the court of St. Germains, and to whom Nairne wrote ſeveral letters, under

1713. January. der the name of Scot; and there was a Mr. Charles Straton, who managed lord Clermont's eſtate, and is frequently mentioned in Nairne's letters, under the name of MacFarling. The following letter is ſuppoſed to have been written to Henry, aſſuring him, that the Pretender and lord Middleton had no predilection for England in preference to Scotland, and that both of them were averſe from the Union.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 48.

Nairne to Straton.

January 25, 1713.

"MANING [lord Middleton] being informed, that he is complained of, as being a friend to Uperton [the union], and that he neglects Stirling [Scotland], and minds only Eſtmore [England]; Straton was deſired to undeceive Stirling's relations [the Scots] upon theſe points, by telling them what he knew himſelf to be matter of fact. As to Uperton [the union], that Maning [Middleton] had ſent him directions to get all friends to oppoſe him, when his law-ſuit was depending; that Maning had not changed his opinion ſince; and that to accuſe him of being Uperton's [the union's] friend, was, in a manner, accuſing him to be friend to Hally [Hannover], than which nothing could be more ridiculous. And as to his neglecting Stirling [Scotland], whoever thought ſo were very unjuſt to him; for, on the contrary, Joſeph [the King] and he had a true value for Stirling [the Scots], and more confidence in him than in their richer relations; but that, in this nice conjuncture, they could not trade, neither with Eſtmore [England] nor Stirling [Scotland], becauſe Joſeph [the King] was adviſed to be quiet, and ſay nor do nothing, till he could ſee clearer into the dark doings of the chief director of trade, leſt in claſhing with him he ſhould ruin himſelf."

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

Extracts of a Letter from Mr. O Rouerke to the Earl of Middleton. Concerning the Emperor's ſafe conduct and the Duke of Lorrain's paſſport.

Lunneville, January 26, 1713.

"I Came here and acquitted myſelf of your lordſhip's commands near the duke, in returning him the King's thanks for his kind offices. He anſwered me, that his deſign to oblige the King, would induce him to do a great deal more, if it lay in his power, and appeared glad that the expreſſion of his Majeſty's paſſport was to his Majeſty's liking, as he deſigned

deſigned it. As to the Emperor's ſafe conduct, it is ſtill the ſame with the copy I had the honour to ſend your lordſhip ſome time ago; but the duke had an explicatory letter, that diſpenſes him from the hard conditions impoſed upon him by the former, though, in effect, it meant nothing, that could lay any eſſential obligation upon the duke, to be reſponſible for the King's conduct, &c. it being what they call Stile de chancellerie, and intended rather as an admonition, than a binding condition, to which his Royal Highneſs holds himſelf liable.—In his ſecond letter from the Emperor, he has what ſecures and ſatisfies his nicety upon that point; ſo that he deſigns to ſend to your lordſhip, the Emperor's and his own paſſport, as ſoon as he has his anſwer from the court of France, which is not yet come. His Royal Highneſs expects alſo by the latter end of this month, an anſwer from Holland, about the ſafe conduct of that ſtate, and does not ſee any difficulty to be made of it." 1713. January.

January 28, 1713. "This day, his Royal Highneſs gave me the incloſed copy of the Emperor's laſt letter, in order to ſend it to your lordſhip. The reaſon why he has not ſent it ſooner was, that he feared your lordſhip might, by the tenour of this letter, apprehend ſtill that it implied a kind of injunction to his Royal Highneſs, to obſerve the King's demeanour, &c. But, as it is, in effect, but an exhortation from the Emperor, and that the duke is very far from acting any part that might be diſobliging to the King, or that did not become his own character; he hopes thoſe words, of courſe, ſuch as he looks upon them to be in the Emperor's letter, will not ſtartle your C. the main point, I think is, that his Royal Highneſs is well enough ſatisfied, that, by that letter, he lies under no obligation to anſwer for any of the King's actions.

He has an account from Holland, that his envoy having told the biſhop of Briſtol the Emperor's ſafe conduct was come, the letter was curious to know, by what name or qualification the Emperor ſpecified our King; and having read the copy of that inſtrument, appeared well enough pleaſed, that he was not at all named in it; but deſigned by the words *exhibitor preſentium*. The prelate told our envoy, that they (meaning the Engliſh) were obliged to the duke of Lorrain, for the care he took to facilitate the execution of one of the articles agreed upon betwixt them and France. The ſame letter gives an account, that the envoy had

writ

1713. January. writ to the penſionary, to know who he ought to addreſs himſelf to, for to ſolicit the State's ſafe conduct. The duke believes, that that of the Emperor's will ſerve for a model and a motive to diſpatch theirs. He expects, in a few days, a courier, that may inform him further about it, which I ſhall wait for.

The duke preſumes, that the ſafe conduct from England has been diſpatched a great while ago; his envoy there having writ poſitively to him, above three months ago, that he had been told ſo by the miniſter. Your lordſhip knows what there is of it, and may perhaps judge it proper to inform me of it; for if it be not granted yet, and that it may require the ceremony of being ſolicited by his Royal Highneſs, he is ready to act in that, according to inſtructions, and to do all things elſe that may contribute to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction and ſettlement at Bar."

Original. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

Queen Dowager to the Earl of Middleton.

Upon his leaving her ſon's ſervice.

St. Germains, January 28, 1713.

"I Have not had the heart, all this while, to write to you, upon the diſmal ſubject of your leaving the King; but I am ſure you are juſt enough to me, to believe, that it has and does give to me a great deal of trouble; and that which I ſee it gives the King increaſes mine. You tell me, in your laſt letter, upon Mr. Hamilton's coming away, that if your opinion had been followed, you had gone firſt; but I am ſure, if mine were, you ſhould never go firſt, nor laſt. But alas! I am grown ſo inſignificant, and ſo uſeleſs to my friends, that all I can do, is to pray for them, and God knows, my poor prayers are worth but little. I own to you, that as weary as I am of the world, I am not yet ſo dead to it, as not to feel the uſage the King and I meet with. His troubles are more ſenſible to me than my own; and if all fell only upon me, and his affairs went well, and he were eaſy, I think I could be ſo too: but we muſt take what God ſends, and as he ſends it, and ſubmit entirely to his will, which, I hope, in his mercy, he will give us grace to do; and then, in ſpite of the world, all will turn to our good.

You told me, in one of your former letters, that you were charmed with the King's being a good ſon. What do you think then I muſt be, that am the poor old doating mother of him? I do aſſure you, his kindneſs

kindneſs to me is all my ſupport under God; and I am confirmed of late more than ever, in my old obſervation, that the better you are with him, the kinder he is to me. But I am alſo charmed with him, for being a good maſter, and a true friend to thoſe that deſerve it from him; though I am ſorry from my heart, that you have ſo much cauſe of late to make the experience of it. M. R. 1713. January.

I ſay nothing to you of any buſineſs, nor of Mr. Hamilton, for I write all I know to the King, and it is to no purpoſe to make repetitions. I expect, with ſome impatience, and a great deal of fear, Humphrey's deciſion as to Francis."

Extracts of a letter from Lord Newcaſtle to the Earl of Middleton.

A converſation with Mr. Philips about the Pretender, the Earl of Middleton, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and the Earl of Oxford.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

St. Germains, Jan. 29, 1713.

"I Told him," (Mr. Philips) "that I would fain know, before he parted, what he thought of my maſter, and whether he had friends in England that he could depend upon. He anſwered, as to the firſt queſtion, that he was charmed with the character he had, and ſoe were a great many peopel in England, but that they were loth to ſhew themſelves, or venture any thing, whilſt he had ſo ill adviſers. I aſkt who thoſe were; he anſwered, that he ment a counſelle that was there, who made it their buſineſſe to give the King ill impreſſions of the proteſtants, and to make them odious to him, though they were the peopel from whom he was to expect moſt ſervice.——As I know my lord Middleton muſt have beene ment as wan of this counſelle, I aſkt him what was thought of him in England, and that I was ſure that no body that knew him, cod looke upon him as a bigot. He anſwered, that he was in very good eſteeme, and thoght very capable of buſſineſſe, but that ſince he changed his religion, they had not ſoe good an opinion of him. —After all this, I told him there cod be nothing more glorious for him, nor ſoe advantageous, as to be the means and inſtrument of bringinge the knight, his friend, into the King's intereſt; and that if he was ſoe honeſt a man as he often tould me he was, it ought not to be difficult; to which he anſwered, that if there was an honeſt man in England he was wan, which was anſwer enuffe, as he ſayd, to my queſtion; but that he,

1713. January. like others, wod be cautious, till they were ſhure of the peopel about the King; but that for his own particular, he wod dey to ſerve the King; and he made noe myſtery, but that tother was in his intereſt as much, if twere not for the aforeſaid raiſons.

I then aſkt him whether the great man Harle, he believed ever thoght of doing the King any good; he tould me that queſtion was very difficult to be anſwered; that when wan examined neerly ſeveral things that he does, a body might believe he had no good intentions; but that he was ſo cuning and cloſe a man, that wan ſhod not deſpayre of him, thogh he dos things that ſeeme very opoſite to our maſter's intereſt; and that his friend, the knight, knew no more of that particular then what he told me.—I tould him that, ſince their Queene cod not live for ever, that my thoghts Mr. Harle wod doe very prudently to ſtrike up with the King, to have all confirmed upon him, and continued to him by the King, after the death of their Queene. He anſwered, that if the King were maſter of his three kingdoms to-morrow, he wod not be able to doe for Mr. de Harle what the Elector of Hannovre has done alredy."

In the remaining part of the letter, he gives a very improbable account of Harley's receiving money from the Elector, and aſſures lord Middleton that Sir Thomas Hanmer and Mr. Philips were ſincerely in their maſter's intereſt.

"My countryman," Mr. Philips, "drinks the King's health upon his knees, and was kneeling before his pitcher in my houſe.—The knight expects to heere wans more from England before he goes back, for he is ſtill endeavouring to ſlip into Italie."

February. Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

Extract of a letter from Father Ineſe to the Earl of Middleton.

About the Earl of Middleton, Mr. Philips, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and Oxford.

St. Germains, Feb. 5, 1713.

"MR. Franklin's [the King's] letter to Mrs. Deering [the Queen], ſet me entirely at my eaſe as to Mr. Maſſy [lord Middleton]; and I now begin to hope that thoſe perſons who had any hand in the plot, will, upon ſecond thoughts, be ſo much aſhamed, that they will diſown

diſown their ever having meant a removal, as the college has diſowned their having preſſed Mr. Franklin upon the point of religion. 1713. February.

Yeſterday morning I delivered to Mr. Phe [Mr. Philips] Mr. Franklin's picture, which he received with great proteſtations of reſpect and gratitude; and ſaid he hoped to ſhew it where it would do good ſervice. He told me his knight [Sir Thomas Hanmer] and he, were to part for England the 13th, and did not diſown but his knight was like to be ſecretary, and himſelf to be employed about him. If that ſhould happen, he ſaid, he could not promiſe to write himſelf, but aſſured me, when he met with any thing which was for Mr. Franklin's ſervice, he would communicate it to Lilly or Abram, being particularly acquainted with both; and ſpoke very kindly, and with great eſteem, of the laſt. Meantime, he ſaid, there was one thing he thought himſelf obliged to mention, as being of great importance for Mr. Franklin; which was, that he ſhould ſhew kindneſs to proteſtants, and have as many of them about him as his preſent condition could allow. After that, he fell on Honyton [Harley], and ſharply enough blaming his conduct, and inſinuating very intelligibly that he was not like to ſupport himſelf long in the dark trimming methods he took, having few or no true friends at bottom, and diſobliging both parties more and more."

Mrs. White to Mr. Watſon.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No 35.

The beginning of the letter is abridged, in Sir William Ellis's hand, and made intelligible as follows.

"*A Copy of the two firſt pages of Mrs. White's letter of* $\frac{26 \text{ Jan.}}{6 \text{ Feb.}}$ 1713, *which are written in a cut paper.*"

Anecdotes of the Earl of Oxford.—He has promiſed his intereſt to the Elector of Hannover, who does not truſt him.—The King of France, by Oxford's means, muſt guarantee the ſucceſſion.

"MR. Harley has aſſured the D. of Hannover, by all that is ſacred, that he intends his faithful ſervice; and ſhowed that what he has done was to ſtem a tide, and that had he acted otherwiſe, it would have ruined all; and that, by being in with ſome Jacobites, he is come to the knowledge of all their deſigns, and knows their weakneſs and ſtrength; and by his ſon-in-law, he is come to a better intelligence with Hanno-

1713. February. ver; and that ſon was, and is, a great favourite at Hannover. But the Whigs ſo poſſeſſed Hannover of the trickiſh temper of Harley, that yet he does not entirely rely on him; but demands, for a proof of what he proteſts, that he will give him this proof, that he will get all the ſheriffs of each county in, that are Low Church, and a motly miniſtry, and the King of France to be guarantee for the ſucceſſion for him, and his ſon and grandſon to do the ſame; this, and all other terms which he demanded, Harley has promiſed to do all in his power to perform. And, on his ſide, Harley demands that it ſhall not be inſiſted on to have lord Wharton, nor any of thoſe that were in the miniſtry, who are his perſonal enemies, but ſuch as are for moderate ways. He would prove, that that ſet were againſt Hannover, and aimed at doing for themſelves; but he is content to have the late chancellor Cowper, and ſome of that ſtamp in, and this is to reconcile him to the body of the Whigs, and promiſes all aſſurances to him and his. This is now upon the anvil, and you may aſſure my lord Middleton of it, for I was told it by Mr. Cowper (brother to the late lord chancellor Cowper) as the greateſt ſecret, and I am ſure it is moſt true; his brother told it to him."

The laſt two pages of this letter are decyphered in the original.

"The perſon I have named is a very cunning falſe man, and has ſeveral of Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] friends frequently with him, only to draw all he can, to do him the more eſſential wrong. My council hates him [Harley], and uſes to repeat all his unfair practices; yet, at this time, owns that he has ſo warded againſt a ſtorm, that few beſides himſelf could have done; and added, that it was the opinion of all of his ſort, that if he gave the proofs which he had promiſed, and orders it ſo, to have the family of Medlecot [parliament] to be ſuch as they had been ſome years paſt, he will be in eſteem with thoſe that now hate him. Here is no public news. We that are called Whigs, are in great hopes things will go better; for all that can be done yet, to procure a parliament of Low Church Men, is done: the ſheriffs of each county, where there are any of that ſort of men pricked, they are choſen, though the counties are as averſe as ever, or more; and it is ſaid, there will be admitted into the council ſeveral of the ſame ſort. The French ambaſſador has inraged the people in bringing over ſo vaſt a quantity of wine, and ſuffering his ſervants to ſell it, from his own houſe, by retail, at ſix and

ſeven

ſeven ſhillings a bottle. I know ſeverals that have bought it ſo, and drank it in his cellar, and paid down their money there; and they ſell ſilk. The Spittle-field weavers have a deſign to pull down his houſe, becauſe they have bought and ſold great quantities of ſilk, they report, to the value of 200,000 *l.*; this breeds ill blood, and was very impoliticly done. Mr. Jacob [King of France], I am told, conſents to be ſurety for Mr. Sandy [Hannover], and his relation [King of Spain] the ſame. This is owing to Mr. Harris [Harley], and he, with Mr. Jacobs, now that is lately gone to him [lord Shrewſbury]. Your friend Mr. Bartholeme [Mr. Mathews*], is zealous for his chief [the King]: but what can they do? If they conſent to contradict Mr. Harris's [Harley's] meaſures, they will have their congée given them, and turned away, and now there is a way in the family to give their opinion, that the choice before them is writ to make it ſtand ſo, though it be quite wrong; that advantage they can have by thoſe that ſend up to them, it has been the practice theſe late years in that family; and all that can be done will be practiſed, notwithſtanding the general bent is otherwiſe. I have tired you, who am, with all eſteem, &c. 1713, February.

O Rouerke to the Earl of Middleton.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

Nancy, Feb. 9, 1713.

HE writes to the earl of Middleton, that the duke of Lorrain had received the anſwer of the French court, and that that court approved of the terms of the Emperor's ſafe conduct, and of the duke's paſſport. That the duke expected ſoon the ſafe conduct of the Dutch, and did not think it neceſſary to have one from the King of Pruſſia; ſince he muſt be underſtood to be comprehended in the Emperor's, as Elector of Brandenburgh, like the other princes of the empire.

The Queen to the Earl of Middleton.

Original. Ibid.

St. Germains, Feb. 9, 1713.

"I Find by yours of the firſt, that you look upon Pratler's laſt letter rather as a certificate, than a ſecurity for you; but I flatter myſelf that it will prove the one as well as the other; for, when things of that kind begin to cool, and that every body ſees that the King does not cool towards you, I think there is good reaſon to hope that they will puſh

* D. of Buckingham.

him

1713. February. him no more about it; and I believe it ſo much, that I have already made my compliments of congratulation to the King upon it, and deſired him to make them to you from me, not being able theſe two poſts to write to you, after having writ very long letters to himſelf. I am ſure you cannot doubt of the ſincerity of my compliments on this occaſion, in which the King and I are, at leaſt, as much concerned as yourſelf; and I do aſſure you, that had I thought your going from the King for his ſervice, I would have told you ſo, and adviſed him to let you go: but, as I think quite the contrary, I was bound to ſay it, as I did from the firſt moment I heard of this ſtrange propoſal, and as I ſhall continue to do, till I ſee cauſe to change my mind, which, if ever I do, (though very unlikely,) you ſhall be the firſt man that ſhall know it. But as to the troubleſome hero of this diſagreeable ſcene, I ſhall ſay nothing of him here; having already ſaid all I know or think of him to the King, whom I find is now very ſenſible how much he was miſtaken in his man. For lord Edward, I never heard a word of him, but good, till I ſaw the King's letter to Mr. Innes. I am very glad the King and you have ſo good an opinion of him, and I am fully perſuaded he deſerves it, as I am ſure you do all my eſteem and friendſhip, which you ſhall have as long as I live. M. R.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. P. 49.

Reaſons why the Pretender ſhould not nominate Biſhops.—The Jacobites are deſired to ſupport the Miniſtry.

SIR, February 13.

"I Communicated your letters of the 20th of January to Sir Joſeph [the King], in anſwer to which he has ordered me to tell you, that he is very ſenſible of Cowly's [church of England] friendſhip, and truly concerned for the right ſucceſſion of that worthy family; that the power he ſent ſome years ago, by Mr. Lamb, to conſtitute new overſeers [biſhops], where they were thought neceſſary, ſubſiſts ſtill, and impowers Cowly's relations [the High Church party] to act according to the tenor thereof, as occaſion offers, without need of renewing the ſame; but, ſince they are now deſirous of knowing Sir Joſeph's opinion, and to receive his further directions, before they proceed to the choice of any new overſeer, you are deſired, in the firſt place, to thank them for the regard and deference they have to Sir Joſeph in this matter; and in the next place,

place, to let them know that he is of opinion this is no proper time, either for himſelf or Cowly, to be making any new ſteps of that nature. 1713. February.

Firſt, Becauſe he is adviſed, by his beſt friends and wiſeſt lawyers, to make as few plain acts belonging to his character as poſſible, in his preſent circumſtances.

Secondly, Becauſe of the difficulty of ſecrecy in performing the thing, and the bad conſequences the knowledge thereof might produce in this juncture of time.

Thirdly, Becauſe the overſeers of Cowley's family, who are now in poſſeſſion, being by far the greater number, ought not, in prudence, to be provoked at this time.

For theſe, and other reaſons, Sir Joſeph thinks it will be much better, both for his own ſervice, and for the good of Cowley's family, to ſit quiet at preſent, and defer till a better opportunity, eſpecially ſince the thing has been delayed ſo long already. This you will be pleaſed to impart to Mr. Hartely and Mr. Lamb, and the other truſtees of the family, in anſwer to the commiſſion they charged you with, and aſſure them, at the ſame time, of the continuation of Sir Joſeph's friendſhip and eſteem for them.

You are alſo deſired to tell them to recommend to all their friends to aſſociate with Hickman [Harley] and company [the miniſtry], and go along with them in all their meaſures, according to the directions given laſt year to Morley; and particularly to caution his relations in Proby's family [the parliament], to move nothing of lady Jean's concerns in that company, unleſs it be in conjunction with How [princeſs Anne] and his factors [her miniſtry], who will be ſure to obſtruct any thing of that kind that comes not originally from themſelves; and ſuch a diſappointment would be irreparable."

MASSEY.

Nairne to Berry.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 50.

February 17.

"TO acknowledge his of the 19th January, and tell him the King was to part from Chalons Monday next, 20th inſtant, for Bar, and

1713. February. and that all Peacock's family [the Proteſtants], left at Stanley's [St. Germains], was to join him there immediately."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol iv. 4to. No. 49.

Extracts of Letters from On. O Rouerke, and Abbé Ineſe, to the Earl of Middleton.

Mr. O Rouerke to the Earl of Middleton.

About the Pretender's removing to Lorrain.

Lay, two leagues from Toul, Feb. 17, 1713.

Original. "THE honour of yours met me in this place; and I do admire that your lordſhip can be a ſtranger to the change of the King's reſidence. The French envoy told H. R. H. laſt Sunday, by order of his maſter, that the ſafe conducts being ſo ſlow a coming, it was reſolved our King ſhould come into Lorrain out of hand; and deſired to adjuſt with the duke the moſt convenient manner of lodging him at Nancy. H. R. H., ſurpriſed a little at this new diſpoſition, offered for that purpoſe his houſe at Nancy, as he did already that of Bar, &c."

Ibid. *Abbé Ineſe to the Earl of Middleton.*

A converſation with Mr. Philips, who complained that the Proteſtants were not encouraged.

February 18, 1713.

Original. "IF what we are told here be true, this will ſcarce find your lordſhip at Chalons. I came to town partly at Philips's deſire; but was diſappointed. He told me little new. The main complaint was of the King's not having Proteſtants about him, and ſhewing kindneſs; then ſaid, by way of exclamation, how many ways were taken to mortify honeſt Sir William Ellis, and to keep him from the King. I told him, I could not think Sir William himſelf would ſay ſo. Then he quarrelled Mr. Leſly's not being ſent for; that, if he were with the King, it would be of more weight with Proteſtants in England than four ſuch as Mr. Weſt, who had been long abſent, and was little known in England; whereas Leſly was of known reputation, and that either he or Downs ought to be there. I anſwered nothing as to Downs; but as to Leſly, that his health did not allow

allow him to make ſuch a journey, and that his preſence was thought more neceſſary in England. The proteſtation ſhall be made up ready in packets; but I ſhould be glad to have liſts of thoſe to whom they muſt be ſent, eſpecially in England, that there be no miſtakes. We ſhall begin with the two Holland gazettes, as ſoon as we know that the peace is ſigned." 1713. February.

The Pretender to Lewis the XIV.

"*Copy of the letter which James the Third, King of England, wrote to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, before he left France to go to Lorraine.*" Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 50.

Tranſlation.

SIRE, Chalons ſur Marne, Feb. 18th, 1713.

"WHAT terms ſhall I employ to expreſs my gratitude to your Majeſty, before I leave the aſylum which you have been pleaſed to grant me, almoſt ever ſince I was born, and which you do not permit me to leave, but in order to procure for me another more ſuitable, in the preſent ſtate of your affairs and of my own? Words fail me, to expreſs how my heart is penetrated, by the remembrance of your Majeſty's beneficence and former kindneſs towards me. The care you are now pleaſed to take of me, and of whatever concerns me, crowns the whole, and encourages me, in the ſad ſituation I am in, from the confidence I have, in a generoſity that has no example for its continuance, in a wiſdom which is accuſtomed to accompliſh the greateſt deſigns, and in a bounty which unweariedly extends itſelf to me and to my family.

It is with all poſſible earneſtneſs, that I requeſt your Majeſty for the continuance of it, towards me and the Queen my mother; the only perſon who is left of all thoſe who were moſt dear to me, and who deſerves ſo much of me, as the beſt of mothers. Beſides, ſhe does not fall ſhort of me, in the ſentiments of gratitude to your Majeſty, with which ſhe herſelf inſpired me, from my tendereſt infancy.

When I have aſſured your Majeſty of my moſt ſincere and fervent wiſhes for your proſperity and happineſs, I have nothing further to ſay, but to conjure your Majeſty to be thoroughly perſuaded, that you will always find in me the reſpect, attachment, and, if I can preſume to ſay, the tenderneſs of a ſon, a will always ready, not only to follow, but even to go before your own in all things, during the time of my exile; and

1713. February. if I ſhall ever ſee myſelf reſtored to my dominions, a faithful ally, who will make it his glory and his happineſs to concur with the firſt deſigns of a King, who does honour to royalty."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 50.

Nairne to Berry.—Bar, February 2d.—"I told him, that many believed Baker [Harley] to be in Harper's [Hannover's] intereſt at bottom; that Young [princeſs Anne] could do the buſineſs himſelf if he were encouraged to undertake it heartily and ſoon; but delays and dark doings looked ſuſpicious; and that I was ſorry to find him of opinion that this ſeſſion would not meddle with Harper [Hannover]. That the King arrived here the 21ſt."

D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 29.

Mr. Lilly to Mr. Manley, i. e. *the Earl of Middleton.*

In an affected bad ſpelling, and ſigned H. S. as his preceding letters.

About the Queen's health, and her brother's reſtoration.

"YOUR attorney Quanton [princeſs Anne] is in a very ill ſtate of health, often fits, and it is thought may go off ſuddenly in one of them; therefore, take care of what papers you have in his hands, and if Kennedy [King of France] will not undertake our buſineſs, have you any more proper than Stanhope [Scotland], who would be hearty for his own ſake, to get rid of Mr. Underhill [the Union], whom he hates mortally, and believes he will be his ruin; and if Kirkton [the King] were ſent to him before Harriſon [Hannover] comes, it would diſtract Mr. Eden [England] too, and make him jealous even of his brother Edgar [the Engliſh], which he is not a little already. It is a race, and who comes firſt wins. I writ to you, about the beginning of laſt ſummer, that Mr. Arnold ſaid it was not the way of merchants to pay bills that were not called for in a twelvemonth; and, therefore, that if you thought fit, you would renew that order to him, leſt that might happen for which it was deſigned; but I have not heard a word from you ſince, which makes me think, you have ſome better way, perhaps, now by Freeman [France]. However, pray let me know I am diſcharged of the matter, that no blame may be on me; for, till you tell me ſo, I ſhall not think myſelf diſcharged; and, without the renewal of that bit of credit, ſhall not be enabled to ſend. I ſuppoſe you have heard, that your

your friend Mr. Knox [the King] is gone to the Levant [Lorrain]; and now it is hoped, that Mr. Chapple of Crawford [church of England] may appear and follow his buſineſs; it will be no ſmall advantage to Kirkton [the King]. 1713. February.

Mrs. Lighton [Leſley] has of late been much indiſpoſed, and is now in like condition as about two years ago at Mr. Hedges [Holland]; but if ſhe recovers, I hope it will do her good. She preſents her moſt hearty ſervice to good Mrs. Kirkton [the King], and all friends with you; to honeſt Burton [Berwick], if there, for whom ſhe has a great value.

Yours ſincerely,

H. S."

" *An extract of Mr. Rogers's [Plunket's] letters of the 9th, 14th, 20th, 23d, and 27th of February, 1713.*" D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 33.

This extract is in Sir William Ellis's hand, and was probably ſent by him to the earl of Middleton. Almoſt every circumſtance is authenticated by the Hannover Papers of the ſame month.

About the ſucceſſion to the crown after the death of Queen Anne, and the intrigues for ſecuring it for her brother.

" THAT what he had ſaid, in a former letter, viz. That Mr. Harley and his brethren would call home the King; he had it from, and has ſince had it confirmed to him by, Mr. Netterville; which is, he ſays, as much as if he had had it from Mr. Harley's own mouth: and that he has had the ſame thing confirmed to him, at ſeveral times, by Mr. Pen, the Quaker.

That lord Mulgrave, and the reſt of his opinion, would be glad to have the King home as ſoon as poſſible, if they knew how to do it without running any hazard; and that princeſs Anne is of the ſame mind, but timorous. This, he ſays, comes from lady Fretchwel.

The reaſons he gives for not making uſe of a cypher formerly ſent to Mr. Netterville, in order to his correſponding with my lord Middleton, are, that the French miniſters had given him a diſadvantageous character of my lord Middleton. That his lordſhip and lord Melfort do not agree, and betray one another. That Mr. Netterville was deſired from thence, (that is, from St. Germains, or from Paris) not to correſpond with any there, for he would have been betrayed. But that Mr. Netterville tells

1713. February. him, that my lord Middleton and Sir William Ellis are honeſt, moderate, and underſtand the affairs of England the beſt of any he knows, conſequently the fitteſt to be intruſted and employed. He gives another reaſon, for not uſing the cypher ſent to Netterville, viz. Leſt Mr. Harley ſhould know he correſponds with any about the King, and gives meaſures different from Mr. Harley's, and ſuch as may hinder the King from coming to the terms, which he ſays, perhaps, may be expected from his Majeſty; that Mr. Harley would have the King kept in the dark, believe nothing but what comes from him, or think of a reſtoration but by his means; and that the King muſt abandon Rome, if he deſires to come home. Mr. Netterville aſked him, why he did not ſend ſomebody to the King, to know his mind; he replied, the King of France would know it and would raiſe diſturbances in England, which he (Harley) would prevent all he can; which, Mr. Rogers ſays, he believes, he will do, as long as princeſs Anne lives; and adviſes not to believe the contrary, or rely on a civil war, as Meſſrs. Harley and Netterville ſay, they are ſure, we are made believe, by Sheridan, Mrs. Fox, Mr. Minnis, Mr. Ferguſon, and theſe, Mr. Rogers ſays, he calls Propaganda ſtories. Theſe, he deſires, may not be believed, becauſe the writers are ſtrangers to the affairs on the anvil.

He ſays, he is ſurpriſed that Sir William Ellis had not the papers he ſent him from Rotterdam; and ſays, he directed one of them to Sir Richard Cantillon.

That D. Hamilton propoſed to obtain of the King of France four or five regiments to have gone with the King to Scotland; and then princeſs Anne and the parliament would have ventured to treat with his Majeſty, which they won't hazard to do otherwiſe till after the peace, and till they have turned out all the Low Church men; which being done, will ſend to treat with his Majeſty, and with the King of France, who muſt give as a ſecurity for the King's performance.

That Mr. Harley manages the Low Church and Hannover, till he can get the peace ſettled. Believes him hearty to the King's intereſt, and has ſeveral inſtances of it, though few of the Jacobites believe him to be ſo.

The cabinet council are for the King, for their own intereſt and fear; but will hazard nothing. That Mr. Harley has ſo watchful an eye over him

him (Rogers), that he can't go to lord Mulgrave nor B——; but lord Yarmouth goes between them. That Mr. Netterville knows every thing, and Mr. Harley conſults him in every thing; and yet he (meaning, as it is ſuppoſed, Netterville) would have the King reſtored at any rate. 1713. February.

That they (Mr. Rogers and Mr. Netterville) would fain make duke D'Aumont ſubſervient to the King's intereſt; but Rogers thinks he and thoſe about him, are more capable of ſpoiling than doing buſineſs, for he (duke D'Aumont) thinks he knows more than he does, won't be adviſed, and pretends to know England, of which he knows nothing at all; but however, thinks he may be made ſome uſe of, ſuch as to fetch and carry. He deſires this may be read to none, but to the King.

That the cabinet-council intend to purge the army and the guards, and make a thorough regulation in the kingdom. That he (Rogers) will give a full account of all circumſtances, when he comes. That he is told, he ſhall, after a little time, be ſent to Bar, to let the King know his true friends in Scotland and England; but whether he is ſent or no, he will endeavour to come, becauſe it will be of uſe to his Majeſty's affairs; though he knows Monſ. Torcy and Mr. Harley do not deſire he ſhould go at preſent; but he ſays, he will find a good colour, when there is occaſion.

That a great many of the Whigs have ſubſcribed a paper, and ſent it to princeſs Sophia, ſetting forth their own ſtrength, and adviſing that young Hannover may be ſent to England, whither he may lawfully come (being naturalized a peer). That he (Rogers) could have got ſaid paper ſecured; but thought it beſt to let it be ſent, in order to let Hannover further expoſe himſelf, to no purpoſe, which will turn to the King's advantage. By way of poſtſcript to this letter, which is of the $\frac{14}{25}$ February, he ſays, he had juſt then had a letter from Holland, adviſing, that lord Churchill and his friends are taking meaſures to ſend over young Hannover; as being the only reſort he and his party have. But Mr. Rogers thinks, as before, the ſooner he attempts it the better. In his letters of the $\frac{20 \text{ February,}}{3 \text{ March,}}$ he gives an account of the meaſures lord Churchill and the Dutch are taking, and particulars of the paper which the Whigs ſubſcribed and ſent to the princeſs Sophia; viz.

That

1713. February. That princeſs Anne could not live longer than March.

That ſhe (princeſs Sophia) ſhould order matters ſo, as to be ready to come at twenty-four hours warning.

That they will get the heads of the clergy to give princeſs Anne a memorial; ſetting forth, that the King is coming to England, and bringing with him the Roman Catholic religion. This they believe will make the country declare for the ſucceſſion of Hannover, and give a handle to the parliament to ſend for princeſs Sophia and her grandſon, as the only pledges ſhe (princeſs Anne) and the kingdom can have, at preſent, for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, in and out of England, for the future.

That they will urge, in their ſaid memorial to have the Whigs ſhare equally with the Tories in the government.

That they will get the D. of Hannover's miniſter in England to ſecond this memorial, which Mr. Rogers ſays, he hopes he (Hannover's miniſter) will do; but believes the cabinet-council will prevent the giving of any ſuch memorial. That Mr. Harley laughed at it, but looks on it to be well concerted.

That Somers, Halifax, and C——r, are preſſing Netterville daily, to uſe his intereſt with Mr. Harley, to bring them and their friends into buſineſs; that the perſon who manages this affair with Netterville is his (Mr. Rogers's) acquaintance; and tells him alſo, that Cowper, the late chancellor, if he could get off handſomely from the Whigs, would join with princeſs Anne in all her meaſures.

That he (Rogers) knows, Mr. Harley is for dividing the employments betwixt the High and Low Church, and for having the chooſing of them himſelf; hoping, by that means, to be maſter, whoever gets the crown. But that the October-club will never ſuffer this, and Mr. Harley ſtands in awe of that club, which is jealous of him already; and if he ſhould ſhare the places, as aforeſaid, he would ſoon be diſcarded.

That Mr. Harley has ſpies among the Whigs, that diſcover all their deſigns; and he lets them play with their plot, till he ſees his time to break it, and then they begin another. This, Mr. Rogers ſays, he knows to be true, as having been employed in theſe matters from the beginning.

That,

That, if the papers he (Rogers) has given to the cabinet-council were publiſhed, he doubts not, they would reconcile all the kingdom to the King's intereſt; but that Mr. Harley, believing this would leſſen his credit with the King, and give his Majeſty occaſion to think, what ſervice he (Harley) might do was more out of neceſſity than duty and affection, has oppoſed and prevailed with princeſs Anne to oppoſe the publiſhing of ſaid papers, which lord Mulgrave and his Majeſty's true friends were for having done. That there are two parliament-men who would fain have him (Rogers) give them ſome of thoſe papers: that they would improve them to advantage. But he ſays, he thinks it too nice a thing to venture upon, without advice: ſo deſires Sir William Ellis's opinion, by the next ordinary, and believes the October-club would make a good buſineſs of it. 1713. February.

That there is an old acquaintance of his (Rogers) there (at London), who ſends intelligence to princeſs Sophia of what the Whigs are doing. That the ſaid perſon ſhows him (Rogers) all ſhe ſends. That ſhe is a great confident of princeſs Sophia's; and, by this means, he (Rogers) ſhall have a further occaſion, he ſays, of ſerving the King.

That we, he ſays (meaning, as ſeems, himſelf and the King's friends there) muſt ſtrain a point to get the King ſoon reſtored; for lord Mulgrave is old, and lord Shrewſbury is right, but timorous. Theſe two, he ſuppoſes, govern the cabinet-council, and keep Mr. Harley in awe; and that, if Mulgrave dies, Mr. Harley will ſend lord Shrewſbury to Ireland, and then govern the cabinet-council to give the crown to whom he pleaſes, and that this makes him (Harley) delay, and go ſo ſlow in reforming the government.

That, to prevent Mr. Harley's management as aforeſaid, he (Rogers) had thought fit to acquaint lord Mulgrave with ſome late advices he had had from Holland, viz. That Heinſius is of opinion, Holland can't be ſafe whilſt the government of England is in the hands of the Tories; and that it ſhould be the buſineſs of the Dutch and Whigs, whether there be war or peace, to blow up the Tories, or at leaſt make them uneaſy. That, ſince this advice has been communicated as aforeſaid, he (Rogers) finds Mr. Harley is uneaſy and is afraid that the cabinet-council will join with the Whigs, this ſeſſion of parliament, to ſend him to the Tower; and to obviate it, he is for making five or ſix peers more, and

to

1713. February. to publiſh the peace, at leaſt with France and Spain, which he thinks will ſo far pleaſe the two houſes, in regard of the advantages England has by it, that they will be ſoon reconciled to him.

That, on $\frac{23 \text{ Feb}}{6 \text{ March}}$, a man of note had advice from Ireland, that the Whigs there are ready to declare for Hannover, and that the Weſt of Scotland will join with them. That Netterville acquainted Mr. Harley with this, and adviſed him to proceed forthwith to a thorough reformation in the three kingdoms; that, otherwiſe, princeſs Anne could not be ſafe. That Mr. Harley anſwered, No danger. That the parliament will be ſo well pleaſed with his conduct and management, that the Whigs and their adherents will be ſoon laid on their backs. That all the country gentlemen are for princeſs Anne and her miniſters, and will not be for Hannover. That the Whigs may make a noiſe this ſeſſion, and invite Hannover to come to noſe princeſs Anne; yet all will not do, and they will get no point by it; for the parliament will declare neither way. Their buſineſs will be to ſecure the proteſtant religion, and order matters ſo now, that it will not be in the King's power ever to hurt it. Mr. Rogers adds, that, by this means, he (Harley) will weather the point. And that you, he ſays, "may depend upon it, if there is truth in man, and I, he ſays, underſtand any thing, the way is a paving for the King; but as they are reſolved to run no riſque for a reſtoration, they'll take their own time, and the ſafeſt way to do it; and the King of France is in the ſecret;" and you will find all this to be true in the end.

I, he ſays, don't think the King ſafe at Barleduc, and that the allies will ſtand at nothing to ruin him.

That he (Rogers) had, ſince his laſt, which was of the $\frac{23 \text{ February,}}{6 \text{ March,}}$ introduced Netterville to D. D'Aumont, who diſcourſed with them two hours and a half. That they ſhowed him how eaſy it would be, for his maſter and him, to procure the King's reſtoration, if they would follow the meaſures that ſhould be given them. That the ſaid duke anſwered, "their deſire ſhould be ſtrictly complied with;" and that the King or none of his houſe ſhould know any thing, till the buſineſs is done. He (the duke) told them, he would rely on what intelligence they will give him, and will give what money is neceſſary for carrying on his maſter's buſineſs, which they had ſhowed him was to reſtore the King; with regard

gard to his own ſafety and welfare, of which he ſeemed to be ſenſible, deſired their friendſhip and aſſiſtance, and ſaid they ſhould find their account in it. 1713. February.

'Tis believed lord Nottingham will, at the meeting of the parliament, inſiſt on Hannover's being ſent for.

That there is come for England one Widam of Camb. as he pretends himſelf, from the King of France. That he told Mr. Netterville, that the King is not much concerned for the crown; is nothing at all addicted to the Roman Catholic religion; is in the hands of lord Middleton and Sir William Ellis, both deiſts, and believes they'll make him one, and are not at all liked or looked on in the court of France; and that lord Melford is the man he (Mr. Netterville) ſhould correſpond withal. This, and much more ſuch fulſome ſtuff, it is ſaid Widam told Netterville, in order to his acquainting Mr. Harley with it; but Mr. Netterville would not, knowing it would do the King harm; and, if ſaid man ſtays long, he will do hurt. What is or has been doing for the King's intereſt hitherto may be ſpoiled, by ſuch fooliſh management. The man means well; but Mr. Netterville is not pleaſed with his actings, nor any that hears him.

Mr. Netterville propoſed lately to Mr. Harley, to have a bill brought in to break the triennial act, and to have the army put into truſty hands. Mr. Harley anſwered, the breaking the triennial act would ſeem too violent, and there's reaſon to hope the next parliament will be as good as this. The kingdom will be ſo well pleaſed with the peace, that the preſent miniſters will be better ſettled than hitherto, and the late miniſters more blaſted this ſeſſion than they were the laſt. That the country gentlemen will never be reconciled to the Whigs.

Mr. Rogers ſays, that moſt of the country gentlemen are for having the King; but will hazard nothing.

That he finds, after a little while, the duke of Berwick may have a paſſport to come for England; that he and lord Middleton and Sir William Ellis are not hated, but lord Melford is. Mr. Netterville tells Mr. Harley they are men of moderation, which is well looked on among them in England.

That it's deſired, the king of France, or any of his, may not know, that Mr. Rogers writes to Sir William Ellis, and what he writes, he de-

1713. March. fires the King only may know it; and that Mr. Netterville tells him, they muſt ſerve the King unknown to the King of France and thoſe about him; and that the King of France muſt make uſe of no other meaſures, but what they in England give him."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 50.

The Earl of Middleton to Berry.

Mareh 9th.

"YOUR friend Mr. Pleſſington [the King] read your letter to me of the 20th ult. with a great deal of ſatisfaction, finding you perſiſt ſtill in your former opinion, that it is Baker's [Harley's] real intereſt, and conſequently his inclination, to have Harper's [Hannover's] decree reverſed. It's certain, that if Aylmer [the princeſs Anne] ſhould break [die] before the cauſe be reheard, that Baker [Harley] is in as much danger of ſuffering in proportion as Manly [the King]; and, therefore, it is reaſonable to hope he ſhould uſe all his endeavours to bring this matter to a ſpeedy iſſue, as ſoon as poſſible he can, ſince delays are equally dangerous for both.

I wiſh the late alarm he has had of Aylmer [the princeſs Anne] breaking may quicken him a little for what was like to happen, when even Berry himſelf, in ſome of his laſt letters, had no apprehenſion of Aylmer's [the princeſs Anne's] affairs being in any real danger, may happen hereafter in effect, when leaſt feared or expected; and, in ſuch a caſe, no wiſe merchant, who has his all at ſtake, ought to loſe a moment, to enſure his effects and make himſelf and his partners eaſy.

I reckon Baker [Harley] is ſure of Philips [the peace] by this time; and Young [princeſs Anne] and he may reckon upon Kemp's [King's] friendſhip. Wanly [the Whigs] is low, at preſent, and they have it in their power to make him [them] yet lower. Wheatly [the Engliſh] has but one objection againſt Manly [the King], which Arnot and all Cary's true relations [the church of England] know to be unreaſonable, ſince all the reaſonable ſecurity Cary himſelf can deſire to remove all fears of danger from Cotton's partnerſhip [the Roman Catholic religion], Manly [the King] is willing to grant.

This old dying man Price [the parliament] is tractable. Baker [Harley] has an aſcendant over him, and he cannot be ſure of having the ſame credit with his ſucceſſor, nor that Young [princeſs Anne] himſelf will

will be then in being, and in a condition to ſupport him. Edward's [England's] beſt relations ſpeak well of Manly [the King], at preſent; and the generality of Wheatly's family [the Engliſh] are diſſatisfied with Harper's [Hannover's] late behaviour; but theſe gentlemen being changeable, their hearts may cool. All this conſidered, I confeſs, I cannot ſee any prudent reaſon for Baker's [Harley's] dilatory proceedings: but he being the chiefeſt lawyer, and his own intereſt ſo much concerned, Manly [the King] muſt be governed by him, and comply with what he cannot help; and, in the mean time, have patience and hope the beſt." 1713. March.

There follows here a paragraph, in which names occur for which there is no key, in the whole correſpondence.

"Pleſſington [the King] is, God be thanked, in very good health, and receives all the friendſhip and kindneſs from the Gentleman [duke of Lorraine], in whoſe houſe he lodges at preſent; but he hopes Aitkins will invite him to a better houſe before it be long."

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Lamb.

March 21ſt. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 51.

"MY Welſh uncle, Joſias Jenkins [the King], has always looked upon his nurſe Hannah [Mr. Lilly †] as the moſt neceſſary to him, in his houſe keeping, and indeed in all his other concerns; ſo he took time to conſider where and in what ſtation ſhe might be moſt uſeful, and now his inclination has determined him to have her with him, and ordered me to tell her ſo, that ſhe might take her meaſures for that purpoſe; and to ſet out with all convenient ſpeed the ſhorteſt way.

Pray ſpeak to your friend, Mr. Lilly, to indorſe the bills in his cuſtody and lodge them with a truſty perſon for the uſe they were deſtined. In the mean time, there is nothing to be ſaid of our preſent affairs, for all directions muſt be ſuſpended, till we have Hannah's informations."

Nairne wrote to Abram of this date, "To cover the above letter, and to anſwer his of the 24th February about Abbé Polignac's being made a cardinal, at the King's nomination. The letter was read and approved by the King." He wrote another to him on the 26th of March, "To cover my lord's letter to Lamb [Leſley], which gave him advice, that Ibid. p. 52.

† Leſley.

1713. April. the old credit was ordered to be renewed, in caſe of Charles's breaking [princeſs Anne's death]; and that 800 livres would be ordered to be paid to himſelf for his journey."

There is ſome room to conclude, from theſe two letters, that Lamb, *i. e.* Mr. Leſley, is the perſon ſometimes meant by Hannah or Lilly.

Sir William Ellis to Mr. Ken.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 36.

Dear Sir, April 2d, 1713.

"YOU will have heard, before now, that your old and dear friend Wat [Mr. Lilly †] is called away from you, and from his delightful bower. I am perſuaded the parting will be mixed with grief and joy; but that the latter will be in a much greater proportion, and prevail, for reaſons which your good ſenſe will ſupply you with; and, therefore, I need mention none. What I hope and wiſh is, that he may bring with him ſuch proof of the unity, affection, firmneſs, and zeal of James and partners [church of England], and particularly of thoſe of your houſe, for the common intereſt of the manufactory, as may be ſatisfactory to the principal friend Mr. Kreely [the King,] the chief undertaker, and who, as ſuch, cannot but ſuffer chiefly, as his intereſt is much the moſt conſiderable, by the contrary; and, therefore, whatever miſunderſtandings there may have been, and on what grounds ſoever, it is certainly beſt for all to forget and forgive, and to go enjointly to purſue the main point; for truth and juſtice will have the better on't at laſt, which is the great comfort and ſupport of all that mean well and uprightly, as I am fully perſuaded, and know aſſuredly all of you do, and conſequently will not only act conformably in your ſeveral capacities, but alſo will give ſuch frequent accounts of your ſo doing, from time to time, as may let Mr. Kreely [the King] ſee your cheerful and hearty concurrenee with all his meaſures and inclinations, which, if I am capable of judging right, only and ſolely aim at the common good, joint intereſt, and welfare of all concerned. This, I believe, is enough to ſay to you and thoſe that are with you.

* Ned's original letters are ſigned Ralph Wingate. Ibid. No. 30, 31, and 43.

I have not heard one word from Mr. Nye [Ned *] ſince he returned to your parts, which I much wonder at, and can't tell what to think on't.

† Leſley.

Pray,

Pray, if you know what is become of him, and what the reaſon of his not writing as uſually, be ſo kind as to let him know it. 1713. April.

Your old friend Mr. Kees [the King] is, God be praiſed, in perfect good health, vigorous and chearful, and extreamly kind to all our family [Proteſtants]. I am, &c."

Nairne to Berry.

The ſubject of his former letters continued.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. P. 52.

SIR, April 6th.

"I Received, laſt poſt, the favour of two of yours together, of the 3d and 10th March, which I had the honour to read, both to Mr. Kennedy [the King] and Mr. Crofton [lord Middleton]. The firſt is very ſenſible of your care of his and of Wiſely's [the Queen's] concerns; and the latter gives you his kind ſervice, and is very glad you received his letter. I am glad to find you ſtill ſo hearty in the hopes you have of the recovery of the mortgage; but I find you have no hopes that old Price [the parliament] will move any thing in the matter, ſo we muſt truſt to his next heir. I pray God he may prove as honeſt a man as you expect he will; and that no breaking * happens between this and the hearing of the decree.

There is no doubt that common intereſt is the beſt ſecurity between merchants, and therefore your argument is good; but intereſt, as well as inclinations, change with time and other accidents. Beſides that, many of the wiſeſt men miſtake their true intereſt every day; but, however, we muſt be contented, in theſe uncertain times, with what certainty we can have; and ſo Young [princeſs Anne] keep up his credit, I hope as you do, that, ſoon or late, all will go well.

But I am ſorry you find Cary [church of England] ſo animated againſt poor Cotton [Roman Catholic religion], who deſires only to live in peace and quiet at home, and to give ſecurity that he never will meddle with or diſturb Cary in the leaſt. I hope, when Cary, who is a reaſonable, juſt man, is truly convinced that this is both Manly's [the King's] and Cotton's [Catholics'] character, and their ſincere intention, he will not be ſo

* Queen's death.

irrecon-

1713. April. irreconcileable as he appears to be now that they are at a diſtance. As for Waters, I do not wonder at his ill-nature; for he is naturally hot-headed, and very much piqued at this time: but I hope counſellor Baker [Harley], with the help of Mr. Philips [the peace], will bring him to temper. I do aſſure you, Mr. Peacock's relations [the Proteſtants] receive all marks of friendſhip and eſteem from Pleſſington [the King], that he can ſhew them, in the limited ſtate he is in, and will continue to do ſo, not only becauſe it is his inclination, as well as his intereſt, but becauſe he is naturally juſt and impartial to all his deſerving friends, without diſtinction of families.

In ſhort, he loves old Edwards [England] ſo well, that he'll do any thing to pleaſe him, that an honeſt man can do; and I am glad to find Arnot gives it as the general opinion, both of friends and enemies, upon Change, that his parting with his old friends, and eſpecially at this time, would leſſen his character, and loſe his reputation and credit with all ſides. He is certainly too honeſt a man to diſſemble or deceive any body, and too wiſe, on the other hand, not to comply with any thing that is innocent in itſelf, in order to pleaſe and oblige his old uncle Edwards."

Rogers or Plunket, under the ſignature of J. Tomſon, to Sir William Ellis.

It is addreſſed to Mr. Robert Jones. The key is in Sir William Ellis's hand, and he marked on the back, "Mr. Rogers; not dated, but ſhould be of the $\frac{7}{17}$ April, 1713." He makes the ſame obſervation at the end of the letter.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 37.

The Tories carry every thing in parliament.—Their opinion of the French King's ſincerity.—They deſire the Chevalier to perform his quarantine patiently, and to declare himſelf a Proteſtant.

SIR, April 7th, 1713.

"I Told you in my laſt the tanners [Tories] would carry their point in every thing, and ſo put the gold [government] in the three keepers [kingdoms] on ſuch a baſis, that it ſhall be in their power to give the copyhold [the crown] to whom they pleaſe, and on what terms they pleaſe; for they find out more and more the blind ſide of Knox [king of France] and his mates [miniſters]; and that he is afraid to meddle or make with Mr.

Mr. Ken's [the King's] affairs, or put himſelf to any manner of ſtreſs to do him ſervice. 1713. April.

I ſpoke to ſome honeſt men among the partners [parliament,] this day, and find by them they have but a mean opinion of Knox's [King of France's] integrity and ability. Nothing will make him eſpouſe Mr. Ken's [the King's] cauſe, but his own ſafety for the future, and that of his grand-children, which cannot be, if Hall [Hannover] comes hither. They told, that it would be of vaſt ſervice to Mr. Ken [the King] if he did but declare himſelf a Polet [Proteſtant]; the ſooner the better, eſpecially if he does it ſpontaneouſly, and perform his quarantine; and, in the mean time, his friends will be diſpoſing things to receive him; for, at preſent, the temper of the men-worthy [the mob] is not for him, and it will be work of time to bring them to it; for they have been ſerved with venom this long time, and muſt have time to vomit it by degrees.

King Noble [Netterville] ſays, if he were the patron [Pope], he would oblige Mr. Ken [the King] to declare himſelf a Polet [Proteſtant], being the ſafeſt way to ſecure the copy-hold [crown] and eſtabliſh the phyſician-reſolution [Roman Catholic religion] in Evelin's houſe [England]; and, when he compleats the work, appear with ſafety in his true ſhape, and not be beholding to any body. As for thoſe that Knox [the King of France] has here, he looks on them to be worthleſs fellows. They converſe with none but ſycophants and men that can give them no true idea of the affairs here, and therefore will have nothing more to do with them; for they are in the way of ruin, and will do nothing that is for their own good or others; ſo that we muſt ſtand on our own bottom, and do as if there were no ſuch man as Knox [King of France] in the world.

His agent [ambaſſador] ſaid to me, the other day, his maſter would not interfere with Mr. Ken's [the King's] buſineſs, before he knows what number is for him in Chomily [the country], and their places of abode; and he is aſſured of Churchill [the court] and the reſt of the tanners [Tories] promiſe from their own mouths, or under their hands. Noble [Netterville] ſays, he ne'er will have that they'll be his friends, but won't truſt him nor his maſter; ſo that we ſhall be quit of him, and have little or nothing to ſay to him. I dare ſay he'll do little good here, nor carry any right notions with him from hence.

I ſhall

1713. April. I ſhall continue to ſend ſome things to amuſe you in your country retirement at leaſt once a week, and know the different ſentiments of the ſeveral partners [parliament-men]. 'Tis not only my notion, but it is the notion of the ſenſibleſt part of mankind here, the preſent mates [miniſters] or Gold [government] cannot be ſafe if Hall [Hannover] comes here, and of courſe muſt have Mr. Ken [the King], but on their own terms. 'Tis, therefore, thought they'll be the harder on him, that he may declare himſelf; and I believe they may, obliquely at leaſt, order him to go from where he is, further off, if he don't do in convenient time. The longer he delays it the worſe, ſays Noble [Netterville]. This is the ſentiment of Overton [Harley] and the reſt of his brethren.

Pray incloſe to me, from time to time, to the effect I told you in my laſt. 'Twill be of uſe to Mr. Ken [the King]. It ſhall be improved to advantage; ſo adieu.

J. TOMSON."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 36.

Sir William Ellis to Plunket or Rogers.

He thanks Plunket and Netterville for their attachment to his maſter, who is ſenſible of it, but diſclaims all connexions with Abbé Butler, and recommends to his friends to ſupport the miniſtry.

April 9th, 1713.

"I Find you and Mr. Noble [Netterville] are very induſtrious and diligent, and omit nothing you judge may any way promote and advance the intereſt of your old friend Mr. Kennedy [the King]; who, I aſſure you, is very ſenſible of it, and takes it very kindly; but, as for A. B. [Abbé Butler], who pretends to know much of his mind, he totally diſowns him and what he gives out, and aſſures me he neither has, nor ever had, any dealing with him, directly or indirectly; and was ſo far from giving him any commiſſions and inſtructions, that neither he nor his partner Quarington ſo much as ſpoke to him, or ſaw him, when he parted; and that what he, the ſaid A. B. [Abbé Butler], gives out to be Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] intentions, is the fartheſt from his thoughts of any thing in the world, and which would be the laſt thing in the world he would do. The judgment you ſay Mr. Netterville made of it, viz. that it would do hurt, if not true, was very juſt, and certainly it would

do ſo; and, therefore, ſince it is not true, nor ever likely to be ſo, it will be beſt not to preſs it, or mention it any more. But as to all other matters which might tend to the eaſe, happineſs, and conveniency of his friend Mr. Keepers [the kingdoms], he would moſt readily concur in all that could be propoſed. This I know to be his mind. And as for the good-will and friendſhip the tanners [Tories] teſtify towards him, he is much pleaſed with it, and wiſhes they may act in concert with Mr. Churchill [the court] and mates [miniſtry], whom he would be very tender of diſobliging on any account; but, on the contrary, would be glad if, by any means, he could gain their eſteem and good-will. 1713. April.

Mr. Jenkins [the King] is in perfect good health, and much your friend; and I am, with much eſteem, Sir,

Your affectionate and moſt obedient humble ſervant,

ROBERT JONES.

J. Tomſon, i. e. *Rogers or Plunket, to Sir William Ellis.*

An account of the debates about the Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 37.

April 10th, 1713.

"YEſterday, dear Sir, the Queen made a ſpeech to both houſes. The houſe of commons unanimouſly, except my lord William Pawlet, voted an addreſs of thanks. The houſe of lords carried it by 78 againſt 43. The duke of Beaufort was the firſt that moved to thank her Majeſty: he was ſeconded by the duke of Kent. My lord Halifax ſtood up and ſaid, it was fit to know for what; for they ought to have had the peace laid affore them firſt, and how the ſucceſſion is ſecured by the peace; for the Pretender is but a day's journey further off; is ſtill within call: that the Queen, when ſhe was laſt in the houſe, ſaid, ſhe would make peace ſword in hand. Upon which there was ſix millions given; and, ſoon after, the ſword was taken out of a ſucceſsful general's hand, and a peace made when they might conquer France. He was ſeconded by my lords Townſend, Cowper, Sunderland, Montague, who all ſpoke with a deal of warmth and peeviſhneſs; which is flying in the face of the Queen and miniſtry, and queſtioning her ſincerity, and not believing what ſhe ſaid.

My lord Peterborough ſtood up and anſwered, ſeconded by my lord [treaſurer, probably,] and a great many more of the tory lords, that it

1713. April. was time the ſword was taken out of the general's hands, or elſe he would have been general for life, and continued the war, and the nation been obliged to give many millions: that Hannover had three acts of parliament for him and the guarantee abroad, and more laws might be made to ſecure it more, if they think fit; and if they be not ſatisfied with the management of the miniſtry, they might appoint a committee to examine matters, and due ſatisfaction ſhould be given them. This my lord treaſurer ſaid.

The Whigs ſay, the ſpeech is artfully drawn, and made popular, for ſome ſiniſter ends; notwithſtanding, they will be as troubleſome, as they can, and ſay they will make my lord treaſurer uneaſy; but he laughs at them, and values not what they can do. The next parliament will be as good, if not better, than this. The Queen relies entirely on the loyalty of her ſubjects; which is as much as to ſay, that Hannover muſt do the ſame, if he comes here, and be and leap by the miniſtry and parliament.

Both are wording the addreſſes. There will be warm debates about the wording of them. There will be new changes every day. My lord Chomley gave up his ſtaff as comptroller of the houſehold yeſterday, and ſeveral others are put out.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 37.

The ſame to the ſame.

A converſation between Netterville and Harley, about the Queen's ſpeech, on the 9th inſtant, with other anecdotes.

SIR, London, April 13th, 1713.

" I Suppoſe you have ſeen e'er now what Quaint [princeſs Anne] ſaid to the partners [parliament], and affords you, as will others, matter of ſpeculation; 'tis Overton [Harley] all over, to think, by ſhowing ſo much love and friendſhip to Hall [Hannover], that the waggs [Whigs] will abandon him and renounce his intereſt, and conſequently eſpouſe Mr. Ken's [the King's]. Mr. Noble [Netterville] told him, yeſterday, that the ſpeech was too condeſcending, and ſo much in favour of Hall [Hannover], that it will be work of time to make the menworthy [mob] to forget him. Overton [Harley] anſwered, that he muſt fight the waggs [Whigs] with their own weapons, and ſilence them all at once, and make the jewellers [Jacobites] more modeſt, Hall [Hannover] and

Ken [the King] more pliable; and let them ſay and do what they will againſt Ken [the King], if the menworthy [mob] and the tanners [Tories] be for him, he will have the copy-hold [the crown], and 'tis prudence to run with the tide, *i. e.* with the inclination of Mr. Keepers [the kingdom]. Noble told him, 'tis a miſtaken policy to condeſcend too much to Hall [Hannover] or the waggs [Whigs], who won't think the better of him for't. I know he hopes, by this means, to make Hall [Hannover] abandon the waggs [Whigs], and believes now he will. If he does, the waggs [Whigs] will renounce and declare againſt him. Time will ſhew. Ab. B. [Abbé Butler] was with Noble [Netterville], and tells him Mr. Kemp [the King] is a Quieteſt, and tells every body of it, and what he does is by orders. Noble [Netterville] wiſhes it may be believed; for any thing will go down better than a Phiſs [Roman Catholic]. 1713. April.

I had yours of the 9th inſtant yeſterday; am well pleaſed to know Mr. Ken's [the King's] mind. We will take meaſures accordingly. There's ſome things fit to be imparted to Overton [Harley]. If you think well on't, it ſhall. Jaſper [lord Ilay] and Arbuthnot [lord Argyle] did not ſpeak in favour of Quaint [princeſs Anne] in Holton's houſe [houſe of lords] t'other day; for which they muſt be remembered in due time. I am yours,

J. Tomson.

Sir William Ellis to Plunket.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. P. 36.

April 20th, 1713.

"SINCE my laſt, I had the great favour and ſatisfaction of yours of the 13th and 24th March, and refer to my laſt, which was of the 9th inſtant, for anſwer of great part of ſaid letters, and particularly for what relates to the point of reſolution [religion].

As to what you mention of encouraging Simon [duke of Savoy] to ſend his ſon to you, or to cauſe any motion to be made by the tanners [Tories] for Hall's [Hannover's] coming over, I can't, by any means, adviſe the promoting either of theſe two particulars. Thoſe would be dangerous expedients, eſpecially the former, which would be taken to be a giving up of Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] right.

Mr. Rogers will be moſt welcome; we not doubting but he will bring with him what will make him ſo to us all, and particularly to his relation Mr. Kemp [the King]. I am, with great eſteem, dear Sir, &c.

1713. April. Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 36.

J. Tomſon, i. e. Rogers to Sir William Ellis, under the feigned name of Robert Jones.

The ſecret deſigns and intrigues of the Miniſtry.—Harley's conduct to Argyle.—Intrigues about the ſucceſſion to the crown.—The tragedy of Cato.

SIR, April 20, 1713.

"APLETON [lord Athol] has got the ſtaton middle [the privy ſeal,] and is gone to Intler's houſe [Scotland] to regulate the affairs of that houſe. Overbury [duke of Ormond] goes to Johnſon's houſe [Ireland] to put the gold [government] of that houſe into honeſt hands. The Allen [army] there is to be reduced from 12 to 8, that of Evelly [England] will be reduced to 10 m. The Waggs [Whigs] will be blaſted, and then diſcarded. Their management will be cenſured in Hangel's houſe [houſe of commons] to-morrow, and then expoſed to the world. They will fall unpitied. Did the menworthy [mob] but know the roguery of the late mates [miniſtry], they would tear them to pieces. Overton [Harley] will endeavour to keep them in the dark, as much as he can, and as long as he can; the reaſon you ſhall know by word of mouth.

Arbuthnot [Argyle] begins to be obſtreperous. Overton [Harley] thought to make him his ſmuggler [ſpy] on the Waggs [Whigs], and bully them on occaſion; but he will do nothing for him, till he gets Hawley's [duke Hamilton's] place. Overton [Harley] won't truſt him with it. Arbuthnot [Argyle] is reſolved to hector him into it. Overton [Harley] makes ſatires on him, in order to expoſe him, and thinks to ſilence him; time will ſhew how they will end. The Waggs [Whigs] will ſpirit him to be uneaſy to Overton [Harley] and Quaint [princeſs Anne]. They ſay, they will move to have Mrs. Strange [princeſs Sophia] here; but I am told, by ſome ſenſible men among the partners [parliament] they will get no point by it; for they had enow of ſtrangers. They talk kindly of Mr. Jenkins [the King], at leaſt to me, and begin to hate Hall [Hannover] more and more, becauſe the Waggs [Whigs] ſtand up for him. He has his ſeven braſs candleſticks in Hungal's houſe [houſe of commons] which opens lightly in his favour. One of them ſaid, the other day, that it was fitting Quaint [princeſs Anne] ſhould have no map [money] before the portion [peace] was laid before them; if the ſtature large [great ſeal] be put to it, ſhe ſhould not be aſhamed of letting them

ſee

ſee it; but got no point by the brazen impudence. The next thing they will do, is to object againſt every point of the portion [peace] to make the mates [miniſters] odious; and Egleton's [the Emperor's] ſtanding out, as he does, will give them a further handle to cavil. I muſt tell you, by the by, if Egleton [the Emperor] would but cloſe with Knox [King of France] the Duncans [Dutch] will be forced to vomit up what they are to get by this pardon [general peace], and of courſe, will be glad to give a helping hand to Mr. Kennedy [the King]. He would do well to make a propoſal of this kind to him, by his nephew there. I knew full well, the Waggs [Whigs] make him and Hall [Hannover] believe Quaint [princeſs Anne] won't live long, and of courſe, he muſt come here, and then renew the weatherhot [war] again. 1713. April.

I have given convincing arguments to Egleton's mates [Emperor's miniſters] that he muſt not believe the Waggs [Whigs] any more. I foretold him every thing that happened him hitherto. He now finds it to be true to his coſt. I know Overton [Harley] and his brethren would be glad on't; for it would give them a good handle to call Mr. Kennedy [the King] home, and run no riſque or hazard of life or fortune. It is true, the mates [miniſters] have enough under their thumb, to juſtify their conduct in this point; but they are coverts [cowards]; ſo you ſee we muſt drive that nail as far as it goes. You may depend on't they will keep the ſame conduct with Mr. Kennedy [the King] as they did in making the portion [peace], and carry things on with the ſame caution, which you'll ſay, will be tedious; but they think it more ſure. Overton [Harley] is a goe cart, that muſt be pricked as he goes along.

It is therefore, Rogers put a precept [paper] into his hand, the other day, that Moulſworth [lord Churchill] careſſes Hall [Hannover] mightily, and is putting him on coming to Evelin's houſe [England] with a good allen [army]. This and ſeveral other precepts [papers] he has given him, with which he ſeemed well pleaſed, and no doubt will have good effect, which is all that offers, at preſent, from, dear Sir, &c.

J. Tomson.

I deſired to put all the papers I have into S. Sheridan's hands, and digeſt them into an order, and bring it with me to you; for it will be of uſe to Mr. Jenkins [the King].

There

1713. April. There is a tragedy called Cato, made by the Whigs. It was acted ſeveral times. It makes impreſſion on the people. The Whigs ſay, it will have as good an effect on the people, as Shacheverel's ſermons and trial. They continue to bombard the Queen and miniſtry, every day; but will get nothing by it. They have no intereſt in or out of parliament. This is the news of the town and the lie of the day. You know I am no news monger."

The ſame to the ſame.

Original. Naime's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 37.

Plunket propoſes, to avoid ſuſpicion, to go to France, with a lady, recommended by the Princeſs Sophia.—Harley's conduct about the ſucceſſion.

Dear Sir, April 24, 1713.

"I Had the honour of yours of the 20th inſtant, and can tell you, Rogers deſigns to wait on you, as ſoon as practicable, which will hardly be before the 1ſt of June, or Midſummer. There is a lady from Hannover, that has ſome pretentions in the French court, where ſhe will be recommended from hence, and from princeſs Sophia. He will put himſelf into her retinue, and may be uſeful to her in France. Princeſs Sophia will take it kindly of any body, that will do this lady any ſervice. Rogers conceives he may be, by her means, being under ſo great a princeſs's protection, more uſeful to Mr. Evans [Sir William Ellis] and his maſter [the King], becauſe he can appear barefacedly. He muſt, therefore, wait her time.

I muſt, dear Sir, be under your direction, whether I ſhould ſee Peyton [Polignac] or Tradenham [Monſieur de Torcy] before I ſee you. I conceive I muſt ſtay ſome time at Putney [Paris] before I go to your parts; and, if I ſhould ſee any body elſe, before I ſee Tradenham [Monſieur de Torcy] or Peyton [Polignac] it won't be taken well. If it could be ordered ſo, that I could ſee Mr. Benſongs [duke of Berwick] as I arrive at Putney [Paris], it would be of uſe; he is, I know, a favourite at Knox houſe [King of France]. I am reſolved to talk to none but him and Mrs. Quarnington [the Queen]. I expect, by your next, to know your mind and will, as to this point.

I was laſt night, with the gentleman [Mr. Sheridan, I ſuppoſe]. He has the writings I ſpoke to you of before. He tells me they are ready for the preſs. They will ſee whether Egleton [the Emperor] comes to by

by the time prefixed; if he does, what relates to him, will be ſtruck out; for they don't think fit to expoſe him. About the cloſe of the ſummer [ſeſſion] they will publiſh them, in order to ſower the Chammiſmen [country gentlemen] againſt the Waggs [Whigs], and to keep up their ſpirits, till the new partners [parliament] are choſen. I find he gutted the precepts [papers]; for, ſhould they print them, *in hæc verba*, the men-worthy [mob] would tear the Waggs [Whigs] in pieces. Overton [Harley] ſays, there is a medium between Scylla and Carybdis, and will keep it as much as he can. The partners [parliament] will carry on their buſineſs ſmoothly and roundly, with little or no noiſe, but with caution, and manage that of the ſape [ſucceſſion] as they did the portion [peace], and take their own time to do it, and it will be left entirely to them. This I know to be Overton's [Harley's] mind, as his ſcheme, which will be put in execution, when things are ripe for it, which cannot be before the next new partners [parliament] meets. This you will find to be true. I find Mr. Yates [lord Yarmouth] will be provided for, and a great many of Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] friends advanced, after a little time, which is a good ſign. 1713. April.

As for news, we have little or none. The parliament took off two ſhillings in the pound, which will make itſelf a high church parliament. The Whigs are mad at this, and will be more, eſpecially if the parliament gives the broken officers their whole ſubſiſtance, becauſe it will ſcreen the miniſtry and them, and what they can do. To-day or to-morrow it will be known what will be done in it; ſo that the Whigs will have nothing left to ſcare the vulgar with but Popery and the Pretender, eſpecially if they can't get Hannover ſent for.

They got the higher houſe of convocation not to join the lower, in an addreſs of thanks to her Majeſty, for the peace. There are ten biſhops againſt the addreſs, and ſix pro; ſo that it is believed, the body of the clergy muſt addreſs alone; they got the bank and the E. I. C. in their hands, which make them more inſolent.

It is believed my lord Peterborough will be made duke of Monmouth, or at leaſt, marquis.

Juſt now the houſe voted half-pay to the land and ſea officers. The Whigs oppoſed the latter. This will make the miniſtry more popu-

lar.

1713. April. lar. Notwithſtanding the uſage Egleton [the Emperor] met with here, yet he will truſt and cringe to Quaint [princeſs Anne] and mates [miniſtry] ſooner than to Knox [King of France], for he ſent one to her; pray ſhe may moderate matters between them. He does it becauſe the Waggs [Whigs] deſire him, and make him believe Quaint [princeſs Anne] cannot live long, and Hall [Hannover] will come here, and things will go to his mind in a year or two. This I know to be true. I am, dear Sir, yours, or not,

J. TOMSON."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 53.

Letters from Nairne to Scot and Berry.

The Pretender is attached to the Scots, and has great expectations from them.

Nairne to Scot. Mr. Scot is Henry Straton.

April 27, 1713.

"I Told him, that the King was well, and going to Luneville to make a viſit; that I hoped he would do the King the juſtice to let his friends, in Scotland, know the eſteem, friendſhip, and confidence, he had in them."

"*Poſtſcript added, by order, to my letter to Scot, of the 27th of April.*"

"Leſt my letter of the 25th of January, and another I writ to you of the 10th of December, ſhould not have come to your hands, I ſhall only repeat here the ſubſtance of theſe two letters. You was and are ſtill deſired, to aſſure Mr. Knowles's [the King's] relations, that he is very ſenſible of Stuart's [Scotland's] kindneſs, and of the particular marks he hath given him thereof, all along. That he could ſend no directions to him, of late, about his affairs, becauſe he is in the dark himſelf, and has been adviſed by his beſt friends to lie quiet, and not to ſay or do any thing, till he ſees clearer, what Dunbar [princeſs Anne] and Goolding ſucceſſor, [Harley] intended to do; ſo he hopes Stuart will not attribute all this neceſſary prudence of Knowles [the King], to any neglect, or want of friendſhip and confidence in him; for I am authorized to aſſure you, that he has a true and juſt value for Stuart [Scotland] and all his honeſt relations; and I hope, in time, he will be able to give them ſolid proofs of it, and that he is incapable of ever having any unjuſt partiality for Eſtmore [England], in prejudice of Stuart.

I told you alſo, that his friend Manning [lord Middleton] has the ſame ſentiments, and is as hearty a well-wiſher of Mr. Stirling [Scotland], as himſelf

himſelf could wiſh; and I begged you to do him juſtice on that head, and to aſſure all your acquaintances in that family, that they themſelves cannot be more heartily againſt Uperton [the union], than he is and always was, which Scot himſelf can witneſs; ſince he had directions from him from the beginning, to deſire all his friends to oppoſe him with their utmoſt might, when his law-ſuit was depending; and indeed, to think otherwiſe of Manning, would be as unjuſt and ridiculous, as to think him a friend of Hally [Hannover]." 1713. April.

Nairne wrote long letters to Berry and to Abram, of this date, in the ſame ſtrain with this letter to Scot and his laſt letter to Berry of the 6th.

Nairne to Scot.

April 30, 1713. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 55.

"YOUR uncle Francis [the King] having always had an entire confidence in Mr. Stuart [Scotland], and knowing him to be an honeſt dealer, and that his moſt ſubſtantial relations are his true friends; he deſires you to take the prudenteſt methods you can to let them know, that, in caſe Mr. Dunbar breaks [princeſs Anne dies], and that nothing be done by him to ſecure Knowls's [the King's] debt, he is reſolved to have immediate recourſe to Mr. Stuart [Scotland], and truſt his law ſuit entirely into his hands; but that he can bring no effects with him of any kind, I mean neither wine nor brandy, for he deals no more in theſe commodities, nor can his factors, Aiſelby and Maſterſon [probably Sir William Ellis and lord Middleton] come with him, for they are both ſick: ſo he will only bring afew ſervants with him. He would be glad therefore, to know whether he can be welcome, in that condition, to Stuart's [Scotland's] relations, ſince his preſent circumſtances will not allow him to make a better figure.

Your uncle deſires you alſo, to adviſe with the wiſeſt and moſt ſubſtantial perſons of the family, who, among themſelves, are the fitteſt to be the chief advocate and council in that law ſuit, that he may comply with their unanimous advice, in that eſſential point: and laſtly, he deſires you, to inform him of the condition of Adamſon's affairs, in your parts, what quantity of effects he has, where and in whoſe hands they are, and whether any of his goods might be reckoned upon and diſpoſed

1713. May. of to Knowle's account, in order to purſue the recovery of his debt, in caſe he be obliged to go to law for it."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 49.

Sir William Ellis to the Earl of Middleton.

He ſends copies of ſome of Plunket's letters to Middleton, who was with his maſter, at this time, at Lunneville.

My Lord, Barr, May 13, 1713.

"I Herewith ſend your lordſhip three letters of Mr. Rogers's, which I received laſt night, alltogether: the firſt of them was not dated; but it is evident it ought to have been of $\frac{7}{18}$ April, in regard that it refers to the laſt before, which was of the $\frac{3}{14}$, and the ſecond letter now ſent is of the $\frac{10}{21}$ *.

Mr. Rogers mentioning in his letter of $\frac{13}{24}$ his receipt of mine of the 9th of April; I thought it proper to ſend your lordſhip a copy of it §, that you may ſee to what it is he refers, when he ſays he was well pleaſed to know the King's mind, and that they would take meaſures accordingly, and that there were ſome things fit to be imparted to Mr. Harley, and ſhall be, if I think well on't. Theſe particulars are at the end of the ſaid letter of $\frac{13}{24}$; but whether I am to ſay any thing to him, in relation thereunto, depends on the orders I ſhall receive from your lordſhip, I am with all poſſible duty, reſpect, and obſervance, &c."

Ibid.

The ſame to the ſame.

He ſends him copies of ſome of Plunket's letters.

My Lord, Barr, May 16, 1713.

"I Herewith ſend your Lordſhip two letters I had from Mr. Rogers, by yeſterday's ordinary. I likewiſe ſend a copy of mine to him; the receipt of which he acknowledges in his of $\frac{24 \text{ April.}}{5 \text{ May.}}$

As to the inſtructions he expects, how to behave at his coming to Paris; or if there is any thing elſe I am to ſay to him, on occaſion of theſe,

* Sir William marked this particular on the back of the original letter.

§ The extracts of Rogers's letters of the 9th, 14th, 20th, 23d, and 27th of February, are in Sir William's hand, and were probably ſent by him to lord Middleton along with this letter.

or

or his other letters lately ſent; I ſhall wait your lordſhip's orders, without which I ſhall not preſume to give him any meaſures whatever. I am &c." 1713. May.

Nairne to Sir William Ellis.

An Anſwer to the preceding Letters.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 54.

"*Copy of the Letter I writ to Sir William Ellis, by order, concerning Rogers.*"

SIR, Lunneville, May 18, 1713.

"I Am ordered, by my lord, to tell you, that the King will be very glad to ſee Mr. Rogers, when he comes to France; but as to the perſons he propoſes to ſee and communicate with, at the court of France, or at St. Germains, and the time or manner of ſeeing him or them, he leaves that entirely to his own diſcretion, having too good an opinion of his prudence and conduct, to think it neceſſary to preſcribe any rules to him, in that matter. I am, &c.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Ibid. 56.

May 20, 1713.

"YOUR old friend Iſrael Charters [the King] deſires you would conſult the college of phyſicians, and preſs Mr. Cowley to uſe their utmoſt endeavour, both with Edgebury [England] and Marke [Scotland] to bring Mr. Trever [the Tories] into Proby's family [the parliament] next term, and that they would be ruled by the lawyers [the miniſtry] in every thing."

Nairne to Abram.

May 20, 1713.

"I Told him how kindly the King was received at Lunneville, and how he was eſteemed and beloved here, even by the Germans, who could not ſee him and know him without wiſhing well to him. I told him, by lawyers, was meant Heckman [Harley] and his aſſociates, employed by Charles Brown [princeſs Anne]."

Nairne to Berry.

May 20, 1713.

"I Told him ſomething of the duke of Lorrain's kind reception to the King, aſſured him Manly [the King] would always continue his kindneſs to Peacock's family [Proteſtants]; and that I hoped Wheatly,

1713. May. with time, would be convinced, that old Cotton [Rom. Cath. religion] ambitioned nothing, but to paſs his old age in peace and quiet, at home, and never to have the leaſt diſpute with his brother Cary [church of England]. That, ſince ſilence was acceptable and approved of, it would be continued."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 41.

J. Tomſon to Sir William Ellis.

J. Tomſon, i. e. *Rogers or Plunket. His intrigues, about the ſucceſſion, continued.*

Dear Sir, May 22d, 1713.

"I Told you, in my laſt, the Waggs [Whigs] were for going to Hall [Hannover], to beard Quaint [princeſs Anne]. They give it out publickly, that five or ſix of the late mates [miniſtry] will go ſoon to him. I hope they'll continue in this reſolution.

I read a letter of Mrs. Strange's [P. Sophia], wherein ſhe wiſhes and hopes, the next partn [parliament] may conſiſt more of the Waggs [Whigs] than Tanners [Tories]; ſhe finds they are more her friends. This was ſent to a bitter enemy of Overton's [Harley]: 'tis therefore I thought fit to let him know the contents of it, and do find he was well pleaſed with it. I did let him alſo know, how Hall [Hannover] puſhes on Egleton [the Emperor] to carry on the weather [war] hot; the Waggs [Whigs] making him believe Quaint [Q. Anne] can't live long, and Knox [King of France], being taken up and kept in play with Egleton [the Emperor], he won't have an opportunity to ſend Mr. Ken [the King] here with an Allen [army] as he may in time of portion [peace].

We are paying and diſcarding the Allen [army] every day. 'Tis obſervable, thoſe that were of Oliver's [prince of Orange's] making are laid aſide.

Overton [Harley] is adviſed to give the ſtature middle [privy ſeal] to Mr. Daniel [lord Nottingham], and bring him into Quaint's [princeſs Anne's] meaſures; 'twill be of ſervice to Mr. Jenkins [the King]. Time will ſhew what will be done, in the matter.

There's no news, only the Scots are provoked, becauſe there is 6d. *per* buſhel laid upon malt in Scotland. They ſay, they can't bear it; and come up here at vaſt expences to ſee their country ruined. They ſpeak freely and warmly in the houſe; but we don't value what they ſay or can do. For the kirk broke up and refuſed to addreſs the Queen on the

the peace, ſo did our biſhops. Hall [Hannover] falls into the meaſures, Mr. Ken [the King] and his friends here would have him. Knox [King of France] is much reflected upon, for abandoning Mr. Jenkins [the King]. 'Tis mean in him to own the ſape [ſucceſſion] of Hall [Hannover] in ſo ample a manner: this is the language of people, ſince the pardon [peace] has been made public. 1713. May.

One of Hungat's houſe [houſe of commons] aſked me, yeſterday, if I could give him a true account how Mr. Ken [the King] does; ſo the Waggs [Whigs] banter the Tanners [Tories] telling them, that he can't live long, he is conſumptive, diſpirited, melancholy, and very infirm, ſo that they muſt not rely on his coming home. This is the language of the Waggs [Whigs] now daily in the houſe; and that one came from Billingford [Barleduc] who ſaw him, and gives this out a purpoſe. I told the man, it was a waggiſh [whiggiſh] ſtory, and not to be credited. He told me, he was glad to hear it; and that Mr. Ken [the King] will have a ſtruggle for him, and is more and more in their eyes.

Pray let me know, if mine comes regularly to your hands; the poſt comes regularly in, and I don't receive yours; your laſt was dated the 4th inſtant. I am, dear Sir, yours whilſt

J. TOMSON.

I didn't think fit to entertain you long with the Sutler's [Scotch] affairs, becauſe I know Mr. Mettiven [Monny] will give you a better account than I."

Extracts of a Letter from Mr. Clinch, with an account of occurrences, in England, at the proclaiming the peace. Nairne's Papers, D:N. vol. iv. 410. No. 40.

May 24th, 1713.

——"I Scarce know what to make of Mr. Harley. I don't think that he means to ſerve you, out of point of conſcience or love, but only as he knows that he hath no other way of ſerving himſelf.—Our addreſſes all make mention of the ſucceſſion, in the houſe of Hannover, except one or two Scotch ones; but this, I look upon to be no more than matter of form, mixed with a little politics.——The King's pictures I brought over, I have given away; and I wiſh I had brought over more, ſince I found them ſo very acceptable here, and ſo little trouble in getting them over. I gave one to the earl of Winchelſea,

1713. May. who took it very kindly, and ſaid, which I am ſure he wiſhes very heartily, he hoped to ſee the original here."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 41.

J. Tomſon to Robert Jones, that is, Plunket or Rogers to Sir William Ellis.

It is marked on the back, in Sir William Ellis's hand, "Mr. Rogers, $\frac{29\ May}{9\ June}$ 1713." The key is in the ſame hand.

The Scots, the Whigs, and the Jacobites, unite againſt Oxford.—He is in danger of being ſent to the Tower, by Plunket's intrigues.

Dear Sir, May 29th, 1713.

"THE Sutlers [Scots] begin to be troubleſome. They ſeem reſolved to break off with us, unleſs they are put on a better footing. They all join with the Waggs [Whigs] to make Overton [Harley] ſo uneaſy, that he will be glad to reſign in time. Some of Mr. Ken's [the King's] friends help them behind the curtain, to pin him to the wall; for they find 'tis the beſt way to make him do honeſt and fair things.

I have no news worth your notice, only the Scots make a noiſe. Their repreſentatives in both houſes met in a tavern, where they were not long, when the D. of Argyle and my lord Mar went from the lords, Lockhart and Coulcairn from the commons, to wait on the Queen, to tell her, they could not ſee their country ruined; and aſked her leave to bring in a bill to diſſolve the Union. She deſired them to conſider of it firſt; upon which, they returned and met ſeveral times ſince. My lord Seafield moved, yeſterday, in the houſe of lords, to go upon the ſtate of both nations. The motion was adjourned till Monday. The Whigs are indefatigably buſy to open, as they ſay, the eyes of the people, and give out they'll let the world know, that day, how the nation has been impoſed upon and grieved; and give out, they'll ſend my lord treaſurer to the Tower. But you'll find all theſe heats will end in fumes and vapours; though the Scots ſay, they'll lay a foundation for a gangernie.

Arbuthnot [lord Argyle] is night and day with the Waggs [Whigs], who will ply Overton [Harley] very warmly. The mates [miniſters] will connive ſo far with them, as to ſend him to Tracy [the Tower]. They won't ſee him ruined. He laughs at all this. For he has Snap [money] and Quaint's [Queen Anne's] favour to bring him off. I can

assure you, Rogers laid a foundation for this matter, which you shall know in due time; 'twill make you laugh. 1713. May.

I am told, by a good hand, Arbuth. [lord Argyle] will be turned out of his all. Newam, alias Dan, will have the stature-middle [privy seal], and the gold [government] put into the hands of Charles [the High church] and his [its] friends.

The friends of Hall [Hannover] are upish, and think the day will be their own. They wrote to him lately, that the mates [ministers] and Quaint [princess Anne] are on a tottering foundation, and will break Overton's [Harley's] neck; of which I gave him an account, two days ago, and that Strange [P. Sophia] will never side with the Tanners [Tories,] nor abandon the Waggs [Whigs]; this I hinted as well to Beaumont [lord Mulgrave], who seemed well pleased with it. This animates him much, and his brethren, against Overton [Harley] and the Waggs [Whigs]; so that, on the whole, things seem to have a good effect.

Knox's agent [King of France's ambassador] wonders I don't see him, and oblige him and his master, as I promised when he came here. I sent him word by his sarper [secretary], I was afraid he would be scandalized to see me, that's a known jeweller [Jacobite], at his apartment, being his master disowns Mr. Jenkins [the King] so solemnly; and that I believed he didn't want any aid or assistance in any thing, since he has come into all Quaint's [Q. Anne's] measures, and that their interests are the same. He sent me word, by a party of my name, I shouldn't mistake him, and that I and my master should find him and Knox [King of France] honest in the end, and he would give his two fingers to serve him; and, therefore, desired my friendship, and that I should bring Mr. Noble [Netterville] to him again.—I am to see him to-morrow. I shall let you know, in my next, what he says. Till then, I am yours, or not,

J. Tomson.

I had yours of the 20th instant, by the last ordinary. I am glad you had my letters. I shall continue to send you some diverting fables till I see you, which can't be before July."

Tom-

1713. May. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 41, 42.

Tomſon [Plunket], in his letter to Robert Jones [Sir William Ellis] on the 1ſt of June, and Dr. Clinch, in his letter to him on the 3d, give him an account of the debates in the houſe of lords, upon the motion, made by the Scotch peers, to diſſolve the Union. Clinch adds, "It's ſaid the D. of Marlborough is ſent for home by the requeſt of the King of France; but that, it may be, is only a pretence for recalling him. It's poſſible, by the time this comes to your hands, this may be no news to you."

Ibid. No. 43.

There is a very particular account of the ſame debates in a letter from Ralph Wingate to Sir William Ellis, dated 5th of June.

Letters from Nairne to Scot and Abram.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 56.

Nairne to Scot, i. e. *Henry Straton.*

Commercy, June 8th.

"I Told him, the King was pleaſed to give him a preſent of 300 livres, and to advance him 300 more, being ſix months of his penſion, for the firſt ſix months of 1713; and I bid him draw for the ſaid 600 livres, and for the 300 due for the laſt ſix months of 1712.

"I am ordered to tell you, that Francis [the King] thinks it may be for his ſervice, that all Stirling's relations [the Scots], who have any intereſt in Mr. Porter [the parliament], ſhould join in every thing with Mr. Cant. You are deſired, therefore, to recommend this particularly to Cary [Lockhart], King, and others of your acquaintances that deal with Porter.

"All Stirling's relations, that are Knowles' [the King's] friends, are deſired alſo, to concur and comply with Cant, in chooſing ſucceſſors to Mr. Porter's preſent employment."

Nairne wrote a long letter to Abram, the 22d of this month; but he uſed cant names, which occur in no other part of the correſpondence, and the letter is unintelligible, except in the following paſſages:

He blames the coalition of ſome "with ſuch a knave as Williamſon [the Whigs]," referring very probably to the oppoſition of the Scots, at this time, to miniſtry, with a view of diſſolving the Union; and adviſes them "to take care, in this critical juncture, not to countenance or fo-

ment

ment any raſh undertaking, which may exaſperate to no purpoſe Charles [princeſs Anne], Hickman [Harley], Cowley and partners [the High church probably], with whom meaſures ought to be kept; it being, as you know, widow Jean's [the King's] poſitive directions reiterated to Juxon, to join his intereſt with Hickman's company * upon all occaſions, in oppoſition to Williamſon †." 1713. May.

"Jeremy [the King] is ſtill very kindly entertained, by his landlord [the D. of Lorrain]. He is very well, and goes home to his ordinary reſidence in eight days."

The Chevalier orders his friends, in England, to concur with the miniſtry in making a peace with France.—The French acknowledge they were thereby ſaved from ruin. Vol. xi. 4to. or Memorandum-book of Mr. Carte's, p. 100.

"MArch 3, 1724, Mr. Symmer told me, at Paris, that the King was prevailed with to ſend poſitive orders to his friends in England to be for the peace, without whoſe concurrence the miniſtry durſt not have made it. That his friend, duke Hamilton, remonſtrated to the King againſt it, as the moſt deſtructive thing in nature to his intereſt, which would certainly be moſt promoted by the war, which involved the nation in greater difficulties, and kept up a friend ‡ in readineſs to aſſiſt him in caſe of the Queen's demiſe; and that the duke was very preſſing with the King not to interpoſe, but to leave his friends to manage the party for him; and expreſſed himſelf with great vehemence and diſcontent, when the King repeated and inſiſted on his orders, which brought the duke and the reſt of the Jacobites into the peace, which ſaved France from ruin, as the French themſelves have often acknowledged to Mr. Symmer, when he had urged it to them, and repreſented their ingratitude to the King and his friends."

J. Tomſon [Plunket] to Sir William Ellis. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to, No. 41.

Lord Treaſurer's danger from all parties.—The conduct of the French ambaſſador.—Treaſurer muſt be ſpurred on.

Dear Sir, June 22, 1713.

"I Didn't write to you the laſt poſt, becauſe of my ſore eyes; but I told Mrs. Finton [Fox] what to write; to whom I refer you for all particulars. I ſuppoſe you know Mr. Overton [Harley] is in convulſion fits, ſince the bargain [Bill] was rejected; and if he don't compromiſe

* Miniſtry. † Whigs. ‡ Marlborough.

1713. June. the matter with Harriſon [Sir Thomas Hanmer] and the reſt of the orphans [October-club], he is a loſt man; but I believe he will run no more hazards. For, within theſe few days, he begins to reform, and if he does not continue to join heart in hand with the mates [miniſtry] and tanners [Tories], Harriſon [Sir Thomas Hanmer] and the orphans [October-club], with the reſt of the Tanners [Tories] will join with the Waggs [Whigs] again to ruin him. This is the third ſhock he ſtood, and made no amendments. The partners of Holton and Hungal [houſes of lords and commons] are in a ferment, eſpecially the Tanners [Tories] of them, ſince they are made ſenſible, how Hall [Hannover] did of late fly in the face of Quaint [princeſs Anne] and the mates [miniſters], telling her, ſhe knows no new obligation or friendſhip he owes her on the preſent gold [government], and that he will ſtand by the Waggs [Whigs].

Several of Hung [commons] and Holt [houſe of lords] tell me thoſe of South-houſe [of the French] have nothing in them that's brave or wiſe, neither do they take them to be cordially in Mr. Ken's [the King's] intereſt. I anſwered, they needn't ſuſpect Knox's [King of France's] integrity to him; and that they ſhould exert themſelves the more they ſuſpect him. They replied, his agent [ambaſſador] here ſhould give them ſome marks of his ſincerity, which he has not done as yet. Eating and drinking is not enough here; he ought to court the partners [houſe of commons] eſpecially. I rejoined, he is only come to make a parade; but the next that comes will do his duty. This I did, to keep them in heart, and up to Mr. Ken's [the King's] intereſt. I know the agent [ambaſſador] acts by direction, and is afraid to be ſeen to countenance any thing that ſeems to tend to Mr. Ken's [the King's] intereſt, at preſent; for he thinks there is no truth in an Evelinſman [Engliſhman], which ſhows the weakneſs of his maſter and his mate [miniſter].

Rogers, however, continues ſtill to blow the coals, and as he laid the foundation of this late ſtorm, he may lay one for another, that may prove to Mr Ken's [the King's] advantage, in the end; for Overton [Harley] muſt be ſpurred on, or elſe he'll ruin all by his delays and falſe meaſures, on miſtaken policy. His heart is divided betwixt Hall [Hannover] and Quaint [princeſs Anne] and conſequently of an unſteady principle, which gives room to moſt men to ſay, he is an ambidexter. The truth on't is, he thinks if the gold [government] is lodged in the hands of the Tanners

ners [Tories] only, he is not long lived in it, and, therefore, he aimed at a mixture; but now finds, to his coſt, 'twon't do. 1713. June.

No news here, but the bill relating to the 8th and 9th articles was thrown out of the houſe of commons. The Whigs and Tories joined, in the matter. 'Tis but what I told you, ſome time ago. The Whigs needn't brag, for they'll get no ground by it. They made bonfires in the city, but got no mob by it. They gave out the lord T——r [Harley] will not ſtand his ground long; but they'll find themſelves miſtaken, I hope. They ſay, they'll move for the houſe of Lords to addreſs the Queen, to lay before the houſe, Who adviſed her to make this treaty of commerce, ſo prejudicial to the nation; or, at leaſt, they'll cenſure it. But they ha'n't ſtrength enough to carry their point, unleſs the Tories join with them. In 18 or 20 days, we ſhall be able to make a true judgment of things; at preſent, none can be made of any thing. I am, dear Sir, with due reſpect, yours to command,

J. Tomson.

Five or ſix of Tanner parties [the Tories] declare againſt the treaſurer, and tell him, he muſt be no longer on the reſerve, but muſt be a plain dealer; they are much in Mr. Ken's [the King's] intereſt."

Ralph Wingate to Mr. Thomas Auſtin.

D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 43.

Mr. Thomas Auſtin is probably Sir William Ellis. This letter is indorſed by him, "Ned, $\frac{23 \text{ June}}{4 \text{ July}}$, 1713."

His correſpondent writes to him about the treaty of Commerce, and the complaints of the Tories againſt Harley.

SIR, London, June 23, 1713.

"THE bill of Commerce, relating to the 8th and 9th articles of our late treaty, was thrown out, as I told you in my laſt, by a majority of 9. This was not done by any intereſt of the Whigs. But, though it is of a very great loſs to trade in general, it's of conſequence to the throwing a great affront upon the crown, and upon the treaſurer in particular; to that degree, that all of them, who voted ſo, who are lovers of the church and crown, do own it was to make the treaſurer ſhake at root. The truth is, he acts as if he was abſolute, and as if he thought that every body ought to be content and highly pleaſed with all his actings.

1713. The loyal party have complained, many times, of his not altering the greateſt part of the Whig lieutenancy, and almoſt all the juſtices of the peace in the kingdom, and all the employments, officers, and collectors of the cuſtoms, exciſe, &c. Theſe, he has promiſed 20 times to remove; but never has done any thing in it. So now, they ſay, in general they will force him to act like an honeſt man, though there is not a word to be truſted to what he ever ſaid; ſo that if there is not a clean houſe of all the Whigs, before next parliament, it will go hard with him. I am, &c.

Mr. Lilly don't ſet out till the 2d of July."

Carte's Memorandum-book, marked vol. ix. 4to. p. 42.

Anecdotes concerning the Treaty of Commerce with France.—Debates thereon, in the Houſe of Commons, when rejected, in compliment to Sir Thomas Hanmer, by the Earl of Oxford.

"SIR Thomas Hanmer was ſent over, in 1712, to the D. of Ormond (whoſe relation and friend he was) in Flanders, and after that came to Paris, where he was received, by the King of France's order, like a prince. Never had a private man ſuch honours paid him.

There, he put the laſt hand to the Treaty of Commerce; which very treaty, he afterwards, when ſpeaker, uſed his intereſt to throw out.

When that treaty was to come before the houſe, and ſeveral debates had been held on it, juſt as the laſt debate for the final determination of the affair came on, the earl of Oxford wrote a letter, as L. L. told me April 23d 1724, to Mr. Bromley, telling him, that he would, by no means, be an occaſion of a breach among friends: that he would willingly let all the blame lie upon himſelf, and the treaty be given up, rather than make a diviſion. Nor would there have been a diviſion in the houſe that day, had not Sir Richard Vyvian got up and ſaid, that he had ſtudied the point of commerce: that he found the treaty admirably calculated for the advantage of England, and he had grounded his notion on the beſt informations; and that he could not bear to ſee a matter given up, out of a compliment to any body's notions, when his country was to receive a prejudice by it; and he laid the foundation of a debate, which laſted till 2 in the morning, being carried on purely on a country-foot, and the treaty rejected, by only about 8 votes. Lord L. dined that day with lord Oxford, who was ſurpriſed to hear, that the houſe was ſitting

at

at nine o'clock, and could not imagine how it happened, nor did then take a ſtep to carry the point; whereas, as lord L. told me, had he but ſent a note to his brother Ned, or couſin Tom Harley, the court intereſt, which was neuter, would have fallen in with the country, and the treaty would have certainly been ratified: ſo that this point was let, to the infinite prejudice of England, only out of a compliment to the earl of Oxford to Sir Thomas Hanmer. 1713.

A. O. told me, Sir T. Hanmer and the B. of R. were the two perſons that ſent Sir C. P. to the D. of Ormond, preſſing him to be gone for France."

J. Tomſon [Plunket] to Sir William Ellis.

He deſigns to ſet out for Paris.—Is angry with the Earl of Oxford.

July. Nairne's papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 41.

Dear Sir, July 24th, 1713.

"I Had the great honour of yours of the 20th inſtant, two days ago. I am glad you are all in good health. I deſign to poſt hence in five or ſix days. I believe this is the laſt you ſhall have from me this ſide the water.

Overton [Harley] is ill of his eyes; and the eyes of his underſtanding are worſe. He is reſolved not to be wiſe to himſelf or juſt to his friends, or concur with Churchill [the court] to modelize thoroughly the gold [government] before the next partners [parliament]; ſo that things are at a ſtand, and the mates [miniſters] divided among themſelves; but I believe will agree, at laſt, to ruin Overton [Harley], if he is obſtinate. 'Tis become a common ſaying now, great will be his fall.

Mr. Yates [lord Yarmouth] would fain be treaſurer to Mrs. Quaring—[the Queen] when her jointure is ſettled. He tells Mr. Overton [Harley] approves of him; if this does, as he has been hitherto ſubſervient to her intereſt, he hopes ſhe will enable him to be more ſo for the time to come. Others, I believe, will apply themſelves to her for the ſame end; but I believe the beſt way is to be neuter in the matter, at leaſt till I have the honour to wait upon her, and let her know how things ſtand, and the inconveniencies and conveniencies of naming a phyſician [Roman Catholic] or policion [Proteſtant], at preſent. Overton [Harley] ſays he will leave it to her.

I find

1713. July. I find there's little or no regard for Mrs. Strange [princeſs Sophia], for the lady G. ſpoke to you of [lady Anne Bellamont] deſired to be recommended to South-houſe [France]. Overton [Harley] and his friends received her but coldly, and recommended her, but ſlightly; ſo that ſhe and the Waggs [Whigs] took great umbrage at it; for they ſay Mrs. Strange [princeſs Sophia] loſes ground here every day.

I have no public news to ſend you. 'Tis not as yet known when the parliament will be diſſolved. My lord treaſurer has got a defluxion in his eyes. The Queen is well, God be praiſed!

I believe you have, and will for the future, a great many viſitors; for Mr. Ken's [the King's] friends, I find, increaſe. Mr. Noble [Netterville] gives his ſervice to you, and pleaſe to accept of the ſame from, &c.

Nairne's Papers D N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 41.

The ſame to the ſame.

He is ſtill in London.—The other miniſters are diſſatisfied with the Lord Treaſurer.—The parliament will be diſſolved.

Dear Sir, Auguſt 7th, 1713.

"YOU will be ſurpriſed to hear I am here as yet. Knox's Agent [King of France's ambaſſador] made me a compliment to go gratis in his ſhip, that was to go with his goods ten days ago; but does not go theſe four days. I am now reſolved to go in the yaucht that goes to Calais to bring over the duke of Shrewſbury. The agent [ambaſſador] engages me to go directly to Tredenhams [Monſieur de Torcy], as ſoon as I am at Putney [Paris], and open myſelf freely to him. I promiſed I would. I was glad of the motion, becauſe I deſign to improve it to Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] advantage.

I find he [French ambaſſador] is not well pleaſed with Overton [Harley], becauſe he defers to make the changes he promiſed ſo often. The reſt of the mates [miniſters] are out of patience with him, eſpecially the ſharper [Bolingbroke] ſecretary of ſtate [I ſuppoſe St. John]; but I believe he'll make but very few, till the new change is over; nor, I believe, then, till Egleton [the Emperor] makes his peace with Knox [King of France]; neither will he think of Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] buſineſs, till the blounce is ſecured abroad, as well as at home. He thinks to have good partners [a parliament] that will dance to his tune.

The

The news here is, that the parliament will be diſſolved in three or four days. The Whigs ſpare no money to join a good ſhare in the next election. They ſay, if they get but a faction ſtrong enough to keep out the Pretender, they'll gain the point. They are ſtill inſolent, and will continue ſo. 1713. Auguſt.

Noble [Netterville] gives his ſervice to you, and has a high eſteem for you. He hopes to ſee you. Service to your wife. I believe in ten days I ſhall be at Putney [Paris.] I am, &c.

Mrs. White to Mr. Watſon.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 46.

The decyphering is interlined in Sir William Ellis's hand.

Unjuſt ſuſpicions of the Earl of Middleton's betraying his maſter.—Reports about him and Lord Melfort, Lord Fingal, Lord Oxford, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Ineſe, &c.

SIR, 30 July, / 10 Auguſt, 1713.

"SINCE I received yours of the 20th July, I have made it my buſineſs to find out from what ground that aſperſion ſprung relating to your friend Mr. Philips [my lord Middleton], and at laſt have found what I muſt conjure our friend to be very circumſpect in taking notes from whence he has the account: for Mrs. White has engaged her honour in it to him that told it her, that it ſhall never come to be named. He ſpeaks himſelf with reſpect of Mr. Philips [lord Middleton]; but told her of what I ſhall tell you on the other ſide of this; and the young gentleman that came with Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] firſt agent here has been no friend to Mr. Philips [lord Middleton]; but, on the contrary, has inſinuated things to the agent (whoſe ſecretary he is) injurious to that friend; altogether, they have ſpread ſuch a ſuſpicious character, that does, and will be of a very bad conſequence to him, whoſe honour and truth can ſtand the teſt of all their ſuſpicions; but it deters and frights the great traders from engaging their ſtocks. I cannot ſay it is by the inſtigation of Mr. Ford [lord Melfort] or his brother; but I find the perſon that told Mrs. White was intimate with both: for, in diſcourſe, he told her, that Mr. Ford [lord Melfort] had ſeveral times wept, in relating the ſtory of the unfortunate letter, that he ſays was the cauſe of ſo much trouble to him, that letter that came here and was ſent back to your houſe

1713. Auguſt. houſe and Mr. Jacob's [France]; ſo that ſhe found, by that, they were intimate. How this perſon came to ſpeak to Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] chief factor, Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] knows, and what he propoſed for Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] advantage. He correſponds with my ſiſter Brown. I wiſh I could perſuade her to take your advice; but I fear ſhe will marry, and ſo ruin her children."

The two next pages of this letter are explained and abridged in Sir William Ellis's hand.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 46.

"*A copy of the 2d and 3d pages of Mrs. White's letter of* $\frac{30 \text{ July,}}{10 \text{ Auguſt,}}$ *which are written on a cut paper.*"

"HE correſponds with Mr. Ineſe, that is, with you, and he is intimate with Mr. Mennis. He has given him fifty pounds on the King's account. It is my lord Fingale that told me, that Monſieur Pontchartrain told him, if my lord Middleton was faithful to the King, he was falſe to the King of France; and he that is here, I mean D. D'Aumont, is of the ſame opinion as he ſays, or words to that effect. But it was not lord Fingale that told me that. The duke of Powis told me, he did not ſpeak or truſt himſelf to my lord Middleton's ſons, and repeated only at large, that there were ſtrange reports of my lord Middleton. When Mr. Rogers comes, he will tell you more; but be ſure not to take notice you have heard any thing from me.

All will go well for the King, when the parliament meets again. She [princeſs Anne] has a rupture in her belly, and is dangerouſly ill, but goes about her chamber.

The propoſal of this perſon to the King, to come incognito, is dangerous and fooliſh. The parliament will do it, if ſhe lives long enough to let it ſit. But the terms will be cruel, and unfit to take; but if once in poſſeſſion, the power of altering, in time, will of courſe follow.

The thing [the late addreſſes] that paſſed the parliament has no conſequence. My lord Fingale ſpoke to the Lorrain envoy. He ſaid he was ſent to princeſs Anne, not to the parliament; ſo ſhould take no notice, unleſs ſhe ſpoke to him. All the reſt of the miniſters ſee it was a trick of the Whigs, to get an advantage in the elections, and the Tories would not have let it paſs; but, with a ſneer and a laugh, paſſed it.

Mr. Harley is provoked, to the laſt degree, againſt Hannover, and, much againſt his inclination, will be forced to be honeſt." 1713. Auguſt.

The remaining part of the letter follows, with the key interlined, in Sir William Ellis's hand.

"ASSURE Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] of my zealous ſervice, and let him know I ſhall manage this affair, ſo as he ſhall have full power to juſtify himſelf; but I beg, at preſent, he will take no notice of what I write. Rogers is intruſted, by the perſon I have named, that told me what Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] firſt man told him; and, to do that perſon juſtice, he ſaid he did believe Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] to be a man of honour. I cannot find yet, if he has told the ſame to any other perſon than Mrs. White. Rogers has told her ſeveral times, that he feared an ill character of Mr. Philips [lord Middleton], in regard to Mr. Jenkins [the King]. She aſſured him it was groundleſs malice. Then he repeated, that he was the cauſe of Mr. Hamilton's leaving Mr. Jenkins [the King]. So ſhe concluded it was from that, that the malicious report came; but now ſhe finds that it came both ways. Mr. Rogers is an ill figure of a man, and as ill an utterance; but what he has fallen into, by chance, is very extraordinary, and I believe that ſilly appearance has been of great help to him, in doing what he has done. I believe you will ſay what he has writ was well done, and like a man of a better appearance. He will be ſerviceable when at the great town [Paris], and Mr. Harris [Harley] will ſee what he ſends, and ſupply him in the fa[illegible]. He is honeſt. The traffick will require Mr. Philips' [lord Middleton's] and your head to manage. He has promiſed me to have [illegible] with no other, in this traffick, but your friend [he means my lord Middleton] and you. Mr. Peregrine [Ferguſon] would have him to trade with Mr. St. [Stafford], that is, with Mrs. Rachell [the Queen]; and the perſon I have named would have him trade with Mr. Ineſe, who he trades with; but he aſſures me he will attend Mrs. Philips [my lady Middleton], and by her, trade with Mrs. Rachell [the Queen], and then buy and ſell by Mr. Philips' [lord Middleton's] and your direction. It is odd that Peregrine [Mr. Ferguſon] ſhould have, under Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] hand, to be one of the factors for preſent chalk [caſh], one of his circumſtances;

1713. August. cumſtances; for none here will deal with him in that way, he is ſo indigent, and other things alledged. I believe very well of him; but many others do not. What I name of the fifty pounds given, muſt not be named, only to know if that perſon has ever acknowledged to have received that ſum of the man I have named; for he ſcorns to name it, only to know if it be approved his giving it ſo; becauſe he pretends to have direction to be one of the factors named to receive an account of trade for Mr. Jenkins [the King]; he would have had as much more ſince. This perſon would have refuſed a thouſand pounds himſelf, or two hundred a-year to the fund, if there had been a compliance from others of the manufactory. What he wants in underſtanding the trade, he makes up in zeal and bravery of ſpirit for the good of the company. What I mean, of not knowing he has told any other than Mrs. White is, I cannot prove he has, though I don't doubt but he has, becauſe of the report being ſpread; though yet I cannot fix it on any particular perſon, that has been told it by him. You will judge, when you ſee Mr. Rogers, what is fit to let him know; ſince thoſe he will deal with here, will acquaint Mr. Harris [Harley] with what he writes; for they are at his devotion to all intents; and he not at all a friend, only will have it in his power at once, if he finds it will be ſo without him, to ſeem to have had always the intention, and waited for an opportunity; for that is the true character of Mr. Harris [Harley]. I find that Mr. Innes, I have named, is no friend to Mr. Philips [my lord Middleton], and I am ſure thoſe of his character do Mr. Jenkins [the King] great injury, by being with him at this time, and his not being in their hands, as his father was, has done him a great ſervice; ſo that his being there is not well. I deſire Mrs. Philips [my lady Middleton] will receive Rogers well, and not think worſe of him for his figure. I wiſh Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] would write himſelf a kind letter to Mr. Aſkine [lord Ayleſbury], my friend, that was at Bruſſels, who is now at Paris, and ill of an ulcer in his bladder. He has long taken it ill he did not anſwer his letters, which is the reaſon he does not write there, though he is ſtill the ſame. Mr. Ford [my lord Melfort] has been once to ſee my friend [lord Ayleſbury], and he returned it, but no more friendſhip will ever be betwixt them. I do not know if Mr. Rogers can ſupport himſelf, or if he expects to have a conſideration from thoſe concerned, who are to reap the benefit. I believe Mr. Harris

[Harley]

[Harley] will take care, under-hand: for, by what I have found out, he is at the bottom; but I am fully perſuaded Rogers is truly zealous for the good of the manufactory, and indeed every action has proved it; and the uſe that can be made will be of conſequence. Adieu. 1713. Auguſt.

I aſſure you, you are not miſtaken in your friend Mr. Bartheleme [Mr. Mathews †]; he is your real, hearty ſervant, and will be what he was again. He deſires me to aſſure you, he is the ſame to all intents. I am, &c."

The ſame to the ſame.

The ſame ſubject continued.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 45.

"*A copy of the three firſt pages of Mrs. White's letter of the* $\frac{7}{17}$ *Auguſt*, 1713, *which are written in a cut paper.*"

This copy is in Sir William Ellis's hand.

$\frac{7}{17}$ Auguſt, 1713.

"I Have ſpoken to lord Fingale. He has told me three things alledged againſt my lord Middleton. One, that when F. Plowden was ſent on the King's buſineſs, another father of theirs was taken in Flanders; and when they found it was not Plowden, they let him go, and that my lord Middleton was the man that knew of this buſineſs. The ſecond thing was, that young Sheridan told my lord, that his father was ſent to the Elector of Cologne, who promiſed to aſſiſt the King with money: but when Sheridan came, he ſhuffled him off, becauſe he found all deſigns were diſcovered to thoſe here. The third was, that a letter ſent by duke Hamilton, was ſent back to the prince of Orange, and that he ſhewed it him, and, in a pleaſant manner, bid him do ſo no more. My lord aſked the duke himſelf, if this was true; who anſwered, it was falſe, and ſpoke of my lord Middleton with reſpect, and not at all ſo of my lord Melfort. That of Monſieur Pontchartrain I find my lord Fingale ſpoke of to the Queen: but ſhe told him he [Pontchartrain] was angry with my lord Middleton, and was a paſſionate man; but he [lord Fingale] did not ſpeak to her [the Queen] in the very bare terms he [Pontchartrain] ſpoke them to him [lord Fingale], which were as I writ them in my laſt. But now this lord is convinced, that all this is occaſioned by malice and deſigns, and deſires, that my lord Middleton will be pleaſed to ſend him his inſtructions, what the King would have moved in parliament this next ſeſſion: for ſeveral of the houſe, that deſire to be choſen

† Perhaps the duke of Buckingham.

1713. Auguſt. again, deſire him to know what the King would have them do, and the will do it. Sir John Packington has promiſed to be the leading man, and the reſt promiſe to ſecond it, and I know ſeverals that ſay they will. Sir William Whitlock ſays, he will, who is a leading man. If the King approves of it, they will call for the box, where the names of thoſe are, whom princeſs Sophia ſent to be commiſſioned to have the government in their hands, till ſhe could come after the death of princeſs Anne. This was ſent, when they thought her a dying; and then the parliament, if the box be produced, will declare againſt the choice, as men that are againſt the conſtitution, and will take the occaſion to prove, that there are a number of Papiſts in employments in that ſtate, and that they have built them a church; and then prove all the diſreſpectful things which that court has done againſt princeſs Anne and the preſent miniſtry, and, by degrees, fall on the ſucceſſion; which, if the parliament is as they expect, will be as good as the old."

The ſame ſubject is continued in the remaining part of the letter; and the key to it is interlined, in the original, by Sir William Ellis.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 46.

"MOST tenants are diſpoſed pretty well, if Mr. Harris [Mr. Harley] would once reſolve it was to be done; but he will keep in with both. Thoſe five, [Sunderland, Somers, Halifax, Cowper, and Ruſſel,] he met, and, as I told you in a former letter, he is in cloſe counſel with, and does many things by their inſtigation. The book-keeper that was with Mr. Jacob [lord Bolingbroke] he would have out of the office, and give him a place of more profit; but he will not change, becauſe he knows what he means by it; if the laws do go for Mr. Jenkins [the King], and that all the management cannot hinder him, then he [Mr. Harley] will appear as a main witneſs, elſe he has taken ſuch meaſures as will juſtify him, and will have thoſe five perſons to prove how he concerted all thoſe things for the good of Mr. Sandy [Hannover], tho' he did not believe him his friend; and this is what that perſon who is hourly with him [lord Fingale] ſays of him. He is ſo afraid of Mr. Medlecote [the parliament], he dare not do more for Mr. Sandy [Hannover] openly; but he renders all things of no effect, that is offered as to his prejudice, and ſtill gives a politic reaſon for it, that every one in his club clearly ſees what he aims at. That princeſs Anne's ſpeech, at going away of Mr. Medlecote [the parliament], was ſo ordered, he could not help

help her ſaying what ſhe did; becauſe he that it belonged to ſo to order it, had contrived to have it ſo, and argued the point to Mrs. Anne Smith [princeſs Anne]. As ſhe conſented, ſo he could not change it, though he attempted it. I ſpoke to you before of Mr. Rogers; he is, I do truly believe, an honeſt man. Mr. Harris [Mr. Harley] does certainly know of his journey, further than the great town [Paris], though it is his confidant that does employ him. Mr. Rogers will clear this point to you. The parſon [lord Fingall] I have named to have told me this, in regard of Mr. Philips [lord Middleton], is no man of great parts, but moſt zealouſly honeſt to his friend and relation [the King]; his wife, who is at the great town [Paris], has ſent to him to come, and ſays that Mr. Ford's broker [lord Melfort], that was the firſt about Mr. St. John's [the duke of Perth], deſires him to come to him; he laughs with me at that, and ſaid he thinks it was a great way to go to make him a viſit: he ſaid he was intimate with his brother [lord Melfort]; but never was but three times with him [duke of Perth]. He does not ſay his brother [lord Melfort] did tell him any thing I have writ; it was what I could not in manners aſk him. I find Parker was well acquainted with him, who he thinks mad. All I could ſay I did, to undeceive thoſe that had handed thoſe malicious reports on hearſay, to come to a juſter opinion. 1713. Auguſt.

Mr. Laur [Sir Conſtantine Phips], that was my council, that is not here now, I have heard from lately, by one that came from him; he is ſincerely a friend to Mr. Jenkins [the King], and deſires he may know he is ſo. He has gained great reputation where he is.

I ſay, with my moſt faithful ſervice, aſſure Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] that none on earth more truly honours him; that I beg he will be pleaſed by you, to direct you to write ſuch a letter, as I may ſhow the perſon I have named [lord Fingall]; only thus, in anſwer to my letter. He gave me leave to deſire him to give me ſuch directions as were approved, that he may deliver to thoſe of Mr. Medlecote's family [the parliament], as I have here named; what I have told, in relation to Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] himſelf, he has not given me leave yet to tell him; but he ſaid, after ſome time, he would give me leave to acquaint him, for it was unjuſt that ſuch ſort of reports ſhould not be cleared, and that he was for what was juſt, and then what was moſt proper to be done to cultivate all the family's intereſt together; for that was the way

to

1713. August. to do ſomething effectually; for this is the time before the next term, for all depends upon it. All has been trifling till now, it is come to the deciſion of all. If this time be loſt, there will be but an ill proſpect of recovering the eſtate. Mr. Rogers is obliged to be where Mrs. Rachel is [at Paris], for ſome time before he can ſee Mr. St. Johns [the King]; for there is ſomething to be done there that will regard Mr. Harris [Harley], by whoſe direction he goes with that lady I formerly named [lady Anne Bellamont]. I believe I have tired you with this long ſcroll, who am, with all truth and eſteem, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant,

N. N."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to.

Letters from Nairne to Abram and Berry, Auguſt, 1713.

From the 22d of June to the 25th of July, Nairne only marked down, in his book of entries, that he received the ſeveral letters written by Abram and Berry, and anſwered them. On the 25th of July, he "mentioned to them, the addreſs about removing the King, and repreſented to them the barbarity of it, and the weakneſs of complying with it." He

Page 58. wrote, on the 3d of Auguſt, to Abram, "about Leſly and the proteſtant chapel;" and he inſerted, in his book of entries, a long letter he wrote to Abram on the 10th: but there is no key to it in the whole correſpondence, and it is unintelligible, except in the following paſſages.

"Mr. Lorimer [the duke of Lorrain] continues to be very kind to your ſiſter Jenny [the King]. She goes to ſee him in 10 or 12 days hence, and ſhe"ll give him an account herſelf of the obliging part his factor [reſident] has acted upon the occaſion of Proby's [parliament's] late clutter; and I do not doubt but he will take notice of it to his factor, and encourage him to continue; and Mrs. Jenny [the King] will [illegible] thanks ſent to him from hence, in her name, by a good hand."

"Mr. Lamb [Leſly] is not arrived yet, but is upon the road. He will be kindly received, and ſo will Mr. Kemp, you may depend upon it."

Nairne to Abram.

Dear Sir, Auguſt 16th.

"SINCE my laſt to you of the 10th, I have had two from you, of the 21ſt and 24th. In the firſt, you mention Cornhill, as if he deſigned to come and ſee his friends here: if he does, I can aſſure you, he

will be very kindly received, for his uncle Meredith's ſake, as well as for his own." 1713. Auguſt.

There is no key to theſe names. The initial letters of the cant names are almoſt always the ſame with thoſe of the real.

"Mr. Lamb [Leſly] arrived here, Sunday laſt, and I hope he will not complain of his reception; for every body here is very kind to him, and he has leave and encouragement to follow his trade; but as the goods he trades in [his religion] are no leſs forbidden here, in this country, than they are in Falmouth [France], he muſt trade warily and in private, that people may take as little notice of it as poſſible. This is prudent and neceſſary, in a place where we have meaſures to keep, and where we are not maſters; and the more our landlord is kind to us, the leſs we ought to abuſe it.

What you ſay of Madam Arſcot [probably Avignon], in yours of the 24th, is now out of doors. There was ſome propoſal of going to live in that lady's houſe; but now that is quite laid aſide, for many reaſons.

We part from hence to-morrow, to go to the waters."

He added in a poſtſcript, that this journey was uncertain.

Nairne to Berry.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 59.

SIR, Auguſt 16th.

"I Could not part for the waters, without writing to you, though I have little to ſay, only to acknowledge the favour of your laſt of the 21ſt July. The propoſal you mention therein, of promoting a good work at Geneva, which might be very acceptable to uncle Edwards [England], would certainly be complied with by Kelly [the King] and Morton [Middleton], as far as would be proper for them, in caſe they paſſed that way; but the travelling, which you ſuppoſed theſe two gentlemen might be obliged to, is, I hope, now out of doors. The good man, in whoſe houſe they live, is ſo kind to them, that he ſeems in no way inclined to part with them, unleſs it were to travel another way; ſo, in all likelihood, they will paſs the winter where they are, and where I hope uncle Edwards [England] will be pleaſed to hear, that his nephew Kelly [the King] is very kind to a Caryman [a church of England clergyman], whom he has ſent for of purpoſe to follow his profeſſion with the

Peacocks

1713. August. Peacocks [Proteſtants] of his family, and who is arrived but ſome days ago.

This, I hope, will anſwer, in ſome meaſure, the ends of your propoſal; and ought to have ſome good effect with all thoſe who will be contented with reaſonable things, which I am ſure Kelly [the King] will never refuſe to ſatisfy his uncle, and make the good man eaſy. On the other hand, it is but fit the nephew ſhould be made eaſy too. He is a ſincere man, and he thinks it is neither conſiſtent with his honour nor his intereſt, at this time, to be diſputing about Mr. Roſs [religion]; ſo the leſs that gentleman is ſpoke of the better, and he hopes all thoſe that wiſh him well will comply with him in that point.

A poſtſcript to tell him, that the journey to Waters was uncertain, becauſe of the rainy weather."

September. Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 41.

J. Rogers to Sir William Ellis.

Plunket's original Letter.

The Key is in Sir William's hand.

Rogers gives an account of his reception, of the Marquis de Torcy's diſpoſition towards the Pretender, and his ſentiments of the Engliſh Miniſtry.

Paris, Sept. 13, 1713.

"AS I arrived here, I found yours. I could not anſwer it ſooner, I was ſo taken up; and beſides, I thought fit to ſee Tredenham [Monſieur de Torcy] firſt, who ſeems ſomewhat jealous of my coming here, at this time of day; ſo that he will watch my motions, as narrowly as he can. I had a long diſcourſe with him, and find by him, there is little or no good to be expected from him or his maſter; at leaſt, till his own affairs are well ſettled. He deſired my correſpondence, while I ſtaid on this ſide of the water; if I did not uſe the meaſures I often ſpoke to you of, it might be of ill conſequence to me, which you ſhall know when I ſee you there, which will be about the latter end of the month. I had only one letter from Noble [Mr. Netterville] ſince I came hither. He gives his kind ſervice to you, and deſires to let you know he hopes to ſee you ſoon in England, to your ſatisfaction. That he does not doubt, but things will go well, in time. I expect to have orders to go to ſee you ſoon. I brought the papers I ſpoke to you of in my former letters.

Tredenham

Tredenham [Monſieur de Torcy] deſires a copy of them. I promiſed him he ſhould, becauſe he will ſee how much his maſter is obliged to Mr. Kennedy [the King] and his friends, for what has been done to this time. Quarington [the Queen] has them now to peruſe. Pray let Mr. Kennedy [the King] know it; and if he don't think fit he ſhould have a copy of them, I ſhall not give it him. Pray let me hear from you, and you will very much oblige, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and ſervant, to command, 1713. September.

J. Rogers.

P. S. I can aſſure you, Tredenham [Monſieur de Torcy] has no notion at all of our affairs, or of the mates [miniſters] in Evelin's houſe [England]."

Letters from Nairne to Abram, Berry, and Scot, September 19, 1713. The Pretender recommends to the Jacobites to bring Tories into Parliament, and to ſupport the Meaſures of the Court. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 59.

Nairne to Abram.

SIR, Plombieres, Sept. 19, 1713.

"YOU remember you had directions ſent to you, by a letter, in Mr. Maſſey's [Middleton and ſometimes the King's] own hand, of the 20th of May laſt, by which Jeremy [the King] deſired you and all your friends of the College, to preſs all their Cowley [High Church] acquaintances, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, both with Edgebury [England] and Mark [Scotland], to bring Trevor [Tories] into Proby's family [parliament], next term, and to engage him to be ruled, in every thing, by Charles Brown's lawyers [princeſs Anne's miniſters], Hickman [Harley] and his aſſociates.

You may alſo remember, that upon occaſion of the late hard uſage Snell [Scotland] had met with in Proby's family [parliament], in which it was feared he might be drawn in by Williamſon [the Whigs], to join him againſt Charles's ſaid lawyers, I writ to you of the 22d of June, to put you in mind of Jeremy's poſitive directions, that Juxon ſhould join with Hickman's company, upon all occaſions, againſt Williamſon, and to tell you it was expected Will. Morley would beſtir himſelf as he ought, in this matter, and ſtick to his directions.

1713. September. I am now ordered to reiterate the ſame directions to you, particularly in relation to 5xgxz hſpai, [elections] I mean Mr. Everard (whom pray mark down, leſt you ſhould forget him). His buſineſs is now in hand, and preſſes mightily. You are, therefore, deſired to ſet all your friends, not only thoſe of the college, but all others of Juxon's family, whom you can truſt, that Jeremy deſires and expects from them, that they will ſpare no pains, and loſe no time, to employ all the influence they can have upon Everard [the Elections], either by themſelves, or by relations and acquaintances, to perſuade that gentleman to be firm to Cowley, and to unite with Charles's [Queen's] lawyers, and be directed by them, in all that matter now in hand; that Hickman [Harley] may ſee, that Juxon [Pretender] is his friend, and deſires no better than to join ſtocks with him, and truſt his intereſt in his hands.

This is what John Brown [the King's] beſt friends adviſed, as a thing which they hope may turn to his account. Whatever the event be, Jeremy [the King] is reſolved to do his part, which is the reaſon he now ſo earneſtly recommends this affair to you, for the third time, and he expects you will give him account what progreſs you or your friends have done in it." The reſt of the letter is not intelligible.

Nairne to Berry.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix 4to. p. 60.

SIR, Sept. 19, 1713.

"MY laſt to you was of the 16th of Auguſt. This being now the time that preparations are making to ſet out young Price [the new parliament], I am ordered by Manly [the King] to deſire you to uſe all your endeavours, and thoſe of your friends, with thoſe who have a hand in making that gentleman's family, that they may chooſe ſervants for him, that may be firm to Kinſy † and agreeable to Morgan ‡. This laſt perſon being certainly in power to do good offices to your friend Mr. Kelly [the King], if he has any good intentions that way, it is thought fit, that Jeffrys § ſhould render himſelf as uſeful and acceptable to him as he can, upon all occaſions; but particularly upon this of young Price's forming his family; and therefore, it were not amiſs, that ſome prudent, diſcreet means were found, without affectation, to let Baker [Harley] and Young [princeſs Anne] know, by ſome of thoſe that are in their confidence, that Manly [the King] has given ſuch directions to his friends, which I hope they cannot but take kindly, and be grateful for in due time.

† Tories. ‡ The Queen. § Pretender.

I find

1713. September.

I find by your laſt, which I think is of the 11th of Auguſt, that Edwards [England] continues ſtill peeviſh againſt poor Cotton, which is no kind return to the ſincere friendſhip of Manly, for all Cary's relations, whoſe intereſt and ſecurity (as I have often told) he is conſtantly reſolved to ſupport, in every thing, that is conſiſtent with his honour and conſcience. I hope Arnot will make it his endeavours, upon all proper occaſions, to ſoften Edwards upon that point, and to convince him how hard it would be upon Manly to require things of him, that are neither neceſſary for Cary's ſafety nor his intereſt; for certainly Wanly himſelf [the Whigs], would not uſe him worſe than that, if he were to join ſtocks with them, which he hopes Cary will never force him to."

Nairne to Scot, i. e. *Mr. Henry Straton.*

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 60.

SIR, Sept. 19, 1713.

"I Shall be glad to know, if you received mine of the 27th and 30th of April, 8th of June, and 15th of Auguſt. In that of the 8th of June, I told you, that Francis [the King] has deſired Stirling [Scotland] and all his friends to concur and comply with Cant [Church of England], in making up of young Porter's family [the new parliament]. I hope you have, in due time, communicated this to all the proper perſons concerned, and engaged them to conform themſelves to Francis's deſire, in this eſſential point. It being now the time that this buſineſs is in agitation; I am ordered to reiterate the ſame, directing to you, in which I do not doubt, but you will uſe all your endeavours with Cary*, King, and others of that kidney of your acquaintance, that they may, by themſelves, and by all others whom they can any way influence, contribute to ſatisfy Mr. Cant, that all Joſeph's [King's] of Stirling's family [Scotland] are in his intereſt. It is hoped, that this may turn to both Joſeph's and Stirling's account, at leaſt, as far as we can judge, in the darkneſs we are in; therefore, I hope you will be active in this matter."

* Cary is ſometimes the cant name for Mr. Lockhart.

1713. September. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 41.

"*Draught of an Answer to Mr. Anderson,*" i. e. *Lord Mar,* "*upon the article of Religion.*" *Sept.* 1713.

"*Not made use of, the King thought fitter to say nothing at all upon the subject, referring to Ch. Kinard.*"

SIR,

"I AM sorry to find you lay so much stress upon Mr. Smith's [the King's] living [being] or not living [being] in Forbes's [catholic] family, as if the issue of his law suit depended upon it, when Mr. Anderson [E. Mar] himself knows, that it would be against all law to cast him upon that account; since therefore, you have been so plain with me, upon this subject, confiding in your friendship, I will use the same freedom with you, in telling you my thoughts of this matter.

In the first place, if Smith's friends require this condition from him, they do him no favour; for he could compound, at that rate, with his greatest enemies, and with Cramond himself [the Whigs].

In the next place, living or not living with Forbes, must be a voluntary act of one's own free choice, otherwise it cannot answer the ends for which it is required. It would be but cheating and imposing upon one another, which is neither Smith nor Cant's [Church of England's] intention.

If Smith be willing, on one side, as certainly he is, to give Cant's family all the marks of favour and friendship; that can be asked of him, for the benefit of the family, I think it a little hard, on the other side, that Cant [church of England] should not allow him the liberty that all freemen have, to live where he pleases, and to follow his own judgment, in a thing that relates only personally to himself, and can be of no real prejudice to Cant.

If he were to trade with a Cramond [Whiggish] mob, I should not wonder at any hardship of that kind, from such people. But I hope Cant's [church of England's] relations are men of too good principles, to refuse the liberty to Smith himself, which he is willing and ready to secure to all their family, in the strongest and most authentic manner that they themselves can desire.

They own, that the justice of the cause in question, is altogether independant of Mr. Talbot [religion]; therefore, to deal justly and impartially

partially with Smith, they ſhould begin by deciding his law ſuit; and after he is in peaceable poſſeſſion of his eſtate, then he and Cant [church of England] may talk of Talbot's concerns [religion], with more honour and freedom, and leſs ſuſpicion of being biaſſed by views of intereſt, than at preſent. 1713. September.

I muſt tell you, that I know Smith to be very nice upon that point: for, if it were to receive a crown, he would not do a thing that might reproach either his honour or his ſincerity. He deſires a union of confidence, friendſhip, and intereſt, with Cant [church of England], above all things, becauſe he thinks him an honeſt man, and they may be mutually uſeful to one another. For that reaſon, he ſeeks all occaſions to oblige him, and to make all thoſe of his relations that are with him, eaſy; and it is for their ſatisfaction, that he has brought a perſon lately into his family who has free liberty to ſerve them, in their own way.

He had reaſon to hope, that Cant would be ſatisfied with this teſtimony of his good-will towards him; and that in return, he would be as eaſy to him, as he has been to his relations; but, inſtead of that, he has met with more uneaſineſs, upon that ſubject, than he had before; what he meant only for the comfort and ſatisfaction of his friends having been interpreted beyond what he intended, which has drawn ſeveral unſeaſonable teazings upon him, on one ſide, and occaſioned raſh judgments, on the other. He cannot help people's ſpeaking; but it were to be wiſhed, at leaſt, that his friends had ſpoke of Talbot [religion] and him with more caution and prudence than they have done. For their late reports have done him no good; on the contrary, they have expoſed him to be looked upon, as a wavering, intereſted, and diſſembling ſpirit, which is quite the reverſe of his character.

I muſt deſire you, therefore, as you love Smith's intereſt and reputation, to uſe your endeavours to ſilence their groundleſs reports, wherever you perceive they may do him harm, and to prevail all you can with Cant's [church of England's] chief relations, not to teaze upon Forbes's [catholic] account, in ſo unſeaſonable a conjuncture as this is. Let them aſk for themſelves whatever they pleaſe. He loves them ſo well, that he will refuſe them nothing that can tend to make them happy and ſecure them in their eſtates. This which he hath ſo often promiſed, and reſolves

1713. September. ſolves ſtill, in due time, to perform, ſhould be ſufficient, and to aſk more eſpecially at this time, would neither be friendly nor juſt.

Thus, Sir, having told you freely my mind, I hope you will make your own prudent uſe of it, and employ your intereſt, when occaſion offers, with Ord [princeſs Anne], Jones [Harley], Bambery [St. John], and others of your friends, in caſe any of them have any good-will towards Smith [the King], to perſuade them to be contented to trade with him upon the foot here mentioned, which is certainly the ſureſt for both ſides; for whatever he promiſes they may depend upon, nor will he leave it even in his own power to deceive them. Whereas, if he ſhould, at this ſuſpicious time, part with his old friend Forbes [Catholic] ſo eaſily, or be any ways moved thereto by the motives repreſented to him, by Mr. Anderſon, it would not be prudent in any of his new friends, to truſt him half ſo much, as they may ſafely do, remaining as he is, eſpecially when he offers to give them all the demonſtrations of his friendſhip, firmneſs, and ſincerity, that conſcience and honour will allow him."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 48.

Extracts of a Letter from Doctor Clinch.

His opinion of the ſentiments of the Miniſtry, with regard to the ſucceſſion.

Sept. 20, 1713.

"AS for your affairs here, I can ſend you nothing new; you will ſee now, in a ſeſſion or two, whether I ſhall ever be ſo happy as to ſee you here, or not. I have no hopes any further than this, that I perſuade myſelf, that it is the intereſt of thoſe that are to ſerve you, to ſerve you, and that they have no other refuge to fly to. Now if this be as I imagine, yet ſome think it impracticable, becauſe of the difficulty of ſettling the eſtate, whether it ſhall be parted, or that our friend [the King] ſhould have it, after his relation's death, &c.

I do not concern myſelf much about theſe difficulties, becauſe I believe, that if you are to have any good done you, thoſe that deſign it you will eaſily find out an expedient to do it by. My opinion is, that the generality, eſpecially thoſe in place here, are wholly guided by intereſt, and that ſetting that aſide, it is equal to them, whether this or that perſon is put in the poſſeſſion of the eſtate; and it is for that reaſon only, that you can expect to have yours reſtored, that they may enjoy theirs, which otherwiſe, I think, they cannot do. I have heard, that the worthleſs lord Wharton

Wharton inſinuated as much as this, by one of his profane jeſts, who pointing to the Queen, ſaid, "if in this life only they have hope, they are, of all men, moſt miſerable." 1713. September.

I ſhould be extremely well pleaſed to find any motions made in the ſenate, in your favour. The Whigs, who are ever reſtleſs and ſtruggling, to no purpoſe, you have heard, addreſſed, to have you removed This, the Tories, though they could not refuſe to join in it, being near the time of electing a new ſenate, only laughed at them for: for when the addreſſes were preſented to the Queen, that of the upper houſe was attended only, by five or ſix Whig lords; that of the lower, by twenty Whig ſenators. This I write, that you may know how well people ſeem to be inclined; and that you may make reflections as you think fit."

Plunket to Sir William Ellis.

October. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 48.

Plunket's original letter. It is decyphered in Sir William's hand, and endorſed by him, "Mr. Rogers, October 7, 1713."

Matters will be ſoon ripe in England.—Quarrel between Bolingbroke and Oxford.—Meaſures to be taken in the houſe of commons, &c.

Paris, October 7, 1713.

"I Had four letters from Noble [Mr. Netterville], laſt night, which imports, that the duke of Shrewſbury goes to Ireland in 14 days, to call a parliament, and put that kingdom into honeſt hands. He is to come back to England, in four months. The changes go on by degrees to Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] advantage; none but his friends advanced or employed, in order to ſerve the great project. I am deſired to tell you, Mr. Kennedy [the King] and thoſe about him are to obey and obſerve what inſtructions are ſent him from England, from time to time, and that, in ſix or eight months, things will be ripe and forward to be imparted to him. I am at liberty to go thither; but muſt not make any ſtay, for reaſons he don't think fit to be told now.

Bolingbroke and Oxford do not ſet their horſes together, becauſe he is ſo dilatory and dozes over things, which is the occaſion there is ſo many Whigs choſen this parliament, though there are four Tories to one, they think it little; but I think, if there were more Whigs it were better.

He

1713. October. He tells me, the houſe of commons will let no prime miniſter govern for the future, but manage the main point, and make the crown dependent on them. They will give money to have a ſhare of it themſelves; by this he gives to underſtand, that if Knox [the King of France] would but ſend his agent over ſoon with a good ſpell, Mr. Kennedy [the King] might ſoon go home. They are hungry; a pound now will go further than ten another time. I gave De Torcy an account of all this matter; but I believe it will be to little or no purpoſe; for it is a maxim with him, not to believe Mr. Kennedy [the King's] friends.

I continue to fix Mrs. Strange [princeſs Sophia] againſt Overton [Mr. Harley] and he againſt her. I wrote him, laſt night, that I ſaw a letter from her and her ſon, which ſays, he is a worthleſs hollow fellow. She complains the Engliſh do not go much near her now, of late.

Noble [Mr. Netterville] tells me, in his letters, the parliament will put in the Queen's power to name her ſucceſſor; and if ſhe lives a little longer Hannover will never ſee England. The duke of Berwick will be here the next week. I am to go to De Torcy with him, and tell him what's proper, and tell him what orders I have from England; doubtleſs, he won't be againſt my going to ſee you there. Noble [Netterville] truly tells me, that it is but curioſity of both ſides; therefore, is not very fond of my going yet, till he ſees how matters go. The parliament will be very active and ſtirring. The treaſurer and miniſtry look on the German miniſter, reſiding in England, with ſuch diſdain and contempt, and he on them, that they are ready to fly in one another's faces when they meet. The Whigs call themſelves the church Tories, to deceive the people; but they get no profit by it. Queen is now very well; but the Whigs ſay ſhe will die next winter, and gives the Emperor hopes Hannover will come over; for they tell them, the moment the church party goes about to ſet aſide the ſucceſſion, or declares for the Pretender, the mob will come over to them, as they did to the Tories in Sacheverel's time. This they write abroad daily to their correſpondents here and elſewhere, I am, &c."

Letters from Nairne to Abram and Berry.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 60.

Nairne to Abram.—Oct. 8, 1713.—"deſired him to recommend to all the King's friends to join with the court in Proby [Parliament]."

To

To Berry.—Oct. 8, 1713.—" *About religion.—Reaſons not to preſs the King, at this time.—To deſire the King's friends to join with the court in parliament.*" 1713. October.

Nairne wrote, at full length, the article about religion, in this letter to Berry, as follows.

—" I Am glad to hear that Kelly [the King's] friendſhip for all Peacock's family [the proteſtants], and particularly for the Cary man [clergyman] that came lately hither, is ſo well taken by Edwards [the Engliſh]. You may be ſure Kelly [the King] will continue his kindneſs that way, and that he will never refuſe to comply with any innocent lawful means, to ſatisfy Edwards [the Engliſh] upon Roſs's account [religion]; but he hopes, from all his true friends and well-wiſhers, that they will uſe all their endeavours to hinder his being preſſed to explain himſelf perſonally upon that gentleman's ſubject, at this time, becauſe he is convinced that even a compliance of hearing only, at this time, would reflect upon his honour and ſincerity; upon which two points, he is nice to the laſt degree, as all honeſt men are and ought to be; and indeed Wanly [the Whigs] has ſufficiently publiſhed beforehand, what conſtruction the world would put upon an explanation made in this juncture of time; ſo that, (as Arnot ſays very well) the diſcreteſt and moſt reaſonable thing for Edwards [the Engliſh], is to leave that matter to time and providence; for if Wheatley's [the Engliſh] happineſs and Cary's [clergyman's] ſecurity be ſettled, this is all that Edwards [the Engliſh] is properly concerned in, and what he can be infinitely ſurer of, in dealing with a perſon, whoſe veracity is proof of the greateſt worldly temptations, than if that perſon ſhould, by a precipitated unſeaſonable compliance, give but too juſt a handle to ſuſpect him of diſſimulation."

Trevers [Tunſtal] to the Earl of Middleton.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 48.

A letter from Tunſtal, giving an account of a converſation with the Duke of Marlborough, has been inſerted among the papers of 1711. *Marlborough was now at Antwerp.*

My Lord, Peck, October 16, 1713.

" I Left Antwerp the 9th inſtant, and arrived here the 13th, at night. I delivered the two letters for the Queen and ducheſs of Berwick. All that I have to add in particular, more than in the laſt I had the

1713. October. honour to ſend to your lordſhip, is, that at my return from Holland the lawyer [Marlborough] made a ſolemn proteſtation that he had rather (I think the expreſſion was) have his hands cut off, than that he ſhould do any thing prejudicial to the ſquire's [the King's] ſervice; and, after much the ſame talk as in my laſt, he bad me give aſſurances, that provided (the propoſition was ſomething conditional) he could be made eaſy as to his own law-ſuit, he would not ſtick to uſe all his intereſt, both privately and publickly, for the ſquire's [the King's] ſervice, which he will do heartily (and the duke of Berwick's commiſſion, is to ſee how far this will reach). Perhaps ſome good may come of this; at leaſt, it is and ſhall be the ſubject of my prayers and beſt endeavours. The duke of Berwick, I ſuppoſe, will give his ſentiments more at large. I ſhall wait upon her Majeſty this evening, and ſo make all the haſte I can back to the lawyer [Marlborough]. I beg the favour of your lordſhip, to pay my moſt humble duty to the ſquire [the King], and believe me, with all due reſpect, &c."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 48.

Extracts of a letter to Mr. Nelſon.

This letter is not ſigned. The writer propoſes, that attention ſhould be ſhown to the Proteſtants, and the deſign of favouring popery concealed. The Pretender's friends ſupport the miniſtry.

October 20th, 1713.

——"YOU may ſee how far the good effects of your kindneſs to Peacock's relations [the Proteſtants] may, in all probability, extend, without going out of the common methods you have taken with your good friend Mr. Dean [the Pope]. Let that gentleman poſſeſs, if you pleaſe, what he has; but I beg of you to take care that none of your family, that are related to him, be ſuffered to contradict what we are willing to believe here. I beſeech you, let my good friend Mr. Edwards [England] enjoy the miſtaken pleaſure he ſeems poſſeſt of. It will be of dangerous conſequence to undeceive him, and certainly bring that to be preſt for, at preſent, which you ſeem moſt to apprehend, and which ought, I think, to be left to time and providence. Remember how induſtrious Walters [the Whigs] has ever been to lay hold on any pretence to diſpute the legality of your demand, and to engage Price [the parliament], if it were poſſible, to give his evidence againſt you; though I dare ſay that gentleman is too honeſt and juſt to act contrary

to

to your intereſt, as I hope in due time you will be convinced whenever the trial comes on. In the mean time, you may be aſſured Arnett's inclinations diſpoſe him to move as you direct. I wiſh his power were ſuitable. What you give in charge relating to thoſe in Price's family [parliament] acting in concert with the chambers [the court], and alſo the directions given by Kelly [the King] to his friends, to have regard to ſuch as are acceptable to Younger [princeſs Anne] and Broker [Harley], ſhall not loſe its due weight. I hope the latter is already acquainted therewith; as the former, in due time, ſhall be." 1713. October.

J. Tomſon to Mr. Maſſey, i. e. *Rogers or Plunket to the Earl of Middleton.* Original. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 47.

October 24th, 1713.

"IF I have not, Sir, addreſſed myſelf to you afore now, it's becauſe I was in hopes of ſeeing you afore this. But finding my ſtay here longer than I at firſt propoſed, and my inclination leading me, to be acquainted with perſons of worth and integrity, I preſume to make my firſt approaches by letter, till I have the happineſs to wait upon you, which, in ſome meaſure, depends upon his Majeſty and you, Mr. de Torcy and the D. of Berwick not judging it fit for me as yet to go. The truth is, Sir, neither of them knows, nor perhaps is it convenient they ſhould know, the reaſons I have for ſeeing his Majeſty and you; nor do I think it proper to commit any thing to paper afore I ſee his Majeſty and you.

Finding, by daily experience here, that the character I had before of you, anſwers not only my expectation, but convinces me that you have a right to be in the firſt rank of perſons of true worth, honour, and fidelity to his Majeſty, I take the liberty to offer you my correſpondence till I have the honour of ſeeing you, and conſult matters more at large; for ſince I am here, I am not willing to act but in concert with a better judgment than my own.

I doubt not but you have ſeen ſeveral of my letters to Sir William. I don't know whether they gave that ſatisfaction you deſire. It may be, they were not explained, as they ought, or I meant. The circumſtance I was then in obliged me to write dark, and not deſcend to particulars; and the not being perſonally acquainted with you, was then the reaſon I did not preſume to addreſs myſelf to you; and though the ſame reaſon ſtill

1713. October. ſubſiſts, yet the encouragement my lady gives me, makes me hope, and believe, I mayn't be altogether diſagreeable to you.

If, therefore, I can't hope to ſee you ſoon, I will ſend you ſome papers of our tranſactions hitherto, though I confeſs I ſhould be glad to be the bearer myſelf, for ſeveral reaſons. If, therefore, Sir, after the peruſal of this, you judge it neceſſary for me to ſee you, you will pleaſe to take ſuch meaſures, as I may come with leave from hence; it being convenient to keep fair at this time of day. You will pleaſe, Sir, to honour with your anſwer him, who is with all eſteem and reſpect, &c."

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ix. 4to. p. 60.

Nairne to Abram.

SIR, October 24th.

"SINCE my laſt of the 8th, I have yours of the 18th, 21ſt, and 25th September. I am glad you have mine of the 19th September, and that you aſſure us the contents have been and will be punctually obſerved: it's what your uncle's [the King's] friends hope may be for his ſervice, though what you ſay of How's [Harley's] unaccountable methods, and of his friends growing daily more diffident of him and angry with him to a great degree; and that Trevor [the Tories], and particularly Snow [Scotland], are mighty diſobliged; and Williamſon [the Whigs] ſtill ſupported, contrary to all the rules of common prudence, ſuppoſing his intentions to be ſuch as we wiſh, and ſuch as one would think it is his real intereſt they ſhould be; though all this, I ſay, be very melancholy and diſheartening, yet your uncle [the King] continues ſtill reſolved to try what time, patience, and all good offices, on his ſide, will produce; leaving (as you ſay very well) the event to God Almighty, and to Charles's [princeſs Anne] and Honiton's [Harley's] conſciences. But when Proby [the parliament] comes to town, we ſhall be better able to judge how matters will go; for it is reaſonable to believe, that then or never ſome people will ſhow themſelves.

The medal you mention to have been ſent, the 14th of Auguſt, never came to hand. John [the King] would have valued it for the lady's ſake, who I hope loves him in her heart preferably to Laurence [Hannover]. If it be ſo, I wiſh ſhe may ſhow it ſoon, for time is precious, and delays in that match may be fatal to both.

May not you get Autry [Auchterhouſe] to tell Honiton [Harley] plainly what his friends complain and blame him for? We hear Autry has

has a great intimacy with him, and perhaps he may prevail with him to alter his methods, when he demonſtrates how prejudicial they are to his credit, and how fatal they may prove to himſelf, as well as to thoſe who ſtick to him. 1713. October.

Jeremy [the King] is well, and goes in a fortnight to ſee his kind landlord. Lamb [Leſly] is well, and has all kindneſs ſhewed him; but I find it much wiſhed he were leſs influenced by Elliot" [probably Sir William Ellis, who was a proteſtant].

The Earl of Middleton to Rogers.

An anſwer to his letter of the 24th.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 61.

October 28th.

"AN old lady, Sir, ſent me a letter of yours, which gave me great ſatisfaction, and I accept of your obliging offer of correſponding with you, as a means profitable to the factory. The conſul [King] approves of it; and, in order to that I ſhall ſend you an account [a cypher], by which we may underſtand one another, and diſappoint interlopers, in ſome meaſure: but as you obſerve very well, it is not certain; therefore, I am to deſire you to enquire at the Scotch college, on the Foſſé St. Victor, for l'abbé Ineſe, who is lately come from hence, and ſpeak to him of all our concerns, with the ſame freedom as if you were here; and he being to return hither in a ſhort time, you may conſign to him what paper you judge neceſſary for the conſul's peruſal, by whoſe order I tell you this; who bids me thank you for the good you have done, and doubts not but you'll continue to do ſo."

Rogers to Mr. Maſſey, i. e. *the Earl of Middleton.*

The intrigues and politicks of the times.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 47.

Dear Sir, Paris, October 28th, 1713.

"I Had a letter, laſt night, from Noble [Netterville], with the following occurrences: That the Emperor and Dutch ſcorned and contemned of late the Queen and her miniſters. He will give Oſtend and all the towns in Flanders to the Dutch, becauſe he thinks he will vex the Engliſh. The Whigs are ſo ſowered againſt the Tories now, that they want but ſtrength to riſe up in arms. They gave out lately, through the three kingdoms, the Pretender was turned proteſtant, to feel the pulſe of the

1713. October. the Tories; but, having gained no point by it, they now ſay it was a report from Lorrain, and the contrary was wrote from Bar. They brag they have a faction ſtrong enough, if not to bring over Hannover, to keep out the Pretender at leaſt this ſeſſion; in the mean time, the Queen may die. They'll get the Emperor to hold out another campaign. They contrive to advance him money, as they have done already. They think to put the miniſtry on ſome extreme, and on a neceſſity to call France to their aſſiſtance, and conſequently bring home the Pretender, hoping thereby to get the people of their ſide, as the Tories got them by Dr. Sacheverel's trial.

The miniſtry, now ſeeing they can't bring the Emperor to a peace, concluded to ſend Shrewſbury to call a parliament in Ireland, to ſit at the ſame time with that of England; a thing not uſual. They are reſolved now to go through ſtich with the changes through the three kingdoms. They muſt now ſink or ſwim with France. The Whigs know it, and will puſh them on to it, in order to ruin the Tories; but all to no purpoſe. They perſuade the German miniſters at London, the Emperor may have the ſame terms after the next campaign as now. If he loſes ground, the balance is loſt; therefore, the miniſtry muſt get him the ſame terms that was offered at Utrecht, or elſe the people will fly in their faces, and oblige them to renew the war, to ſecure the balance of power. Theſe arguments, however chimerical in themſelves, make an impreſſion on the Germans, and leave a ſting in the minds of the people.

Marlborough deſires to go and live in England this winter; but the Queen can't as much as hear him named. Some few attempted to keep the princeſs Sophia's birth day; but they were affronted. There was but one flag hung out of one ſteeple in all the town: a good ſign. The Scots commoners half mild, half ſtale. The lords right: money will gain them at any time. Argyle will be ſoon turned out, and his employment given to honeſt men.

The treaſurer is mortified at the Emperor, and the Dutch proceedings. He foreſees he can't, as he deſired, renew an alliance with them, or bring them into his meaſures. The factions were never ſeen ſo high as now. There will be warm doings in both houſes. How the treaſurer ſhall ſtem the current, you ſhall know per next, from, &c."

Nairne

Nairne to Abram.—November 2d.—"To endeavour to diſcover more of that report of ſpies in Joſeph's family; enquired of general Roſs." 1713. November. Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 61.

J. Rogers to Lady Middleton.

It is ſuppoſed this letter was addreſſed to Lady Middleton, who was now with the Queen, at St. Germains. Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 47.

MADAM, November 8th, 1713.

"IT's with a great deal of ſatisfaction I hear the Queen is well recovered. I hope ſhe will continue ſo. Laſt night, I had a letter from London. I am given to underſtand, I ſhall, for the future, have ſome things worth her Majeſty's notice; and, as I receive it, I ſhan't fail to let her know. The news part I ſhall ſend to M. de Torcy, under the D. of Berwick's cover; but her Majeſty will peruſe them firſt, if ſhe thinks fit.

Mr. Netterville has been with my lady Weſtmoreland. He is well pleaſed, gives his humbleſt ſervice to my lord and your ladyſhip. He ſays he has great eſteem for both. He does not doubt but he will ſee you at home ſoon, and the King in a flouriſhing condition; this he bids me tell your ladyſhip.

Sir Richard Cantillon will take care of my letters. He adviſes me not to ſend them by poſt to St. Germains. He will ſend them by the meſſenger that comes from there every ſecond day.

Your ladyſhip will be pleaſed to give the incloſed as directed, and to acknowledge the receipt of theſe letters to, &c."

Letters from Rogers to Sir William Ellis and the Earl of Middleton. Ibid.

News from England.

Plunket "to Sir William Ellis with the Chevalier de St. George, at Bar-le-duc in Lorrain."

Plunket, who was at this time in Paris, ſigns this letter with the initial letters of his name, and directs it as above.

Dear Sir, November 13th, 1713.

"I Have nothing worth your notice theſe two laſt ordinaries from England; only the new diviſion between Whigs and Tories in the city about the Election. The former cried out, "No papiſt or popiſh Pretender;"

1713. November. tender;" the latter, "No. 41 men, or Calve's-head-club; the Pretender is a proteſtant, God bleſs him."

Some of the Tories went over to the Whigs, out of ſpleen to the treaſurer, becauſe he is ſo dilatory, eſpecially about the changes. It's believed the parliament won't ſit to act, till after Chriſtmas. They'll only chooſe a ſpeaker, and perhaps paſs the bill of commerce. The Scotch commons are moſt of them Whigs; but the lords have the power of that kingdom in their hands. The parliament of Ireland moſtly Whigs. Their friends in England will aſſiſt to thwart the meaſures of the court and embarraſs matters. They continue to perſuade the Emperor to offer his niece to the prince of Piedmont, in hopes to get the D. of Savoy into the alliance again, and make him hold out two campaigns more. By that time, they hope, either the Queen or the King of France may drop off, and they'll get a great point by it. They are alarmed more and more every day to ſee the Pretender gains ground; therefore, they double their efforts to roar againſt him in print.

Pray deliver the incloſed, with my ſervice, from, &c.

J. P."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 59.

J. Rogers to Mr. Maſſey; i. e. *Plunket to the Earl of Middleton.*

November 13th, 1713.

"I Had, Sir, a letter from my correſpondent, by the laſt poſt, wherein he deſires me to let the conſul [King] know, that, in a ſhort time, he ſhall have good news to ſend him; and, as things ripen, he will let him know what to ſay and what to do. The ſiſter and the ſtewards * are well diſpoſed to ſerve him; now they ſee the Emperor is reſolved to ſtand it out. They will and muſt carry things on with a high hand, and make ſhorter work on't than they at firſt deſigned.

I have no news to ſend you; only I hear from England, the Whigs give out now, the Chevalier de St. George continues a rank papiſt, to make him odious to the people, and prepare them for ſome wicked deſign, they have or are hatching. They ſay they'll have the prince of Hannover and Marlborough come to England this ſeſſion. They are now on their laſt legs, and will run to extremes. But all depends on the parliament of England and Ireland. By May, we ſhall know how matters will go; hardly before. I have reaſon to think well of the conſul's

* The Queen and her miniſters.

buſineſs:

buſineſs: you ſhall know, Sir, my reaſons, as ſoon as I have the key. Pray, let it be after the ſame manner as that of Sir William's; and you will oblige, Sir, yours to command, &c." 1713. November.

J. Rogers to Mr. Maſſey; i. e. *Plunket to the earl of Middleton.*

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 47.

News from England.—The meaſures taken for ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the Pretender.—Plunket is deſired to negociate with the miniſters of the Roman Catholic princes at Paris.

November 15th, 1713.

"I Had, dear Sir, two letters from home, by laſt poſt, wherein I am earneſtly deſired to get myſelf introduced to the miniſters of Savoy and Bavaria, and other Roman Catholic miniſters reſiding here; and if they have any confidence in me, I ſhall have meaſures ſent me, from time to time, to communicate to them, that may be uſeful to their maſters and ſubſervient to the conſul's intereſt. I know, Sir, the men in power would be glad thoſe of his ſtamp did contribute to reſtore him to his conſulſhip, though they dare not appear in the matter bare-facedly, much leſs truſt any of thoſe foreigners in the circumſtances they are now in; but, as it is a nice thing, I ſhall not proceed in it, till I know the conſul's ſentiments of the matter; beſides, none of theſe foreigners will truſt me, unleſs I be introduced to them by thoſe that has intereſt with them: but we muſt not loſe much time: for I find, by my accounts from home, the conſul's friends begin to be more active, and deſign to bring things to bear ſooner than it was firſt propoſed. I am deſired again to tell you, Sir, that all thoſe at the helm are unanimouſly for the conſul, and my friend will anſwer for it, with his blood. I have no news to ſend you; but that I ſaw letters from Hannover, which ſay, the Elector will not ſend his ſon to England till he is invited by the Queen and parliament; nor will he believe what they ſay to him, unleſs they do it, or that they mean him well. He falls in with the ſentiments of Whigs, and acts by their directions. I gave a hint of this to my correſpondent, who will improve it to the conſul's advantage. I have given ſeveral hints of the kind of late, that did put ſome people of power on the tantrums, and made them jealous of each other, and will ſpur them on to ſerve the conſul better than they have done hitherto; to put them out of their road, I ſhall not pretend to it, for it will be impoſſible; they have choſen an un-

1713. November. common one, and won't be beat out of it, but they may be ſpurred on in it. You ſhall have timely notice what to do in it, when matters are ripe. I am deſired to tell the conſul, that he muſt not give ear to the many ſcribblers, that pretend to things they know nothing of, for they do but miſlead you and impoſe on you there. I gave the papers to Mr. Innes, and deſired him to give them into the conſul's own hands, and if he deſired it, to read them to him; and then that you make your remarks. And I hope the conſul won't let them go out of his own hands, or ſuffer copies to be taken of them, but after he has peruſed them to lock them up till I ſee him: for they will be of uſe to him hereafter; depend on it. I ſhall ſend you more in a few days, and let you know the ſenſe of great many of them. If the right uſe was made of them the conſul might be at home ere now. I wrote, almoſt every poſt, to my correſpondent there; but don't acknowledge the receipt of them. I would not have him ſmell a rat, becauſe it might prejudice the conſul's intereſt. I expect the key you promiſed to ſend, Sir, to your true friend and humble ſervant, &c.

Nairne's Papers, vol ix. 4to. p. 61.

Letters from Mr. Nairne to Abram and Berry.

Mr. Nairne to Abram.

November 25th.

"I Wiſh Aubery [Auchterhouſe] and Mill may do ſomething to ſpur Chriſtopher [princeſs Anne] and Honyton [Harley] to come to a concluſion: it is demonſtrably their intereſt, as well as Joſeph's [the King's]; and Honyton [Harley] has too good ſenſe not to ſee the danger he runs, and the ground he loſes by tampering and delaying. If Proby [the parliament] be not wrought upon, at this time, and ſome effectual ſtep made, I think it will be an ill ſign. Equivocal appearances may impoſe for a while; but if no real effects appear in a competent time, Joſeph [the King] and Juxon muſt take their meaſures another way: but I hope the perſons concerned will not put him upon that neceſſity. It is their mutual intereſt to agree, and to aſſiſt and ſupport one another againſt their common and declared adverſaries, Williamſon [the Whigs] and Laurence [Hannover]. I pray God, we may ſoon ſee this happy good intelligence between relations and friends."

The

The next paragraph is unintelligible, but the remaining part of the letter relates probably to the misrepresentations, which made the earl of Middleton resign at this time. It is too obscure, however, to be inserted. 1713. December.

Mr. Nairne to Berry.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 62.

December 14.

"TO tell him that my lord Middleton having begged his Majesty's leave to lay down the seals, the King had given them to Sir Thomas Higgins, and desired that Berry should hereafter correspond with him."

"After this, having left the secretary's office, in which I had been —— years under secretary, during earl Melfort, lord Caryll, and earl Middleton's ministry, the King was pleased to make me secretary of the closet; in which station I writ only, from time to time, some letters to England, by his Majesty's immediate orders, of which I kept no copy; only shewed them always to his Majesty before I sent them. But the Roman correspondence being my separate province, I kept entries of all my letters to Rome in a book apart from that time."

Extraordinary as the particulars contained in the following paper may appear, they are authenticated by a multitude of collateral evidences. The marquis de Torcy has interspersed his memoirs with many of the anecdotes mentioned by Plunket; and he was not an author that advanced facts upon slight grounds. Besides, the whole correspondence to the court of St. Germains in the present year, is full of information upon this head.

"*Jack Rogers' dream,*" i. e. *Plunket's account of various and secret intrigues in England.*

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 35.

"ROGERS having, for some years, been educated in Gerard's house [Germany], Mr. Egleton [the Emperor] recommended him to Mrs. Strange [princess Sophia], who reecommended him to some of our friends among the Waggs [Whigs], and Egleton [the Emperor] likewise recommended him to his agent, then residing in Evelin's house [England]. This gave the said Rogers an opportunity to contract a

1713. December. friendſhip and intimacy with the ſaid agent, and the men of buſineſs among the Waggs [Whigs], whereby he had an opportunity of ſerving Mr. Jenkins [the King], when Quaint [princeſs Anne] made the late regulation.

The ſaid Rogers having, by his daily converſation with Quack [Mr. Pen a Quaker], Noble [Netterville], and others, that were very intimate with Overton [Mr. Harley] and the reſt of his brethren, found their pulſe beat very low, and that they were at a loſs to maintain the new regulation; and it was therefore they careſſed the agents of Egleton [the Emperor], and Simon's houſe [Savoy], to bring them into their intereſt, in order for a pardon general [a general peace] with Knox [the King of France], excluſive of Duncan [the Dutch.]

Rogers, perceiving this would prejudice the intereſts of Jenkins [the King], found ways and means to fruſtrate their deſign, which he brought about in the following manner.

He being very intimate with one of the ſharpers of Egleton's agent [ſecretary of the Emperor's ambaſſador], who was maſter of all his ſophiſtry [ſecrets], got a precept [a paper] which contained in ſubſtance, that the Tanners [Tories] careſſed the ſaid agent [miniſter] then more than ever, making him great offers, in caſe he would join with them as above: but he aſſured his maſter Egleton [the Emperor] that ſuch great offers of the Tanners [Tories] were an infallible ſign they were not in a condition to ſtand their ground long, and aſſuring him the Waggs [Whigs] had laid ſuch a foundation as would turn the ſtream into its former channel; and that there was no reaſon to apprehend the Tanners [Tories] would dare to deal ſeparately with Knox [King of France], or run the riſque of giving any jealouſy to Anabaptiſts [the allies], or offending the menworthy (the mob).

Rogers, after having got this precept [paper] in his hand, did ſignify to Noble, Quack, and Overton [Netterville, Quaker, Pen, and Mr. Harley,] that the Waggs [the Whigs], in conjunction with the Anabaptiſts [the allies], were reſolved to ſupplant Quaint [princeſs Anne] and him, and alſo that it was in his power to let him know all their ſophiſtries [ſecrets]; telling withal, that his chief aim in this was purely to ſerve Mr. Jenkins [the King]. Whereupon Harris [Harley] anſwered, that he

he did not diſlike his fidelity to his friends, aſſuring him that he ſhould find his account in what ſervice he ſhould do for him and Quaint [the Queen]. 1713. December.

Hereupon Rogers gave him the aforeſaid precept [paper], and all the precepts [papers] that the agent ſent to Egleton [the Emperor] and Duncan [the Dutch,] from time to time, to the number of about twenty-four; containing, in ſubſtance, the ſchemes they had laid for continuing the weather hot [war] or cold. In order thereunto, the agent prepared a memorandum to be given in Egleton's [the Emperor's] name, to Quaint [princeſs Anne]; ſetting forth, that he could raiſe treble the allen [army] he had hitherto. *Nota bene*, that the Agent, at the ſame time, adviſed his maſter to make large promiſes, till he could gain his point in Evelin's houſe [England]; and afterwards, that ways may be found to evade the performance of them with credit.

Which was to be printed and publiſhed, in order to gain the men-worthy [mob], and exaſperate them againſt Quaint [the princeſs], Overton [Harley], and his brethren; and another precept [paper], giving an account that Simon's houſe [Savoy] would ſtick no longer to Egleton's [the Emperor's] intereſt, but would look to himſelf; and another precept [paper], ſent from Riſton [the King of Portugal] to Egleton [the Emperor], importing that he would follow Quaint's [the princeſs Anne's] ſteps. Another precept [paper], propoſing a method of removing Quaint [princeſs Anne] out of truſt [the throne]; and another precept [paper], containing a method how to prolong the weather hot [war] for two years longer. Theſe, with many other matters, too long to mention here, being given by Rogers to Harris [Harley], made ſuch impreſſion on Quaint [princeſs Anne], and Overton [Harley], that they immediately reſolved upon dealing even ſeparately with Knox [King of France].

Rogers, perceiving the agent to be dejected upon account of his being ſlighted on this occaſion, diſcourſed with him as uſually, and made a bye motion to him to reconcile him to Kennedy's [the King's] intereſt; but he being ſo much elated by the repeated aſſurances of the Waggs [Whigs], refuſed to favour it. Whereupon Rogers attacked him another way, and told him there was a project ſet on foot by Lewis [old Danby], Overton [Harley], and the reſt of the ſociety, to marry Mr.

1713. December. Kemp's [the King's] ſiſter to Knell [the King of Sweden]; and, by that means, to reſtore him, excluſive of Mrs. Strange [the princeſs Sophia].

The agent communicated this to his chief confidents among the Waggs [the Whigs], who were ſo alarmed at it, that they raiſed all the Devils in Hell to prevent it, and ſaid, that of the two evils, they would rather have Jenkins [the King], though a phyſician [a Roman Catholic], than that ſuch a project ſhould take, which would knock all their meaſures down at once, and ruin for ever them and their friends the Anabaptiſts [the allies].

Whereupon they ſent to Hall [Hannover], that he would ſend his agent immediately to Evelin's houſe [England], to take care of his intereſt, who, thereupon, gave in a memorandum, which ſerved Quaint [the princeſs Anne], Cleveland [cabinet council], and the partners [parliament] to a great degree never to be forgotten. Beaumont [lord Mulgrave], Segrave [lord Shrewſbury], and the reſt of the ſociety, except Overton [Harley] were of opinion that the agent ſhould be ſent away with Moulins [a meſſenger], but Overton [Harley] ſaid it was not ſeaſonable, for ſeveral reaſons: Firſt, becauſe the pardon general [general peace] was not ſo far advanced as to rely upon Knox [King of France]; ſecondly, that it would give a great cauſe of jealouſy to the menworthy [the mob], which may draw them away; and thirdly, becauſe it would make the jewellers [Jacobites] inſolent, and give Kemp [the King] greater hopes of eſtabliſhing his intereſt than otherwiſe he could expect. Upon theſe reaſons that buſineſs dropt.

The Waggs [Whigs] finding that the memorandum had not the effects propoſed by it, they ſent to Evers [prince Eugene] to come with all ſpeed to Evelin's houſe [England], in order to lay before Quaint [princeſs Anne] and partners [parliament] the neceſſity of continuing the weather hot [war], and how Knox [King of France] bought the pardon general [peace] for maps [money]; to retrieve which, the Waggs [Whigs] were ſure to carry the point, by the majority they aſſured themſelves in Holton [houſe of Lords] and Hungate [houſe of commons], by ſending two or three of Clevland [cabinet council] to Tracy [the Tower of London].

Rogers having an indenture [intelligence] of all this from Egleton's [Emperor's] agent, then living at Hatton's houſe [the Hague], gave the

ſaid

ſaid indenture to Overton [Harley], and the reſt of his brethren; upon which, Moulſworth [lord Churchill] was laid aſide, which mightily ſurpriſed Evers [prince Eugene] at his arrival. Upon this, Moulſworth [lord Churchill] told Ives [prince Eugene], that had he come before the new dozen were made in Holton [houſe of lords], all would do well, and that now more violent meaſures muſt be uſed rather than fail; which Ivers [prince Eugene] agreed to conſult with Jonathan [the junto] and partners. Whereupon he propoſed to gather together a great many of the menworthy [mob] to be led by ſome of Jonathan [the junto] and partners, (to deſtroy in the night-time, after a frolickſome manner) Overton [Harley,] Hervy [Sir Simon Harcourt], and one or two of his principal companions: but Hall's [Hannover's] agent, did not approve of this method, conceiving it would turn the hearts of the menworthy [mob] againſt his maſter, but Jonathan [the junto] and partners being divided in this: 1714. December.

Ivers [prince Eugene] propoſed another way, which was to ſet fire to ſeveral houſes in Little Town [London], and eſpecially near South's houſe [St. James's]; and, by this means, raiſe all the men worthy [mob]; and the Waggs [Whigs] being ſure of the Gapers [Guards], Quaint [princeſs Anne], together with the Exchange [Exchequer] and Tracy [the Tower,] were to be ſeized, and thereupon immediately new partners [parliament] to be called; but Horn [Halifax], Sands [Somers], and the late Collier [Chancellor], did not approve of this.

All this Rogers communicated to Overton [Harley], thinking Ivers [prince Eugene] would be ſent to pain [priſon]; but finding that Overton [Harley] ſhewed it to Quaint [princeſs Anne] and not to Clevland [cabinet council], he, by Yates [lord Yarmouth], ſent, under hand, a detail of the whole matter to Beaumont [lord Mulgrave] and the preſent Collier [lord Keeper,] who laid it before Clevland [cabinet council], at which Overton [Harley] was very much ſurpriſed, and ſtarted; but told Clevland [the cabinet council], that he had the ſame account, which he gave to Quaint [princeſs Anne], and another mate [miniſter of ſtate], ſaying that Quaint [princeſs Anne], finding they were divided among themſelves, thought it more prudent to ſmother it. To which Clevland [cabinet council] replied, that it concerned them too near not to ſift it to

1713. December. the bottom; therefore, ordered that Rogers ſhould be called immediately before them, to give a full account of the whole matter. Overton [Harley] ſent immediately for Rogers, and ſpoke to him as followeth.

Rogers, you have been betrayed in the ſophiſtry [ſecret] and precepts [papers] you gave me; to which Rogers replied, that he gave it by Mr. Noble's [Netterville's] advice to Farringdon [Ferguſon], to lard a precept [paper] that he had them in hand with the heads of it for Quaint's [princeſs Anne's] uſe; wherewith Overton [Harley] ſeeming to be ſatisfied, aſked him what courſe was proper to take in the matter. Rogers, knowing what would be acceptable to him, propoſed to go with him before Quaint [princeſs Anne] or any of the mates [miniſters]; and accordingly he ordered Rogers to go along with him to Quaint [princeſs Anne]. But Beamont [lord Mulgrave], having a hint of this from Rogers, underhand, ordered him to come before Clevland [cabinet council], which he accordingly did, and was examined upon all the precepts [papers] which he (from time to time, during the ſpace of two years before), gave Overton [Harley]; and having alſo declared the manner of his obtaining them, Clevland [cabinet council] was ſo much ſatisfied therewith, that Rogers was deſired to reduce his examination, which laſted two hours and a half, with all the circumſtances, into writing, and at parting returned him thanks, with a promiſe of a ſettlement during life; and gave poſitive orders that he ſhould be forthwith ſent to Haſſel's houſe [Holland], to bring back his friend, from whom he had Ivers's precept [prince Eugene's paper], and to diſcover further the proceedings of Duncan [the Dutch] and the Waggs [Whigs].

It is to be obſerved, that Beamont [lord Mulgrave] whiſpered Rogers, that he ſhould be full and particular in his journal, becauſe it would turn to his own and friend's [the King's] advantage. Overton [Harley] gave the following reaſons againſt his going to Haſſel's houſe [Holland]. Firſt, that if it ſhould be found out that a phyſician [Roman Catholic] ſhould be employed upon ſuch an occaſion, at that juncture, it would give the Waggs [Whigs] an occaſion to clamour. Secondly, that it would be enough to divide the Anabaptiſts [allies]; and that Evelin's houſe [England] would never be truſted hereafter, if they ſhould expoſe theſe ſophiſtries [ſecrets] before the partners [parliament]: and, thirdly,

thirdly, that it would give Knox [King of France] an opportunity to make what portion [peace] he pleaſed, when he found the Anabaptiſts [allies] jealous of each other, and divided among themſelves. 1713. December.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe reaſons, Rogers was ordered to go on his journey; who, coming to Rymer's houſe [Rotterdam], he met his confident, and engaged him to come back to Evelin's houſe [England], where he ſhould be provided for during his life. He liked the offer, but inſiſted upon having it under the ſharper's [ſecretary of ſtate's] own hand. This Rogers communicated to Overton [Harley], but had no anſwer. It is to be obſerved, that, notwithſtanding theſe matters did properly belong to the ſharper's [ſecretary of ſtate's] province, yet Overton [Harley] took it into his own management, in order to conceal it from Clevland [privy council], and communicate it only to Quaint [princeſs Anne], and keep Rogers out of the way as long as he could, to prevent his being tampered with by Clevland [cabinet council].

Rogers was not long in Haſſel's houſe [Holland], when Ciprian arrived from Putney [Paris] at Hatton's houſe [the Hague], and gave three memorandums, one to Harpers [penſionary Heinſius], one to Hall's agent [Hannover agent], and a third to Egleton's agent [the Emperor's ambaſſador], containing in ſubſtance all what he and his father tranſacted in Evelin's houſe [England]; and that he had contracted in Knox's [King of France's] name with Clevland [cabinet council], and eſpecially with Overton [Harley], for a great quantity of maps [money], in caſe he ſhould agree to give a ſeparate portion [peace]; and that Quaint [princeſs Anne] deſired him to tell Mr. Jenkins [the King] that ſhe would ſend for him as ſoon as poſſible.

This was acceptable to the above-mentioned three perſons, who ſaid it was the only thing they wanted; and that they had enough to undo Quaint [princeſs Anne] and deſtroy Clevland [the cabinet council], and prevent the pardon general [the general peace]. Rogers, being apprized of all this matter, acquainted Overton [Harley] therewith, as he did likewiſe Doyle, Peyton, and Mead [Mariſhal D'Uxelles, Abbé Polignac, and Mr. Menager], aſſuring them, that now they had a good game in hand, which, if rightly managed, would turn to Knox's [the King of France's] advantage, and forward the portion [peace] to their ſatisfaction. They aſked how? Rogers anſwered, that Ciprian was to be ſent

1713. December. with good recommendations to Mouldſworth [lord Churchill], and to the chief of the Waggs [Whigs] dignified with titles of honour and good characters from Hall [Hannover] and Egleton [the Emperor]; and that he the ſaid Rogers would go with him to Evelin's houſe [England], and introduce him firſt to Clevland [cabinet council], to let him ſee all the precepts [papers] he had along with him, which would be acceptable to Clevland [cabinet council], who would engage him in Quaint's [princeſs Anne's] intereſt, in order to expoſe the ſophiſtry [ſecret] of the Waggs [Whigs] and Duncan [Dutch], and lay the ſame before the partners [parliament], which would infallibly give them a plauſible handle to deſtroy the ſhape of Hall [ſucceſſion of Hannover].

Mead [Monſieur Menager] replied, that it was not prudent to hazard the breaking the meaſures ſo well concerted, wherein Rogers had a good ſhare; and the ſaid Mead [Monſieur Menager] well underſtood that Rogers aimed at the immediate reſtoration of Kennedy [the King] to his truſt [throne], and ſaid Knox [the King of France] would take care of that, after finiſhing the pardon general [the general peace]. Rogers anſwered, that now was the proper time, and that ſuch a favourable occaſion would never offer again; and told them, that he would ſend Ciprian to Stapleton [lord Strafford], who went the day before to Haſſel's houſe [Holland]; upon this, the three retiring aſide, and conſulting a while together, they told Rogers, that Tradenham [Monſieur de Torcy] ſent for Ciprian, in order to give him new inſtructions to take care of his affairs in Evelin's houſe [England]; and, by that means, he might have a better opportunity of ſerving both Knox [King of France] and Kennedy's [the King's] intereſts.

They, finding that poor Ciprian did bite at this bait, very wiſely ſent him away to Putney [Paris], not doubting his ſincerity.

But Rogers, having a watchful eye upon him, and diſcovering his intentions of going directly to the Waggs [Whigs], got him, by a ſtratagem, to Haſſel's houſe [Holland], and acquainted Stapleton [lord Strafford] with the whole matter; who approved of Rogers' conduct, in ſending him to Clevland [cabinet council]; and offered to ſend Moulins [a meſſenger] along with him; but Ciprian ſhewing Harper [Heinſius] the orders which Doyle [Mareſchal D'Uxelles] and his companions gave

for

for going firſt to Tradenham [Monſieur de Torcy] to receive his inſtructions, he approved of it, and deſired him to go with ſpeed; and promiſing him all the humour [honour] and pinimo [penſion] he could deſire *. So he accordingly went to Tradenham [Monſieur de Torcy], and how he was received the reader knows. 1713. December.

Upon this, Rogers told Doyles [Mareſchal D'Uxelles] and his fellows, that a good ſcheme was ſpoiled, if this fellow ſhould be kept in pain [priſon]; and that it was ſacrificing Kennedy's [the King's] intereſt to theirs, at preſent. To which Doyles [Mareſchal D'Uxelles] replied, that Quaint [princeſs Anne] and Knox [King of France] would do his [the King's] buſineſs in due time; and ſaid, that, for his part, he would be ſure to acquaint Knox [King of France] how active Rogers has been in his and Kemp's [the King's] affairs, both there and in Evelin's houſe [England]; and that he acted like a man of honour, eſpecially in this particular.

Rogers finding that all the parleys [plots] he propoſed, for a preſent replication [reſtoration], muſt be laid aſide for a time, he thought of another, which he expected may turn to as good account which is as follows:

During his abode in Haſſel's houſe [Holland], he luckily met with a relation of his own, who was converſant with the principal men that governed that houſe [ſtate], and found, by his friend's and his own obſervation, that Haſſel's houſe [Holland] was governed by Waggs [Whigs] and Tanners [Tories], as well as Evelin's houſe [England]; and that the Waggs [Whigs] are the perſons now in vogue; and that the Tanners [Tories] being in obſcurity during this long reckoning [revolution] were meditating a long time to bring about a replication [reſtoration] there, after the ſame manner as in Evelin's houſe [England].

Rogers, being introduced by his friend to the chief of theſe Tanners [Tories] found, by diſcourſing with them, that they wanted only a little map [money] to compaſs their ends; wherein there was no difficulty, as in Evelin's houſe [England]. He, upon this, propoſed to Knox's [King

* N. B. Ciprian having propoſed Rogers to vouch the truth of his allegation, Harper [Heinſius] conſulted with the agents of Hall and Egleton about ſecuring Rogers; but he being apprized of it, avoided the ſnare.

1713. December. of France's] agents, among them, to ſupply them; and having prevailed with them to ſend to the ſaid perſons, who came and made out that they could infallibly do it without noiſe or ſtir, by beſtowing a ſmall matter on ſuch as ſhould be ſtubborn; with this the agents [ambaſſadors] ſeemed well pleaſed, and aſſured them, that Knox [King of France] ſhould be acquainted with their good intention; but Peyton [Abbé Polignac] told Rogers, that he believed Knox [King of France] would hardly hear of this propoſal, without firſt conſulting the mates [miniſters] of Evelin's houſe [England]. Rogers replied, that he would ſend to get Clevland's [cabinet council] conſent, but he was called away before he could have an anſwer. He acquainted Clevland [cabinet council] therewith, which was well approved of; but Overton [Harley] ſaid, that the portion [peace] was far advanced, and it would be better to defer it till after the pardon general [general peace], becauſe it would weaken the politician [proteſtant] intereſt abroad; ſaying, that although Duncan [the Dutch] ſhould be humbled, yet Knox [the King of France] ſhould not be exalted.

Rogers, ſeeing that Knox [the King of France], in conjunction with Overton [Harley], was intent upon ſecuring their own game, did reſolve to ply Overton [Harley] warmly, by ſetting Clevland [cabinet council] upon his back; which he did, by communicating to Beaumont [lord Mulgrave], by Yates [lord Yarmouth], what he wrote to Overton [Harley], from time to time, during his abode at Haſſel's houſe [Holland], viz.

Firſt, that Moulſworth [lord Churchill] wrote to Harper [Heinſius] and Evers [prince Eugene] not to let the foreign allen [army] in Quaint's [princeſs Anne's] ſervice obey Overbury [duke of Ormond], thinking thereby to prevent Knox [King of France] giving up Dean's houſe [Dunkirk] to Quaint; and this would give the Waggs [Whigs] a plauſible handle to ſend Overton [Harley] and one or two more to Tracy [the Tower], and conſequently would be a good excuſe for Knox [King of France] to abandon Quaint.

Secondly, he diſcovered at Hatton's houſe [the Hague] the new plan framed by Moulſworth [lord Churchill], Horn [Halifax], and Sands [Somers], for bringing Hall [Hannover] to Evelin's houſe [England], by publiſhing a model [a manifeſto], containing that Kennedy [the King] was coming from Fitches' houſe [France] with a phyſician allen [a Roman

Roman Catholic army], and arrived at Sutler's houſe [Scotland]; and that Hall [Hannover] was arrived at Evelin's houſe [England], to ſecure the copyhold [crown] againſt Kemp [the King], and that Moulſworth [lord Churchill] was to have a good allen [army] of his own. By this means, they did not doubt but the unthinking menworthy [mob] would join them, and that Quaint [princeſs Anne], upon this occaſion, would doubtleſs eſcape, as Mr. Kemp [the late King] did at the late reckoning [Revolution]. 1713. December.

This plauſible project was ſent to Mrs. Strange [princeſs Sophia], not doubting of her approbation, and give her conſent to young Hall [Hannover] going to Evelin's houſe [England].

But the more penetrating heads among the Waggs [Whigs] adviſed her, underhand, to be wary in ſo important an affair, and avoid all things that would give the Tanners [Tories] a good pretence to alter the ſhape [ſucceſſion].

Hall [Hannover] ſent his agent to know the ſtrength of the Waggs [Whigs], and in caſe he found their intereſt to be as they repreſented it, he was to be governed by them, and accordingly the agent keeps very cloſe to them, who are fully reſolved to pave the way for Hall [Hannover] this ſummer of partners [ſeſſion of parliament].

By this they propoſe to gain two points; firſt, in caſe the Tanners [Tories] oppoſe it, then it's clear they are for Kennedy [the King], which will give umbrage to the menworthy [mob], and draw them away from the Tanners [Tories]. Secondly, they expect to have a majority among the next partners [parliament].

Rogers wrote to Overton [Harley], that the perſon from whom he had all theſe ſophiſtries [ſecrets] ſhould be ſent to Evelin's houſe [England] to prove it *viva voce*; but had no anſwer while he was at Haſſel's houſe [Holland], which may fall heavy on him hereafter.

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1713.

1713. TO throw light on the Hannover Papers of the preſent year, it is neceſſary to premiſe a few particulars. The baron de Bernſdorff was preſident of the Elector's council, and M. de Robethon ſecretary for embaſſies *. Baron de Grote was his Electoral Highneſs's envoy at the court of London in the beginning of the preſent year. Grote died in the month of April, and was ſucceeded by M. de Schutz, whoſe father had been in England ſome years before in the ſame character. Kreyenberg was ordinary reſident, and Galke ſecretary to the embaſſy. It does not appear that Monſieur l'Hermitage acted in any public character from the court of Hannover: he was probably connected with the Dutch embaſſy; at leaſt, his buſineſs obliged him to go ſometimes to Holland. The letters from London, ſaid to have been ſent by a *ſecret addreſs*, were uſually directed to Mr. Siſſen at the Hague.

The baron de Bothmar was the Elector's envoy extraordinary at the Hague, and his miniſter plenipotentiary at the treaty of Utrecht. Klingraff was reſident, and Schrader ſecretary to the embaſſy. The originals of all Bothmar's letters to Robethon are extant, and likewiſe the originals of moſt of the letters written to him by Schutz, Kreyenberg, and Galke; but of ſome of them we have only copies in Robethon's hand, which he decyphered for the uſe of the Elector and his miniſters. They frequently refer him for further particulars to their letters to Bothmar. Bothmar ſent him copies of theſe letters, decyphered in Schrader's hand, and uſually marked in his own hand at the top, the date of the letter and the name of the writer. As theſe copies are extant, we have probably all the letters written by the Hannoverian agents from this country, from

* Secretaire des ambaſſades.

the

the beginning of April this year to the acceſſion of George I. in Auguſt, 1714. 1713.

They, indeed, wrote regularly, by every poſt, to the Elector himſelf, what they called a narrative *; but in their letters to Bothmar, Bernſdorff, and Robethon, they generally repeat in a ſummary manner what they wrote at greater length to their maſter. As either the originals or authentic copies of all their letters are extant, we are probably acquainted with the whole ſubject of their correſpondence, during a period, in which the proteſtant ſucceſſion was thought to be in the utmoſt danger, and deſigns were actually formed for bringing in the Pretender.

They ſent by every poſt a very particular account of parliamentary proceedings: but it differs in nothing from what is publickly known; and therefore has been entirely omitted. But every thing that they wrote, of the private characters and conduct of the great men, who flouriſhed at this period, has been carefully extracted; and we know, at leaſt, what the Hannoverians thought of them, and in what light they were repreſented by others.

De Grote was ſent to Great Britain to obtain a penſion for the princeſs Sophia, and the arrears claimed by the Elector, as due to his troops which ſerved in Flanders, and to inſiſt upon the Pretender's removal from Lorrain. The court of Hannover, ignorant of that prince's attachment to the principles imbibed in his youth, were alarmed this year with rumours of his converſion; and directions were ſent to Grote to propoſe ſome meaſures which they thought neceſſary to be taken in ſuch an event.

The earl of Oxford made a motion in parliament, in the following year, which, at the time, greatly ſurpriſed the nation: but now the true cauſe of that meaſure ſufficiently appears. The Whigs had invited the Elector of Hannover to invade Great Britain, with an army. They, at the ſame time, endeavoured to ſhow, that Oxford meant only to amuſe the people, by an affected zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, to conceal his real deſigns in favour of the Pretender. The motion bore, that, for the further ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, it ſhould be made high treaſon to bring foreign troops into the kingdom. A law againſt bringing troops into

* Une relation.

Great

1713. Great Britain, to ſupport the cauſe of the Pretender, was unneceſſary; ſince ſuch troops, if foreigners, might be treated as enemies; and as natives, might be puniſhed as rebels. Therefore, the deſign of the earl of Oxford was to allude, in his motion, to the ſcheme of the Whigs to bring over the Elector in a hoſtile manner.

The Queen in her ſpeech to the parliament, which met on the ninth of April in the preſent year, expreſſed great zeal for the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover. But the friends of that family conſidered the ſpeech itſelf, and the conſequent addreſs of the two houſes, as an artful deſign of the miniſter to deceive the nation. The agents of Hannover, convinced of this circumſtance by the Whigs, repreſented to their court, the neceſſity of taking ſome ſtep to bring the ſincerity of theſe profeſſions to ſuch a proof as would convince the world, that neither friendſhip nor harmony ſubſiſted between the Queen and her miniſters and the parliamentary heirs of the crown.

The following letters were written by M. de Robethon, at Hannover, to the Baron de Grote, in London, in January and February. They are in Robethon's hand, in French; but decyphered by an unknown hand.

January. Hannover Papers, vol. 10. Bothmar, No. 4.

Robethon to the Baron de Grote.

Meaſures to be taken, in caſe the Pretender becomes Proteſtant.—Corrections on the new Barrier Treaty.—A penſion to be demanded for the Electreſs.—Grote's reception by the earl of Oxford.—Means to be uſed to gain the Duke of Argyle and his brother.—A penſion to be given to the lord Fitzwalter, &c.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Hannover, Jan. 3d, 1713.

"I Doubt not but this will find your Excellency arrived in London. Some time ago, I hinted to Monſieur l'Hermitage to ſpeak to lord Halifax, of a deſign which ſuggeſted itſelf to me, and which, having met ſince with the approbation of all our miniſters, I have orders to write to you about. It is to ſound lord Halifax and other friends, if they could propoſe, in both houſes, to bring in a bill excluding the Pretender, and any other Papiſt who has pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, with their poſterity, even though he ſhould become a Proteſtant.

The

The reaſons for ſuch an act are ſo ſtrong, on account of the rumours which circulate about the prince of Wales in this reſpect, and of the alarms which theſe rumours give the nation, that I do not ſee they can venture to make great oppoſition to ſuch a ſalutary ſcheme. If the act paſſes, we gain every material point for our ſucceſſion; if the Queen's miniſters oppoſe it, that will unmaſque them, and contribute, more effectually than any thing elſe, to open the eyes of the nation. Pleaſe write to me what our friends ſay on the ſubject. 1713. January.

I am likewiſe to tell your Excellency, that remarks on the project of a Barrier Treaty, propoſed to the Dutch by lord Strafford, are ſent this evening to the Baron de Bothmar. We have made ſeven or eight corrections, ſhort indeed, but eſſential to our ſucceſſion; and ſent an order to Monſieur de Bothmar, to perſuade the grand penſionary to try to prevail with the Queen's miniſters to admit theſe corrections. Your Excellency will receive a copy of them by the next poſt: not in order to ſpeak of them to the Queen's miniſters, for you know that the treaty was not communicated to us by them, but in order to make uſe of them hereafter, when the opportunity offers, which can ſcarcely miſs: and, in the mean time, you are deſired to communicate theſe corrections to lord Halifax and other friends, and to write to us their opinion of them, I am, &c."

Robethon to De Grote.

Tranſlation.

Hannover Papers, vol. x. Bothmar, No. 5.

Hannover, Jan. 6th, 1713.

"LORD Oxford had mentioned the treaty of guarantee of the ſucceſſion to Kreyenberg, and conſequently would probably mention it to Grote. Robethon deſires Grote to propoſe to his lordſhip, in the politeſt manner he could, to inſert the corrections and additions which he had mentioned in his preceding letter, and of which he now ſends him a copy. He complains of it, as an omiſſion very offenſive to them, that there was no mention of the Pretender in the treaty; and deſires to have the perſon known under the name of the Chevalier de St. George particularly ſpecified; 'if it is in earneſt they have abjured the Chevalier; if it is in earneſt they demand from France to remove him, and not to aſſiſt him; they cannot refuſe to mention him in the treaty of guarantee of our ſucceſſion. It is to be hoped the lord treaſurer will repair the

1713. January. omiſſion of ſuch an eſſential clauſe, and pay attention to the juſt remonſtrances of your Excellency on the ſubject.'

Your Excellency may be aſſured, that in the act which eſtabliſhes the ſucceſſion, and in all the acts which have been made ſince concerning it, even at the time when the Whigs had all the power in their hands, there never was a clauſe inſerted for excluding the Pretender in caſe he turned Proteſtant; which, however, would be very neceſſary. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that the popiſh lords likewiſe, who might be converted, would be excluded thereby from the houſe of peers. But there is a great difference between the ſovereign and an individual. The Pretender, on the ſlighteſt appearance of a pretended converſion, might ruin all, the religion, the liberties, the privileges of the nation, &c. This is not the caſe of a lord, and therefore it is not parallel. Beſides, when they exclude the Pretender, in ſuch a caſe they may, if they chuſe, make an exception in favour of the lords who would change. Your Excellency will ſpeak of all this to perſons more capable of judging of it, than I am."

Hannover Papers, vol. x. Bothmar, No. 6. ——January 10th, 1713.—De Grote had given an account of his arrival in London. "What you ſay of the violence of the Engliſh is very true; and the Electoral Prince, to whom I read your letter, thinks that your judgment of them is very juſt.

With regard to the paſſage in cypher, all the miniſters of his Electoral Highneſs think lord Halifax a very proper perſon to make a propoſal to Harley †, who conſulted him, and to ſpeak to him, both about the penſion for the Electreſs, and about the excluſion of the Pretender, to be inſerted in the treaty of peace. Your Excellency will be ſo good as to converſe on this ſubject with lord Halifax: he always paid great attention to Harley, who cannot take it amiſs that he ſhould enter into theſe affairs. Beſides, he may ſpeak of them to him as of himſelf, and not at our deſire.

Monſieur de Bothmar writes to me, and all our miniſters agree with him, that it would be proper to exclude from the crown, by act of parliament, all thoſe who, after compleating their tenth year, continue to profeſs the popiſh religion."

Ibid. No. 8. ——January 13th, 1713.—"Your Excellency is in the right to reſtrain the exceſſive forwardneſs and vivacity of lord Sunderland. I ſhall

† Earl of Oxford.

write

write to you by the next poſt, if the ſentiments of lord Somers, concerning the penſion, are approved of here. I am very anxious about what the lord treaſurer will ſay to you on the ſubject. 1713. January.

They write us from Paris, that the Pretender is getting himſelf inſtructed in the religion of the church of England, and diſcovers he finds great ſatisfaction in it. This doubles the neceſſity of an act to exclude him, even in caſe of his converſion."

——January 17th, 1713.—"All our miniſters order me to tell you, it is their opinion, that you ſhould conform yourſelf to the ſentiments of lord Somers, concerning the penſion for the Electreſs; and that you ſhould, by no means, offer to lord Oxford, that the Queen and he ſhould diſpoſe of the offices of the houſehold. You will recollect that that offer was a thought of the Electreſs alone, who inſiſted to add it to your inſtructions; and did ſo principally becauſe ſhe had ſpoke in that ſtrain to that Harley who was here, with whom ſhe is highly diſſatisfied at preſent; that gentleman, notwithſtanding all his fine proteſtations, not having written even once ſince his departure from Hannover. Hannover Papers, vol. x. Bothmar, No. 10.

We have received no intelligence by the means of the duke of Marlborough. It is very proper to put a ſtop to the frequent viſits of lord Sunderland, without diſobliging him however. If the affair of the penſion ſucceeds, you will be exalted to the third heavens. I hope you ſhall have your ſhare of it; and I therefore prefer it, in all reſpects, to the affair of the arrears. I would not ſay ſo, however, to ——."

——January 24th, 1713.—"It would be an excellent thing, no doubt, to oblige France to ſend the Pretender to Rome; and you muſt neglect nothing that will induce the Britiſh court to demand it. Ibid. No. 13.

Such is the ſpirit of œconomy here, eſpecially ſince the ſpeedy return of our troops is looked for, that you muſt not expect the Elector will put his hand to his pocket, even for a maſter-ſtroke of party *(coup de partie)*, ſuch as would be, beyond contradiction, to gain the duke of Argyle and his brother; although, according to Bernſdorff, there is not room to heſitate a moment."

"Another proof of this" (ſpirit of œconomy, continues Robethon) "is that the preſident told me, that having inſiſted with OUR MASTER for ſome extraordinary allowance for your Excellency, on account of your

1713. January. journey to London, and to enable you to ſettle there, the anſwer was a flat denial, and that he would not give a penny above what the late M. de Schutz had."

Hannover Papers, vol. x. Bothmar, No. 14.

January 27th, 1713.—"I judge of Oxford's intentions, from the pains which he takes to avoid you. You cannot be too diffident of him, and you muſt take care that we are not duped by him. We may depend upon it, that Oxford is too far engaged with France and the Queen, to dare to be able to withdraw; and even though he inclined it, it would be impoſſible for him to bring back the Queen to proper meaſures; ſo that all he would gain, would be to meet with the ſame fate with Godolphin and Marlborough.

On this account, and with this precaution, the attentions which you propoſe to ſhow to that miniſter, and the manner in which you intend to behave to the Queen's miniſters in general, are greatly approved of here; and it gives great ſatisfaction, that you are agreeable to Halifax and other friends.

With regard to the penſion, we think here, that Sunderland and Somers reaſon much better on the ſubject than Halifax: for, upon the ſuppoſition, which is but too probable, of the lord treaſurer's intentions, the great aim ſhould be to unmaſk him and the other miniſters publickly, and to open the eyes of the nation, which cannot be done but by the means of ſome ſuch buſineſs as this, brought before the parliament; whereas, whatever the Queen's miniſters may be entreated to obtain from France about the removal of the Pretender, or to add to the Barrier Treaty, will not ſtrike the people, and will be liable to chicane; and conſequently now, when the nation is alarmed on all ſides with the Pretender, is the proper time to bring an affair of this kind before the parliament.

I refer myſelf, on this ſubject, to the reſcript which you will receive, ſigned by our maſter, and add only that Bernſdorf, in particular, recommends to you ſtrongly, what regards Argyle and his brother, and to ſee if, by the hopes you ſhall give them both of a penſion, in caſe the parliament, by their intereſt, ſhall grant a penſion to the Electreſs, you can obtain ſome important ſervice from them. This in reality is a capital point.

If

If Oxford continues to avoid you, as I imagine he will, and if Bolingbroke does ſo likewiſe, you need not be afraid of giving offence to the Whigs by your familiarity with theſe miniſters. I have no hopes of our arrears. 1713. January.

You will ſee by the reſcript of our maſter, that lord Halifax's advice concerning the Barrier Treaty, and the ſending the Pretender into Italy, has been entirely followed; and that it is wiſhed you would propoſe to our friends to move in parliament for a bill to exclude him, in caſe of his converſion.

Be ſo good as to thank lord juſtice Parker, for his good advice, and ſhow him that it has been regarded. What does Nottingham do? Have you ſeen L'Hermitage? His Electoral Highneſs recommends to you in a very particular manner, the article which regards the duke of Argyle, and to make his compliments to his Grace.

The Chevalier de Reden told me the other day, that the Eléctreſs ſaid lately, more than once, at a full table, that ſhe had ſent you a new regency; reproaching herſelf for having put in ſo many Whigs. You ſee how we are placed. Judge if Mr. Winde and ſecretary D'Alais would neglect to write this to London; and is it not poſſible that the knowledge which the Queen's miniſters have of it, may occaſion the objections they propoſe to make to the regiſtration, and have ſuggeſted theſe good advices from the Whigs?"

Copy of the Reſcript, ſigned by the Elector, as mentioned above.

"We underſtand, with pleaſure, by your private letters, that the duke of Argyle and his brother appeared diſpoſed to court your acquaintance, and to give proofs of their zeal. The credit of his Grace muſt naturally be ſo great in Scotland, after the death of the Queen, that you can never pay too much attention to any favourable diſpoſitions which he may diſcover to you. You will aſſure him of the very particular regard we have for his perſon, and alſo for his brother. If you obſerve that they act ſincerely, we believe you may entreat them, when the proper time comes, to employ their credit to get an act, ſettling a penſion on the Eléctreſs, paſſed in parliament; promiſing, in caſe the affair ſucceeds, to give them, from that fund, penſions proportioned to the importance of

1713. January. the ſervice they will render her. You will eaſily comprehend, that you muſt make theſe promiſes in the name of the Electreſs."

"I muſt tell you," continues Robethon, in a poſtſcript to de Grote, "by order of our miniſters, who have all ſigned the minute of this reſcript, that the Elector approves very much of the contents, but ſaid, that it was the Electreſs who ſhould ſign it. The miniſters did not at all chooſe to ſpeak about it to the Electreſs; becauſe the affair would undoubtedly be very ſoon made public. They entreat you however to conform yourſelf entirely to this reſcript; being very well perſuaded, that inſtead of being diſavowed, you will be commended by the Electreſs, if the affair of the penſion ſucceeds. It is in this caſe clear, that Argyle and his brother are to be rewarded with penſions."

Hannover Papers, vol. x. Bothmar. No. 16.

——January 31, 1713.—"Your delivering our remarks on the barrier treaty, with regard to the quarantee of our ſucceſſion, is much approved of here. I ſee the lord treaſurer ſeemed to pay ſome attention to them. We muſt wait the iſſue. You are deſired to inſiſt, that the Pretender may be mentioned in that treaty, and mentioned under the title of the perſon who uſurps the name and dignity of James the Third King of Great Britain; and that it may be added, that it is principally againſt him, that the Queen requires of the States, to quarantee the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed in the houſe of Hannover.

All your reflections, concerning a deſign of a bill to exclude the Pretender and other Papiſts, in caſe they turn Proteſtants, are approved of. The miniſters make this additional reflection, that it would call our right in queſtion, by ſuppoſing, that there were caſes in which that right might be doubtful, and require explanation, which we muſt never ſuppoſe, or put in queſtion. The Pretender's being excluded and abjured, after the ſtrongeſt form, in all caſes, and without reſtriction or reſerve, ſhould be ſufficient. You are, therefore, deſired to drop the deſign of ſpeaking of it to our friends, much leſs to the Queen's miniſters. I imagine Halifax will be of this opinion."

Ibid. No. 17.

——February 3, 1713.—"I ſee lord Bolingbroke has declared himſelf ſufficiently, concerning the guarantee of the ſucceſſion, in the barrier treaty. I allow him, that an Engliſhman ſhould not conſent to tye up the hands of future parliaments by a treaty; but that is not the queſtion here;

here: he leads you into an error: for the point in queſtion now is, whether the States by the preſent treaty, are to guarantee the ſucceſſion only, as it is ſettled in the Electoral family, or whether they are to guarantee to infinity, whatever the Queen or her parliament may chooſe to determine hereafter, concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown? The council ſat yeſterday, his Electoral Highneſs refuſed the 50*l.* to the Examiner; but all the miniſters are determined to urge him again, and hope to ſucceed. They find it very juſt;—but you are to promiſe nothing." 1713. February.

——February 7, 1713.—"When the ſeſſion of parliament approaches, you muſt conſider the affair of the penſion for the Electreſs. It is a good ſign, that her Majeſty's miniſters diſcover uneaſineſs on account of theſe meaſures: it appears thereby, that theſe gentlemen are afraid the nation may ſee clearly, and that they are not in perfect ſecurity. It is proper, therefore, to continue to curb them a little." Hannover Papers, vol. x. Bothmar. No. 19.

——February 10, 1713.—"His Electoral Highneſs continues to be uncomplying in lord Fitz Walter's affair. However, he ſhall be urged again, and to facilitate the buſineſs, it will be propoſed to make the Electreſs concur. He allows 40*l.* ſterling to the author of the Flying Poſt." Ibid. No. 20.

——February 14, 1713.—"The Elector, at the earneſt importunities of all his miniſters, conſented to pay the 600*l.* ſterling to lord Fitz Walter. You may aſſure his lordſhip and lord Sunderland of this, and concert for the future with him, the neceſſary meaſures in all this affair, in order that my lord Sunderland may be reimburſed in the 300*l.* he advanced to his lordſhip, and your Excellency will loſe no time in communicating to him the reſolution of his Electoral Highneſs in his favour, providing, at leaſt, he has not already abſolutely changed ſides, which I do not expect. The flying poſt will have 50*l.* and not 40*l.* ſterling, as I was told at firſt. Ibid. No. 21.

When you bring the affair of the penſion for the Electreſs on the carpet, pleaſe tell 60. (probably Oxford), that his relation who was at Hannover, aſſured the Electreſs frequently, that there was nothing more juſt, that the lord treaſurer would contribute to it with all his power, and he himſelf alſo. It will be proper to put both the one and the other in mind of this, at the proper time."

Letters

1713. February. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar x. No. 22.

Letters from Robethon to De Grote continued.

The Queen's miniſters are attached to the Pretender.—The Whigs propoſe to the Elector to go over with a body of troops to England.—Grote is directed to demand a penſion for the Princeſs Sophia, and to inſiſt upon the Pretender's removal.

In Robethon's hand, in French.

Tranſlation.

——February 17, 1713.—"THE principal reaſon for the change of the Queen's miniſtry, was the deſign of eſtabliſhing the Pretender; ſcruples were then raiſed in the Queen's mind concerning him, and lord Jerſey endeavoured to ſerve him, long before the memorial was preſented by the baron de Bothmar. They have exerted themſelves to bring about a peace, merely to pave the way for the prince of Wales. That memorial had, at leaſt, the effect of making the Queen's miniſters proceed with more caution, and if we had done nothing, all the conſequence would have been, that theſe gentlemen, meeting with no obſtacles, would have accompliſhed their deſign much ſooner.

That lord Oxford is devoted irrecoverably to the Pretender and to the King of France, is what we had no doubts of long ago, although his couſin, when he was at Hannover, endeavoured to impoſe, in that reſpect, upon the Electreſs, and the Electoral Prince, with whom I did not chooſe to diſpute the ſubject, for they would not have failed to reproach me with my partiality for the Whigs, and I chooſe rather to wait, until your Excellency, having obſerved the matter yourſelf, ſhould bear teſtimony to this inconteſtible truth.

With regard to the project of going over with a body of troops now to England, Monſieur de Bernſdorff would have wiſhed, that all that paſſage had been written in cyphers rather than any other; and his Excellency ordered me to tell you, that as that deſign requires abſolutely the concurrence of the States General, and their men of war, it is impoſſible to think of it at preſent; ſince the States General give their whole attention now to haſten the peace, and to gain the good graces of the Queen and of her miniſtry, imagining they have done enough for us, when they ſigned the treaty guaranteeing the ſucceſſion. We muſt, therefore, according to Mr. de Bernſdorff, give time to the States General and to the

Engliſh

Engliſh nation, to be ſenſible of the pernicious conſequences of the peace, and then we may take juſter meaſures. 1713. February.

The queſtion is, if the King of France will not, in the mean time, eſtabliſh the Pretender by force; but how can we do otherwiſe? If the Queen dies before the Pretender arrives, all things will be eaſier, and the States will be obliged, by their guarantee, to aſſiſt us. But it is the opinion of Monſieur de Bernſtorff, that if it was neceſſary during the Queen's life time, to take ſuch meaſures againſt her Majeſty and her miniſters, we would meet with terrible difficulties from the party in the nation who love the Queen; beſides, it is almoſt certain, the Elector, in that caſe, will never bring himſelf to ſuch a reſolution. This your Excellency will very eaſily conceive; but we have every reaſon to hope, that, in caſe of the Queen's death, the Elector will do whatever can be expected from him, of which your Excellency may, if you pleaſe, give aſſurances to our friends.

Monſieur de Bernſtorf judges the ſcheme of having ſhips of war from the King of Denmark, totally impoſſible."

——February 21, 1713.—" With regard to the long diſpatches you ſent from the Hague, by general Schulenburg; what they contain concerning the ſentiments of Oxford and Bollingbroke towards the Pretender, was well known here already, and it will be a foundation to go upon for the future: but it is not at all admitted, that the ſentiments of thoſe two Jacobite lords muſt be attributed to the memorial of Monſieur de Bothmar. And with regard to the propoſals of the Whigs, contained in the end of theſe diſpatches," viz. the ſending over troops to England, " I muſt refer myſelf to what I had the honour of writing to you about them, the thing being impracticable without the concurrence of the States General, upon which we cannot depend at preſent. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 23.

It is principally in the name of the Electreſs, that your Excellency muſt negociate the affair of the penſion, and it is much wiſhed here, that you may preſent the memorial you have ready on the ſubject, before the ſeſſion of parliament begins. Your Excellency will undoubtedly put the lord treaſurer in mind, that his couſin aſſured the Electreſs, more than once, that the affair of the penſion was very reaſonable, and could not be refuſed, promiſing, that he himſelf would forward it when he returned, and aſſuring her Electoral Highneſs, that the lord treaſurer would exert himſelf in it very willingly."

1713. February. ——February 28, 1713.—" You are desired to propagate in conversation, and to publish in the Flying Post, with reflections suitable to the subject, that a cardinal's hat has been given to the abbé de Polignac, on the nomination of the Pretender, as King of England. This act as a King and as a Popish King, should not recommend him to the nation."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 25.

Ibid. No. 26. ——March 3, 1713.—" We are very well pleased here, that you have delivered to the lord treasurer the two memorials, one concerning the pension of the Electress, and the other concerning the removal of the Pretender. It is evident from the verbose manner which the treasurer uses in the writing which he delivered to you, that he wants to confine himself to general terms, which signify nothing. I am not afraid that you will take them for current coin."

Ibid. No. 27. ——March 7, 1713.—" Yesterday, secretary D'Alais presented a memorial, by order of lord Bolingbroke, bearing, that Mr. Mac Cartney having assassinated the duke of Hamilton, her Britannick Majesty intreats his Electoral Highness, in case that man comes here, to arrest him and deliver him to the Queen. The answer was, that they heard nothing of him, and that it was not likely he would come here. Your Excellency will be pleased to confine yourself to that answer, if they speak to you on the subject."

The two following Extracts have no date.

Ibid. No. 30. " The Elector wishes much, that you would acquaint general Mac Cartney's friends, that they should write to him, to come, by no means, to Hannover; for that would be a very great misfortune and embarrassment to the Elector, at this juncture, and might set him at variance irretrievably with the Queen. This is strongly recommended to you. I also write about it, by order of his Electoral Highness, to the baron de Bothmar, and to the duke of Marlborough."

——" Monsieur de Bernstorff orders me to repeat to you, that the project of going over with a body of troops now into England, is absolutely impracticable, because the thing is impossible, without the ships of the States General, who are very far from being disposed, at present, to embark in such an affair; and indeed, it is all they could do, if they saw the Pretender actually in England. They are afraid for themselves. As long

long then as the Queen lives and the Pretender is out of England, and while the Queen makes no direct attack upon the rights of her Electoral Highneſs, it is not to be imagined, that the Elector will enter into the meaſures propoſed by the Whigs, who are generally too ſanguine. 1713. February.

Monſieur de Bernſtorff is very angry to find, by Monſieur de Bothmar's letters, that the Whigs communicated ſchemes of this kind to general Schulenburgh. It is probable he will not make a proper uſe of this confidence, and that abbé Paſſionei, the Pope's nuncio at Utrecht, being his intimate friend, is informed of it by this time.

The Electreſs and the Electoral Prince are entirely undeceived in their opinion of lord Oxford, ſince his fine diſcourſe to your Excellency about the penſion of the Electreſs. They could have wiſhed here, that at the firſt converſation, in which your Excellency ſpoke to lord Oxford of the penſion, you had delivered to him the memorial on the ſubject; becauſe lord Oxford not reliſhing it, and the memorial being preſented to him however, after it was known that he received it unwillingly, would ſay, perhaps, that we wanted to vex him; but to this, in my opinion, no attention ſhould be paid at all, in this affair, nor in that of removing the Pretender."

A memorial ſent to the Baron de Grote, from Hannover, the 10th of March, 1713. March. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 28.

From the Elector's miniſters, aſking the opinion of their friends in England, concerning the meaſures to be taken upon the Queen's death.

Tranſlation.

"THE Queen's ſituation obliges us to deſire you to aſk the anſwer of lord Sunderland, lord Somers, lord Halifax, and lord Townſhend, to what follows.

What are the ſteps in general which we ſhould take here, after we have received the news of the Queen's death?

What procurations, patents, or orders, ſhould we have ready to be ſent then, wherever it will be neceſſary?

Mr. Bernſtorff is of opinion, that, in caſe of the Queen's death, as the Electreſs cannot ſet out immediately, nor travel with the neceſſary diſpatch, the Elector, or, on his refuſal, the Electoral Prince, ſhould ſet out

1713. March. for London, without the loſs of a moment; and that, on the firſt news of the Queen's death, ſhips ſhould be kept in readineſs in Holland, for the ſecurity of his paſſage.

We aſk, in that caſe,

1. What kind of procuration ſhould the Elector or the Electoral Prince have from the Electreſs? How far ſhould it extend? Should it authorize him to diſſolve the parliament and to call another; to diſpoſe of all places; to impriſon ſuſpected perſons, &c.

2. We aſk, If the Electreſs, after the Queen's death, can eſtabliſh, until ſhe arrives in London, a different regency from that which is appointed in the inſtruments now in England, or at leaſt, add to it or retrench from it, as ſhe chuſes?

3. In caſe the Queen dies before your Excellency has changed the inſtruments, can you ſtill eſtabliſh as regents the lords named in the laſt inſtruments, and make them valid?

4. Can the Electreſs, after the Queen's death, authorize the Elector to diſmiſs this regency, and take the government into his own hands, compoſing his privy council of ſuch perſons as he ſhall think deſerving?

5. If it is neceſſary, that the regency ſhould ſubſiſt until the Electreſs arrives; we aſk what ſhare of the government can the Elector or the Electoral Prince have, jointly with the regents?

At the ſame time that the Electreſs ſets out for London, Monſieur de Bernſtorff would have the Electoral Prince or duke Erneſt to repair to Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk; in order to ſecure thoſe three towns, place good governours in them, and adminiſter oaths to the Engliſh troops which garriſon them.

6. We aſk, how ſhould the order be drawn out which the Electreſs will give to the prince whom we ſhall charge with this commiſſion?

M. de Bernſtorff wants that Mr. Cadogan ſhould be at hand to go over to England upon the firſt notice of the Queen's death, furniſhed with the neceſſary orders from the Electreſs, for taking the oaths of the troops in England, breaking the ſuſpected officers, filling up their places, ſecuring the tower of London, &c. We would chooſe to have theſe orders for Mr. Cadogan, with patents of the offices which will be given

to

to him, ready in the hands of the baron de Bothmar, in Holland. Bothmar will ſpeak on this ſubject to Cadogan, who goes to Holland now from the duke of Marlborough. 1713. March.

We ſhall endeavour to know from the duke of Marlborough, by the means of Cadogan, what part he would chooſe to act, in caſe of the Queen's death. If he would go directly to London, being one of the regents, or go along with the Elector. Robethon hath already written, that it is deſired here, that he ſhould ſtay within reach; and that, inſtead of going to live at Francfort, he ſhould ſettle at Wezel.

Laſtly, we aſk ſimilar explanations concerning the internal affairs of the kingdom, with regard to the great offices which muſt be diſpoſed of, in order that we might have the patents ready, and with regard to every thing elſe which our friends will judge neceſſary. We muſt have ſome form of the patents for great offices.

We aſk, if the Queen being dead, the Electreſs ſhould write to the lord mayor of London, and in what ſtrain?"

A copy of the preceding Queries was ſent to Bothmar, at the Hague, to be communicated to Mr. Cadogan, who was to come to Holland on a commiſſion from the duke of Marlborough; and Bothmar, in a letter to Robethon, on the 18th, and in a poſtſcript to it on the 25th of March, gives him Cadogan's and Marlborough's anſwer to theſe queries. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 140. Ibid. No. 138.

It was the duke's opinion, that the Elector ſhould go to England immediately, upon the Queen's death, with full powers from the Electreſs, as her lieutenant general. The Kings of England, he ſaid, frequently inveſted lieutenants to govern the kingdom, in their abſence, with all the authority and power they poſſeſſed themſelves.

Cadogan thought, that the Electoral Prince ſhould not go to take the command of the Engliſh troops on the continent; but that Bothmar ſhould proviſionally have powers in his hands to authorize the duke of Marlborough and himſelf (Cadogan), to ſecure theſe troops and the fortreſſes they garriſon. If the Electreſs did not chooſe to ſign a commiſſion of that kind, it would be ſufficient to have one ſigned by the Elector, in her name. The troops, upon ſeeing a parchment with the great ſeal of his Electoral Highneſs would readily obey a man ſo agreeable to them as the duke of Marlborough. It was not neceſſary to follow

1713. March. low the form uſed in commiſſions of that kind in England, nor to write one in Engliſh. The duke of Marlborough's commiſſion and his own were in England, and he could not ſend copies of them; but it would be ſufficient to ſay in the new patent, that he was now inveſted with the ſame powers he had formerly from the Queen.

When the duke of Marlborough was ſure of the fidelity of the troops abroad, he might follow the Elector into England, and leave the Electoral Prince with Cadogan to command the troops.

Cadogan thought it was very neceſſary, that he himſelf ſhould have the commiſſion of lieutenant general and governor of the Tower, under the duke of Marlborough or the Electoral Prince. Bothmar, however, was not thoroughly convinced of that neceſſity.

Cadogan gave Bothmar the character of ſome officers. Colonel Cholomondely, who commanded the ſecond battalion of Guards, which went back to England, was attached to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the two battalions, officers, and men, might be depended upon. Major general Sabin who commanded at Ghent, a timid man, but well affected at the bottom, and might be managed. Brigadier Sutton, who commanded at Bruges, was entirely dependent on the miniſtry; but to make amends, colonel Hill, who commanded the regiment of royal Scots, might be depended on. The commandant at Dunkirk, a Scotchman, and two battalions of that nation, were thorough Jacobites; but the eight Engliſh battalions were well affected, and would give a very good account of the other two, and of their commandant.

Cadogan concluded, with recommending, from the duke of Marlborough, that his Electoral Highneſs ſhould have ſome one with the Pretender, to ſend exact and ſpeedy intelligence of every thing that happened. The duke offered to find a proper perſon, if the Elector would lay out fifty louis-d'ors a month, and in the mean time, he would endeavour to have ſome news of what was done openly at the Pretender's court.

Bothmar writes, in his poſtſcript, that Cadogan approved of the commiſſions ſent to Marlborough and to himſelf: he gives it as his opinion, that Cadogan ſhould be employed to command the troops abroad, that there might be an opportunity of doing ſomething at home for Mr. Stanhope, who was well affected, and a man of abilities.

" Mr. Cadogan," ſays Bothmar, " has named to me the three correſpondents, who may be employed to procure intelligence of the Pretender. 1713. March.

1. One of the magiſtrates of Huy, who is a capital enemy of the Jeſuits, and is, for that reaſon, called the meſſenger of the Janſeniſts.

2. An Iriſh officer of the name of Carol, who profeſſes the Popiſh religion, but is a Proteſtant in his heart, and who has friends and relations at the Pretender's court.

3. A Lorrain Gentleman, who ſerved in the army, and whoſe name was Remiremont. He had forgot his real name.

Theſe correſpondents are to addreſs their letters to M. Sapporin, director general of the poſt-office, at Bruſſelles, who will ſend them to me to the Hague. The three together will coſt ſixty louis-d'ors a month."

Intelligence concerning the Pretender.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 33.

Baron de Grote fell ſick at this time, and Robethon correſponded with Galke, the ſecretary of the Embaſſy. In a letter, dated the 21ſt of March, 1713, he communicated to him the following intelligence he had received from Paris, concerning the Pretender.

Tranſlation.

" THE affairs of the Prince of Wales clear up from day to day. It appears that, abandoning his religion for his intereſt, he is reſolved to be of the church of England. He left all the Roman Catholicks with the Queen, his mother, at St. Germains. None but Proteſtants are about him at Bar, except lord Middleton, who turned Roman Catholick in France, from mere policy. He is a man of merit, and of all thoſe who followed King James, he is the only one whoſe deſertion gave uneaſineſs to the government, at that time. The addreſs of the city of Perth, in Scotland, has, no doubt, been ſent to you: it is the more remarkable, that the deputies who brought it to London, were preſented by lord Oxford. The duke of Shrewſbury muſt make a very poor figure in all this affair. It appears the miniſtry ſent him to France, merely to

1713. March. to keep him at a diſtance from buſineſs *, ſince every thing is tranſacted by the means of Mr. Prior."

There are ſeveral letters from Robethon to Galke about this time. But they principally regard the affairs of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. In a poſtſcript to one of them, dated the 28th of March, he deſires him to communicate the incloſed intelligence to M. de Grote. It is in Schrader's hand, and marked on the top in Robethon's hand: "communicated by my lord Marlborough to Monſieur Bothmar."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 36.

"*Intelligence come from Father Erneſt, Dean of the Cathedral of Tournay.*"

Tranſlation.

"A Perſon of diſtinction who lives near Furnes, being at Dunkirk, in company with the commandant, Sir James Abercromby, and the commandant looking upon this gentleman as a ſubject of the King of France's and as attached to his intereſts, told, him that he had juſt received a letter from major general Hill, governor of Dunkirk, in which he informs him, that the diſturbances in England, and the credit of the Whigs increaſed to ſuch a degree, that there will be a neceſſity, perhaps, of aſking ſuccours from France, and that, for that reaſon, Dunkirk will not be demoliſhed, becauſe it is the moſt convenient part for embarking theſe ſuccours.

This gentleman from Furnes, wrote theſe particulars to a friend at Bruſſelles, who ſhowed the letter to Father Erneſt.

Father Erneſt wiſhes his name may be concealed; but he will continue to write every thing he can learn concerning this affair."

Ibid No. 37.

Intelligence concerning the Pretender.

Tranſlation.

It is marked on the top in Robethon's hand, "communicated to M. de Bothmar, by my lord Marlborough."

"THE duke of Lorrain, upon frequent ſolicitations from the Pretender, and an order from the court of France, has been obliged to write to his Imperial Majeſty for two paſſports for the Pretender, one

* The correſpondents of the Stuarts ſay juſt the ſame thing.

for

for going to the waters of Aix la Chapelle, in the month of Auguſt next, and the other for going to reſide afterwards at Liege or Cologn. The Pretender has aſked theſe paſſports, and is to go to Liege or Cologn, by the advice of his friends, and of the very miniſtry in England. In caſe the Emperor refuſes theſe paſſports, the Pretender will go to reſide at the Abbacy of St. Miel, on the banks of the Maeſe, and frontiers of Lorrain. He has very weak lungs, and will not return to Bar where the air is too ſharp for him. He is now at Commercy, and has in his ſuite, the earl of Middleton, lord Edward, the ſon of the duke of Perth, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Mac Donald, Mr. Floyd. 1713. March.

They are ſo very ſilent about every thing done in England, that a gentleman, about the Pretender, having ſaid to one of the court of Lorrain, that their affairs went very well in London, and this diſcourſe having been reported to lord Middleton, was diſmiſſed and ſent back to Paris.

Mr. Seldon, formerly governour to the Pretender, having quarrelled with lord Middleton, is likewiſe ſent back to Paris. Five perſons lately come from England, had ſecret conferences with the Pretender and my lord Middleton. They concealed their names and the object of their journey ſo carefully, that it was impoſſible to diſcover either the one or the other. It was remarked, however, that they were received with diſtinction, and that the paſſports in queſtion were aſked ſoon after their departure.

The affair of the paſſports was truſted to a very few perſons, and as this is a fact, about which information may be got at the court of Vienna, the perſon who gives this intelligence, refers to that circumſtance, as a proof that he is in a ſituation to be well inſtructed in the demands and deſigns of the Pretender's friends."

The Earl of Sunderland to Monſieur de Bothmar.

April. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 141.

Encloſing an anſwer to the memorial inſerted above, and forms of commiſſions. —He propoſes to the Elector to ſend the Electoral Prince to England.

Tranſlation.

SIR, London, April 6, 1713.

"I Embrace this opportunity of a ſecret conveyance, to ſend you the anſwer to the memorial you ſent me ſome time ago. This anſwer was drawn up by lord chief juſtice Parker, with the advice of lord

1713. April. Somers and lord Cowper. You will find in it a very clear deſcription of all that the Electreſs may do, when the event happens.

I ſend you likewiſe, the form of a commiſſion in Latin, for conſtituting the Elector or the Electoral Prince, after the Queen's death, *Cuſtos regni* and juſticiary of the kingdom, in the name of the Electreſs. This commiſſion was drawn up by theſe three perſons, with great care. There are, beſides, two other commiſſions; one in Latin, for a lord lieutenant of Ireland, and the other in Engliſh, for a captain general, ſuch as the duke of Marlborough has been. I ſhall ſend you likewiſe, in a few days, a commiſſion of high admiral, and one of lord treaſurer; and I hope that will be ſufficient to inſtruct the court of Hannover, in every thing they can do, after the Queen's death and before the ſucceſſor arrives here.

Since it is ſo difficult for the Elector to contribute to the expence of the enſuing elections, all friends agree to make another propoſal to him, which is of greater conſequence, and which appears to them to be abſolutely neceſſary. It is to ſend over the Electoral Prince. It is true, an invitation by a vote of parliament was formerly ſpoke of; but all friends are unanimouſly of opinion, that ſuch an invitation, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, in ſuch a parliament and under the influence of ſuch a miniſtry, is impracticable.

They are of opinion, that the Electoral Prince, being a peer of the realm, and his precedency as a prince of the blood having been regulated by act of parliament, has ſo many juſt pretexts and reaſons for coming, that thoſe who ſhould oppoſe him, would thereby do themſelves the greateſt injury which their greateſt enemies could wiſh them. If the Elector will conſent to this point, it will give ſuch ſupport to the friends of the ſucceſſion, that the other affair of the money will not be neceſſary. This is the unanimous opinion of all friends, and they have charged me to write it to you.

We have a fleet of 18 ſhips of the line ready here. It is not pretended any longer, that it is for the Baltic. The treaſurer ſaid, three days ago, that it was intended for an expedition of quite different importance."

The

The ſame to the ſame.

The ſame ſubject continued.

1713. April. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 141.

April 10th, 1713.

HE had ſent the preceding letter with the commiſſions, &c. by a gentleman belonging to the deceaſed baron de Grote. He promiſes again in this letter to ſend the other commiſſions ſoon, and urges, by a repetition of his former arguments, the neceſſity of ſending over the Electoral Prince, " as a ſure and eaſy, and as perhaps the only means of ſaving the ſucceſſion. This journey muſt not be delayed in hopes of an invitation, which is abſolutely impracticable. If the prince was once here, it is the opinion of all his friends, that they would eaſily obtain any penſion they would chooſe, and in a manner ſuitable to the dignity of the family.

With regard to the removing the prince of Wales, they will not fail to propoſe it in the ſtrongeſt manner in parliament. If they carry it, it will be a great point gained; if they loſe it, it will be ſo much the worſe for thoſe who ſhall oppoſe them: for they ſhall be expoſed thereby to the indignation of the people in the elections."

Robethon, after his tranſlation of theſe letters for the Elector's peruſal, adds, " Theſe two letters were written by lord Sunderland to Monſ. de Bothmar, when he ſent him the anſwer to his queſtions, and the patents he aſked. Mr. D'Oynhauſen brought them all. I have made the incloſed tranſlation of the anſwer to the queſtions. I don't ſend the forms of the patents to your Electoral Highneſs, as they are written in Latin, and with ſo many abbreviations, that it is difficult to read them; but copies ſhall be written of them."

Beſides Robethon's tranſlation, the original of the anſwers is extant, as follows:

Anſwers to the Queſtions of the Memorial inſerted above, drawn up by the Elector's friends in England, and ſent by Lord Sunderland to the Baron de Bothmar at the Hague. Ibid. No. 139.

" THE following conſiderations will poſſibly furniſh a more clear and uſeful anſwer to the queries propoſed, than ſtrictly purſuing the order of the queries, and breaking that which will be offered, into ſeparate anſwers, to each diſtinct particular.

1713. April. 1. The inſtrument for nominating lords juſtices ought to be ſealed up, and depoſited with the archbiſhop, &c. during her Majeſty's life, or their validity will be too doubtful to be depended upon: for the inſtruments already ſealed up and depoſited are effectual appointments of lords juſtices, until revoked or altered; and when there is an intention to revoke or alter them, the Act, page 227, appoints a particular method how that is to be effected, by three writings, under hand and ſeal, requiring them to be delivered up; and till that be done, by the expreſs words of the Act, page 228, the inſtruments, ſealed up and depoſited as aforeſaid, are thoſe which are directed to be brought before the privy council, there to be opened and read, and afterwards to be inrolled in Chancery. And, therefore, as often as it ſhall be thought fit to make any alteration in the three inſtruments, it ought to be kept in mind, that the alteration is incomplete, and that nothing is in effect done till the old inſtruments are taken up, and the new ſealed up, and depoſited in their place; and that during the Queen's life, in Robethon's hand.

2. In caſe of the demiſe of her Majeſty, the regency eſtabliſhed by the act of parliament may be entirely aboliſhed, by the ſucceſſor, before her or his arrival in Great Britain. The Kings and Queens of England have, by the common law, a power to conſtitute a regency in their abſence, in ſuch manner as is afore-mentioned; and this regency, eſtabliſhed by this act, was not intended as any diminution of the royal power, but is merely proviſional, to prevent an inter-regnum before the ſucceſſor could arrive in perſon, or conſtitute a regency; and, when either of thoſe things happen, the end deſigned by it is fully attained: accordingly by the expreſs words of the Act, in the clauſe page 226, which makes the ſeven officers lords juſtices, they are appointed lords juſtices, and impowered to execute all acts of government, (no longer than) until ſuch ſucceſſor ſhall arrive, or otherwiſe determine their authority. And by the next clauſe, the perſons nominated in the three inſtruments are only to be added to the ſeven, and to act with them as lords juſtices as fully, and in the ſame manner, as if they had been particularly named in the Act; and conſequently, their authority will be liable to be determined in the ſame manner as the authority of the ſeven who are particularly mentioned.

But whether ſome of the regents may be removed from the regency, after they have once entered upon it, without aboliſhing the whole, is doubtful.

doubtful. The ſucceſſor's arrival of courſe determines the authority of them all; and whether the power of determining their authority otherwiſe (as the words of the act run), mean not a like determination of the authority of them all, is not clear enough to be depended upon in a matter of this conſequence. It is yet more doubtful, whether thoſe who are lords juſtices by virtue of the act, either the ſeven officers, or thoſe named in the three inſtruments, can act together, with any others to be added anew to them by the ſucceſſor, after they ſhall have entered upon their office. 1713. April.

Therefore, in caſe it ſhould be thought requiſite to remove any of the old, or to add any new, the ſafeſt way will be, to determine the whole regency, and conſtitute one or more perſon or perſons lord juſtice or lords juſtices, with or without reſtraints, and with ſuch directions as ſhall be thought fit.

3. The ſucceſſor's power to determine the authority of the lords juſtices appointed by the act, before her arrival in Great Britain, ſuppoſes the power to appoint *a new one or new ones by the common law.* And in caſe of the demiſe of her Majeſty during the life of the Electreſs, it is agreeable to law, and ſeems in itſelf proper and requiſite, that ſhe ſhould appoint the Elector, her ſon, or the Electoral Prince, her grandſon, Lord Juſtice of Great Britain, *Cuſtos Regni et Locum tenens*, with power and directions, in caſe he ſhall ſee it fit and convenient, to diſſolve and determine the privy council, and appoint a new one; to diſſolve the parliament, and call a new one; to remove all officers, and diſpoſe of all offices and employments in the diſpoſal of the crown (which will extend to thoſe of the ſeven regents not for life); and to execute and do all other acts of government in the name and ſtead of the new ſucceeding Queen, as if ſhe were preſent in perſon. That ſhe may do this, before her arrival in Great Britain, is plain, becauſe it is a proper regal act, often done by the Kings of England; and the clauſe, page 231, which gives force and effect to ſuch ſeal as the ſucceeding Queen or King ſhall make uſe of, to affix to any inſtrument to execute and do any regal act, proves that ſuch ſucceeding Queen or King may do regal acts before her or his arrival in Great Britain. That the privy council may be determined, appears page 225, where it is continued ſix months, unleſs ſooner determined by the next ſucceſſor.

1713. April. That all officers, not for life, may be removed, and others put in their places, appears by the ſame clauſe; and it is to be noted, that in that clauſe concerning the continuance of officers of the privy council, all the officers appointed regents, except the archbiſhop, and the chief juſtice, are expreſly named. Therefore, it is to be obſerved, they may be removed from their offices, though it be doubtful whether they can be removed from the regency, while it continues; and it ſeems plain, that the removal of them from their offices, does not of itſelf remove them from the regency, nor will their ſucceſſors become lords juſtices, in virtue of their ſucceeding to thoſe offices, for the regency is not annexed to their offices to go along therewith; but, page 226, the ſeven officers after-named, who ſhall be in poſſeſſion of their offices at the time of ſuch demiſe of her Majeſty, are appointed lords juſtices until the ſucceſſor ſhall arrive, or otherwiſe determine their authority; where it appears, that thoſe who ſhall ſucceed to thoſe offices are not within the words, to be lords juſtices, becauſe not in poſſeſſion of thoſe offices at the time of the demiſe of her Majeſty; and thoſe who were in poſſeſſion at the time of ſuch demiſe are continued until the ſucceſſor arrive, or otherwiſe determine (not their offices, but) their authority; *i. e.* their authority of lords juſtices.

That the parliament may be diſſolved; is certain; and may be collected from page 228, where the regents, conſtituted lords juſtices by the act, are reſtrained from diſſolving the parliament, without expreſs direction from ſuch ſucceeding Queen or King: therefore, by ſuch direction, thoſe lords juſtices may diſſolve it; and much more, therefore, may another lord juſtice, appointed by the ſucceeding Queen or King, not under the reſtraints laid by the act, upon the proviſional regency.

4. The prince ſo appointed lord juſtice, *Cuſtos regni et locum tenens*, may, by virtue thereof, take upon him the whole government; and upon his ſo doing, and producing his patent, the regency appointed by the act will be determined. However, it may be proper to have an expreſs clauſe for determining the regency inſerted in the patent, to prevent all doubts in that caſe, and nothing more is requiſite to the aboliſhing the regency.

5. The acts done by ſuch lord juſtice, purſuant to his authority, will, in law, be the acts of the ſovereign, however the privy council, the parliament,

liament, and officers being appointed, to continue for ſome time, unleſs ſooner determined, diſſolved, or removed, by the next ſucceſſor. To leave no room for doubt, it may be proper to inſert expreſs powers and directions, for the lord juſtice to diſſolve and determine the privy council, to diſſolve the parliament, and to remove officers if he ſhall ſee fit. 1713. April.

6. The removing of any officers in the diſpoſition of the crown, and appointing new ones, is a regal act, which may be done abroad, taking care to declare of what effect the ſeal whereby the inſtrument is ſealed ſhall be. And as to offices to be executed in Great Britain, the inſtrument granting the office, or directing the regents to grant the office, may be ſent over before the next ſucceſſor or the *Cuſtos regni* can arrive; conſequently, a captain general may be abroad appointed to command the forces abroad, and to ſecure their fidelity, &c.

The regency will have power ſufficient as to the forces in Great Britain; but yet the ſucceſſor may appoint a captain general for them too, if it ſhall be thought requiſite.

7. A particular power to ſeize and impriſon ſuſpected perſons, will be neither neceſſary nor uſeful, the ordinary magiſtrates have ſufficient powers for that purpoſe.

8. It is to be obſerved, once for all, that any dormant inſtrument for any of the purpoſes aforeſaid, ſealed during her Majeſty's life, will be of no force by the laws of Great Britain."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Original. Hannover papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 145.

He thanks the Elector for giving him the 2½ per Cent. on the pay of his troops; and for a commiſſion to act in caſe of the Queen's death.—He will hazard life and fortune for his ſervice.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Aix-la-Chapelle, April 11th, 1713.

"I Received, by Monſ. Bothmar, the laſt declaration concerning the deduction of two and a half per cent. which your Electoral Highneſs was ſo good as to ſign. Your Highneſs will permit me to make you my very humble acknowledgments, and to ſhew you how ſenſible I am of the honour you do me, by this ſtrong teſtimony of your protection and of your ſupport from the unjuſt and violent perſecution raiſed againſt me, on account of that affair.

Monſ.

1713. April. Monſ. Bothmar ſent me likewiſe, by lieutenant general Cadogan, the commiſſion authorizing me to act for the ſervice of your Electoral Highneſs, when the opportunity mentioned in that commiſſion will occur. When that happens, I ſhall repair, with all poſſible diſpatch, to London; for the principal difficulties are to be apprehended in the beginning; and if I may be allowed to tell my opinion to your Electoral Highneſs, I think you cannot be in too great a hurry to croſs the ſea. I learn, with very great pleaſure, that this is the opinion of your Electoral Highneſs; and I cannot help telling you, that it is likewiſe the opinion of all your moſt devoted ſervants in England.

I wiſh I could convince your Electoral Highneſs by my actions rather than by words, how deeply ſenſible I am of theſe freſh and important marks of your confidence; and I entreat you to be perſuaded, that I ſhall be always ready to hazard my fortune and my life for your ſervice. All good Engliſhmen ought to be of the ſame ſentiments in regard to you, as they cannot hope for the ſalvation of their country, but from you alone. That that may be the caſe, is the moſt ardent wiſh of him, who has the honour to be, Sir, &c."

Letters from Kreyenberg and Hermitage to Robethon.

London, April and May, 1713.

The baron de Grote died in the beginning of this month; and Kreyenberg and Hermitage began to correſpond with Robethon. They wrote in cyphers, and ſent their letters to Hannover by a private conveyance: Robethon decyphered them for the uſe of the Elector, and his copies of them are now extant. It will be ſufficient, for the moſt part, to abridge them and to narrate their contents, as they all relate to the ſame ſubject: The reaſons for ſending over the Electoral Prince as the only ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, and the moſt proper means of proving the inſincerity of the Queen and her miniſtry in their profeſſions of friendſhip towards the Electoral family.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 1.

A Letter from Kreyenberg.

London, April 14th, 1713.

"THE friends of the family of Hannover in both houſes of parliament affirm, that the treaſurer could not have given a more fatal blow to their influence in the nation, and to the ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion,

ſion, than by making the Queen declare, that a perfect friendſhip ſubſiſted between the two courts. Halifax, Townſhend, Sunderland, Somers, Orford, Cowper, and the lord juſtice Parker, conſulted together for two days; but could not contrive any probable means of preventing the conſequences of the treaſurer's deſigns. The two firſt lords came twice to Kreyenberg, in the name of the reſt, to repreſent, that it was neceſſary the Elector ſhould take ſome ſtep that would undeceive the nation. Kreyenberg propoſed, that they themſelves ſhould make ſome motion in parliament, which they knew the miniſtry would reject. This would diſcover the inſincerity of their proteſtations. They anſwered, that the miniſtry would then repreſent them as ſeditious in the eyes of the nation, who believed implicitly the Queen's declaration, and as deſigning to create a miſunderſtanding between the two courts; and they gave it as their opinion, that the Electoral Prince ſhould take advantage of the Queen's declaration, and come over to England, which would greatly embarraſs the miniſtry." 1713. April.

Letters from M. l'Hermitage.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 3—5.

The Queen's ſpeech was artfully deſigned to miſlead the people.—The only way to undeceive them, is to ſend over the Prince.—He may take advantage of the Queen's declaration, and come over without aſking permiſſion, as he is a Peer of the realm.—The advantages of this meaſure to the Whigs.—The diſadvantages of it to the Tories.—It's influence on the Elections.—The conduct the Prince ſhould follow.

London, 21ſt, 25th, and 28th of April, 1713.

"THE Queen's ſpeech, which you have already received, is very artfully compoſed to blind the eyes of the people; eſpecially the article which inſinuates, that there ſubſiſts a perfect underſtanding between her Majeſty and their Electoral Highneſſes, as if the Queen did nothing without conſulting the Elector; when, at the ſame time, ſhe has not even a miniſter at Hannover.

Eight of your principal friends, who dined together on Thurſday, at my lord Halifax's, have given me in charge to tell you, that there will be no reſource, unleſs the Electoral Prince is ſent over ſoon. All theſe fine compliments to the Electoral family, which are contained in the Queen's ſpeech, and in the addreſs of the two houſes, ſhould encourage your

1713. April. court to approve of this journey, and they furniſh the moſt natural pretext in the world; which is, to come in perſon, to acknowledge thankfully ſuch obliging declarations, and pretend to conſider them as very ſincere: for it is but juſt to pay the diſſimulation of the Queen and of the treaſurer in the ſame coin. And his Electoral Highneſs cannot but be ſenſible of the unbecoming manner in which they treat him, by publiſhing from the throne, that they do nothing but in concert with him; while they neglect to give the leaſt anſwer to the two memorials, preſented by the deceaſed M. de Grote, concerning the removal of the Pretender and the penſion of the Electreſs; and while they ſacrifice entirely, at Utrecht, the intereſts of his electorate, and of his office as high treaſurer of the empire.

At any rate, here is the fineſt opportunity in the world, to catch lord Oxford in his own ſnare. It would ſeem that Providence preſents it to you. For God's ſake, do not neglect it; for when you would chooſe to recur to it hereafter, it may be too late.

The prince does not require an order to come here, either the invitation of the parliament, which is not to be expected from a parliament ſo ill compoſed as the preſent, or the permiſſion of the Queen, which moſt aſſuredly ſhe will not grant, if it is aſked. He is entirely at liberty to come of his own accord, being naturalized, and being duke of Cambridge and a member in the houſe of peers, and his rank as prince of the blood being ſettled. The Queen herſelf cannot forbid him according to the laws, neither to come into the kingdoms, nor to take his ſeat in parliament; and her Majeſty and her miniſters, after ſuch public and ſolemn declarations, which the Queen and the two houſes have lately made, cannot retract themſelves, and will be obliged to receive the prince well, while every one will turn to him, as to the riſing ſun, ſeeing the Queen's health is ſo broken.

My lord Halifax told me, that the friends would by no means propoſe in parliament, that it would be neceſſary to have ſome one of the Electoral family in this country; for that would be queſtioning a right, which your princes have obtained, and give a handle to parliament to take, in that reſpect, ſome improper reſolution, which might render the coming of the prince more difficult; neither will they ſpeak of the penſion

ſion for the Electreſs; but I believe they will bring the removal of the Pretender upon the carpet. 1713. April.

The friends are very deſirous, that the Elector ſhould immediately reſolve to ſend over the prince, in order that he may arrive during the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, which will not continue but two months, and may take his ſeat in the houſe of peers, not in order to vote with the Whigs, and againſt the court, but in order to take poſſeſſion of what is due to him; and to convince the nation of the falſehood of the rumours they circulated, that the Elector is indifferent about the crown of England. For, in other reſpects, our friends agree, that the Prince ſhould make his court to the Queen, pay attention to the miniſters, careſs every one without diſtinction of party, and refrain from coming to the houſe when party queſtions are debated, ſince he would be obliged, if he came on ſuch occaſions, to vote either againſt the court, or againſt the friends of the ſucceſſion.

That the nation is for the Electoral family, and againſt the Pretender, is evident now to a demonſtration, ſince the court imagines they cannot carry the enſuing elections, but by means of her Majeſty's declarations in favour of the family; and the members of the houſe of commons, that they may be choſen again for the next parliament, cover themſelves, in their addreſſes, with the ſame maſk of a pretended zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion: an example, which will be followed, in all the addreſſes that will be preſented, on the peace, from all parts of the kingdom.

The lord treaſurer publiſhes every where in the counties, that his Electoral Highneſs is in perfect concert with the Queen, and will be very well pleaſed, that the members recommended by the court ſhould be choſen. This artifice ſucceeds to the treaſurer's ſatisfaction in many places; and as he has, beſides, money to lay out, and is very liberal of it on ſuch occaſions; the Whigs are diſcouraged thereby from offering themſelves to be choſen, from the fear of being diſappointed. So that there is a danger of having a new parliament as devoted to the miniſters as the preſent; after which, theſe miniſters being abſolute maſters for three years, will eaſily accompliſh their pernicious deſigns, and eſtabliſh the Pretender in this country.

1713. May. The preſence of the Electoral Prince in the kingdom, will be ſufficient to defeat this plan of the miniſters. It will encourage the Whigs to get themſelves choſen, and they will chearfully take upon themſelves all the expence of the elections, without aſking any thing from his Electoral Highneſs. The preſence of the prince will alone have a mighty influence on the elections, and gain over to the well-affected party an infinite number, who follow the court only becauſe they are not ſupported by the ſucceſſor, and are in the miſtaken notion of the Elector's neglecting the affairs of England. All theſe fears will vaniſh. Every one will attach himſelf to the prince, and by that means we ſhall have a good parliament; after which, his Electoral Highneſs may decide in it as he chooſes, both with regard to the affairs of the ſucceſſion and the affairs of Europe.

The ſending the Electoral Prince then is an infallible remedy againſt preſent evils, and againſt ſuch as are dreaded hereafter. It is eaſy, it is natural, it is unexpenſive, and without any riſk in the preſent conjuncture; inſomuch, that I cannot conceal from you, that if our friends, who aſk it with ſo much earneſtneſs, ſee they are refuſed, they will believe themſelves abſolutely abandoned, they will hope for no further reſource, they will loſe courage, and take their own meaſures.

Lord Halifax would have the prince to come poſt, with a valet de chambre and two footmen, under another name, without his order of the garter, and without liveries, and take his paſſage in the pacquet boat, with a paſſport from lord Strafford, procured under a borrowed name. The reſt of his ſervants and baggage would follow. In ſhort, the only queſtion is, to come ſpeedily and ſecretly, and every thing will go well."

A Letter from M. l'Hermitage.

London, May 9th, 1713.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 9.

THE Electoral Prince ſhould come of his own accord. The preſent parliament will never invite him. The Queen will be angry if they ſhould force her to invite him; and if the parliament ſhould reject a motion of addreſſing the Queen to invite him, the prince could not come again with any propriety; whereas, no one can take it amiſs if he ſhould come in conſequence of the Queen's ſpeech. It is neceſſary either to ſend the prince, or to undeceive the nation by a manifeſto, denying the good underſtanding which the Queen pretends to ſubſiſt between her and

and the Electoral family. But this laſt meaſure will occaſion an open rupture with the Queen, and may be attended with a thouſand inconveniencies. "Send over, therefore, the prince: for the ſafety of England, or to ſpeak more properly, of Europe, and your own ſafety is at ſtake; for if you abandon the crown to the Pretender, you cannot ſave yourſelves. The prince ſhould have letters from the Elector and from the Electreſs for the Queen, and likewiſe for the treaſurer; and the letters for him muſt be very flattering, teſtifying the greateſt confidence in him, and entreating him to direct and guide the prince." 1713. May.

Extract of a letter from the Princeſs Sophia to the Earl of Strafford. Deſiring him to thank the Queen for her ſpeech.

Original Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Tranſlation.

Hannover, May 9th, 1713.

"AS our envoy in England is dead, I imagine that you will allow me to addreſs myſelf to you, and to entreat you to thank the Queen in the moſt humble manner, for the gracious ſpeech, which her Majeſty has been pleaſed to make to the parliament, in my favour, and in favour of my family. I am well perſuaded, that the Queen does me the juſtice to believe, that I do not pretend to enjoy the good effects of it myſelf. I therefore hope, that her Majeſty will have no averſion to me, on that account; and that ſhe will be perſuaded, that I ſhall be attached to her, with all imaginable reſpect, as long as I live. ——I have been much ſcandalized by a book which has been ſent to me called "Free-thinker." Although it is very natural for every one to think as he chooſes; yet, in a well-governed ſtate, every one ſhould not have the liberty of publiſhing his opinion; and I imagine that is not allowed in England. Poor Mr. D'Alais is ſo ſcrupulous, that for fear of loſing his employment he does not go to our reformed churches [the Calviniſts], although our articles of faith are not different from thoſe of the Epiſcopal church; and there is no other difference, but that the reformed have not ſuch rich benefices to give away, at which, I believe, the clergy are very angry."

Letters

1713. May. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 7.

Letters from Bothmar from the Hague, and from L'Hermitage from London, to Robethon at Hannover, May, June, and July, 1713.

Reaſons for ſending the Electoral Prince to England.

Bothmar to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

May 16, 1713.

"IT was Marlborough's opinion, and alſo the opinion of all friends in England, that the Electoral Prince ſhould go over under the pretext of thanking the Queen for the affection ſhe expreſſed in her ſpeech towards the Elector's family. "They wrote to me, that there was the greateſt difficulty imaginable, in determining the Queen to mention the ſerene family at all in her ſpeech; and that ſhe did not conſent to it, but after the ſtrongeſt repreſentations that it was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and to ſucceed in the elections for the enſuing parliament."

Bothmar had always diſſuaded their friends from inſiſting on this demand, but he was now convinced it was proper to comply with it. His preſence would animate the Whigs and diſcourage the Jacobites, and diſconcert all their meaſures for bringing in the Pretender. The prince ſhould embark on board a Daniſh frigate in the Elbe, to avoid inconveniences of going by Holland.

Ibid. p. 10.

A letter from M. l'Hermitage.

Tranſlation.

London, May 19, 1713.

A Repetition of the reaſons for the prince's coming over. He ſhould have letters of thanks from the Elector and Electreſs to the Queen, upon the ſuppoſition of a good underſtanding; and likewiſe letters for the treaſurer, placing the prince entirely under his direction. "This will produce one of two effects. If the treaſurer pays attention to theſe recommendations, he will ruin his credit with his own party; and if he neglects the prince, he will loſe his credit with the nation.—This is intimated to you in the name, and at the deſire of our friends."

A letter

A letter from M. l'Hermitage.

1713. May. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils. 8. p. 12.

London, May 26, 1713.

IT appears from this letter, they apprehended in Hannover, that, if the prince came over without the Queen's permiſſion, he might be ſent back with diſgrace. L'Hermitage aſſured them, that as the prince was a peer of the realm, no one would venture to propoſe ſuch a meaſure; and that it was not even in the Queen's power: and beſides, that the prince's preſence would encourage a number of people to declare openly againſt the court, and would influence the enſuing elections in favour of the Whigs.

A letter from M. l'Hermitage.

June. Ibid. p. 14.

June 9, 1713.

THIS letter was decyphered in a different hand from Robethon's. It appears from it, that the court of Hannover propoſed to ſend over duke Erneſt, inſtead of the Electoral Prince; but their friends in England thought that this would neither embarraſs Harley nor quiet the nation. The preſence of the prince they conſidered to be abſolutely neceſſary, as the Scots threatened to break the union. This was the opinion of both high and low, although they were totally ignorant of its having been ever propoſed.

A letter from M. l'Hermitage.

Ibid. p. 16.

Decyphered by Robethon.

Tranſlation.

June 18, 1713.

"LOrd Angleſea is determined to drive the lord Treaſurer to extremities, and has been, for ſome time, in ſtrict connexion with the duke of Argyle. This earl is one of the greateſt Tories, and is not a good tempered man. He is very haughty, and very ambitious. He is one of the moſt active men in the world, and does not deviate an inch from what he hath once undertaken: and being very clever, there is reaſon to think that the Treaſurer will not conſider him as an indifferent enemy, and that his hatred will give him room for ſerious reflections.

This nobleman is offended at the haughty manner in which the Treaſurer treated him; and becauſe he diſcovered that the Treaſurer deſigns to bring over the Pretender, whom he does not favour, though he is deep

1713. June. deep in all the other ſchemes of the Tories: but it is ſaid he has eſtates in Ireland, which he would be in danger of loſing, if the Pretender came over.

The treaſurer has diſcovered long ago, that he is neither loved nor eſteemed by any party. The affront he lately received, when the treaty of commerce was thrown out, makes him ſenſible of the danger to which he is expoſed, and will haſten the execution of his deſign of bringing over the Pretender, to which the Queen's ſtate of health will be a further inducement. The King of France likewiſe is offended for loſing the advantages he would have obtained by that treaty, and will contribute every thing in his power to ſend over the Pretender. The preſence of the prince, is the only remedy againſt theſe and other evils."

A letter from M. l'Hermitage.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 18.

Tranſlation.

London, July 4, 1713.

"LORD Angleſea unites himſelf more and more with the Whigs, and they concert meaſures together for propoſing ſomething in parliament. He had an interview yeſterday with lord Halifax and others. The duke of Argyle likewiſe acts in concert with them, and is not idle."

L'Hermitage writes, that if they fail, their want of ſucceſs will be imputed to the neglect and indifference of the Elector: if they ſucceed without his aſſiſtance, there is reaſon to fear that they will not hereafter ſhow that gratitude or compliance which would be neceſſary to obtain the emoluments of government, which would not perhaps be ſo conſiderable. The Treaſurer having propoſed a reconciliation with the Whigs after their fall, they aſſured him, that they would willingly renounce all pretenſions to offices, and ſupport his meaſures with all their force, if he would humble France, and free them from their fears of the Pretender: But he laughed at their offers, and followed a different plan; in conſequence of which they have conſtantly oppoſed him: they are determined to do ſo, at the expence of their lives, if the Pretender comes; and if he does not, the Treaſurer, Bolingbroke, and others, conſider themſelves, no doubt, as threatened with the ſame danger.

Theſe

Theſe repeated repreſentations from the Hannoverian agents in London, produced at laſt the following anſwer. It is a copy in Robethon's hand, of a letter ſent in cyphers to Meſſrs. Kreyenberg and l'Hermitage. 1713. July.

A Letter to Meſſrs. Kreyenberg and l'Hermitage.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 20.

The Elector's objections againſt ſending the Prince.—He endeavours to ſerve his friends, by aſſiſting to carry on the war againſt France; but cannot give money to carry the elections in their favour.

Tranſlation.

Hannover, July 4, 1713.

"HIS Electoral Highneſs having aſſured our friends, by the late baron de Grote, that he will never abandon them; and that on the Queen's death, he would do every thing which the nation could expect from him; and having renewed theſe aſſurances, after the death of de Grote, by his reſident Kreyenberg, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt poſitive manner, it would be ſurpriſing, that they ſhould doubt of theſe aſſurances from a prince who is known to be a religious obſerver of his word.

The Elector does the greateſt ſervice to the well-affected in England, which the ſtate of affairs in Europe in general, and his own particular ſituation will allow, when he engages the Emperor and the Empire to continue the war againſt France, and employs 17,000 of his own troops againſt that kingdom. This puts it out of the King of France's power to ſend an army with the Pretender into England, and it is not to be ſuppoſed that he will venture to go without a French army, ſince he is proſcribed by the laws, and has the nation againſt him. If he does, will the friends of the ſucceſſion, who are ſo rich, and have ſo much influence, and have the nation and the laws on their ſide, loſe courage and ſubmit immediately, when their religion, their laws, their property, and their liberties are at ſtake? eſpecially when they are ſure of ſpeedy aſſiſtance from the Elector. The nation muſt exert itſelf, for the Elector cannot ſave them againſt their will.

The Elector is at ſo much expence on the troops he employs on the Rhine, that he cannot give the money demanded for the elections. Beſides, he ſhould fail infallibly, as the court would always have the heavieſt purſe, and ſuch a meaſure could never be kept ſo ſecret as not to give great offence to the Engliſh miniſtry.

1713. July. There are ſeveral objections againſt ſending the Electoral Prince. There can be no ſecurity for a ſafe paſſage. It will be impoſſible for him to go ſecretly. The miniſtry might put obſtacles in his way; and they might ſubject him to mortifications after his arrival. The Elector has been ſo often amuſed theſe two years, with falſe intelligence of the Queen's health, that he does not know but her death may be ſtill very diſtant; and it would be imprudent in him, upon an uncertainty, to expoſe his only ſon and the only hope of his family."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 22. and 24. Before M. l'Hermitage received this letter, he wrote one on the 14th of July, repeating all the reaſons he had formerly mentioned for ſending over the Electoral Prince, and after he had received it, he wrote another in the ſame ſtrain on the 21ſt. The reaſons, which the Elector's miniſters deſire him to communicate to their friends in England, for not ſending over the Electoral Prince, would give ſo little ſatisfaction, that he determined not to mention them, and he himſelf endeavoured to obviate them all in another letter on the 25th.

Ibid. p. 26.

Ibid. p. 28—35. L'Hermitage wrote ſeveral letters on the ſame ſubject to Bothmar at the Hague. Bothmar ſent copies of them, decyphered, in Schrader's hand, to Hannover, and marked always in his own hand at the top, that they were from l'Hermitage, and of ſuch a date. L'Hermitage thought the ſucceſſion would be loſt, unleſs the Electoral prince came to England. Lord Halifax believed now that 50,000 *l.* ſterling, inſtead of the 100,000 *l.* they aſked at firſt, would be ſufficient to carry the elections againſt the court; and the duke of Argyle told Halifax, that with 20,000 *l.* he would anſwer for all the elections in Scotland.

"But there being no further hopes of obtaining theſe things," ſays Bothmar, "they want that we ſhould preſcribe what our friends ſhould do; my lord Halifax having told l'Hermitage, that they did not know what to do, ſince France will be no ſooner delivered from the war of the Empire, than the Pretender will be in England, and then it will be impoſſible to anſwer for any thing. But that, if the Elector of Brunſwick, or at leaſt the Electoral Prince, could come over this winter, he would anſwer for it, that the miniſtry would be overturned, and all things put out of danger."

The

The Earl of Sunderland to Bothmar.

1713. Auguſt. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 137.

Copy in Schrader's hand. The date is in Bothmar's; and "Lord Sunderland to Bothmar," in Robethon's.

Tranſlation.

$\frac{1}{12}$ Auguſt, 1713.

"I Had the honour of your letter of the firſt of Auguſt. There is no doubt but that, if the Queen happens to die before the miniſters here have adjuſted their meaſures with France, for bringing over the prince of Wales, the friends of the family here will have ſtrength enough to ſupport their cauſe until the Elector arrives, and they are all of opinion that the preſence of the Elector would be infinitely more uſeful than that of the Electoral Prince, not only in that caſe, but even at this very time. But as they imagine that the Elector would not chooſe to come before the Queen's death, they propoſed that the Electoral Prince ſhould come, as he has ſuch a juſt pretext for this, which regards himſelf alone, being a peer of the realm; and they propoſe this not only in view of the Queen's dying ſoon, for the danger is then by no means ſo great, but in order to have a ſupport, and ſome one to counteract the deſigns of the miniſtry, who will uſe the authority of the Queen while ſhe lives; the adminiſtration of affairs, which the laws place in their hands, for concerting ſuch meaſures with France, that the Pretender will be here in an inſtant, and then it will be too late to prevent him.

All this is ſo clear to common ſenſe, and muſt be particularly ſo to the Elector, who knows better than any one the engagements of the miniſtry with France, that it is very ſurpriſing he ſhould heſitate a moment, and from any jealouſy he may have of the Electoral Prince. If he will come himſelf, as I had often the honour to tell you, all his friends will rejoice at it more than at the coming of the Electoral Prince. But if he will neither come himſelf nor ſend the Electoral Prince, I aſſure you that all friends, of all ranks, will conſider themſelves as abandoned. Perhaps this will not be reliſhed at Hannover; but I would not be a faithful ſervant to the Electoral and to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, if I did not acquaint you with the juſt ſtate of the affair.

We exert ourſelves more this ſeſſion, and with greater ſucceſs, than we had reaſon to expect, in hopes that having another parliament, we ſhould have ſome ſupport from your court. When it is ſeen that what

1713. August. was propoſed, with regard to money, is rejected, and that the Elector will neither come himſelf, nor allow his ſon to come, we ſhall become tired, and leave affairs to take what turn they pleaſe."

Original, Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

On the 17th of May and the 24th of July, 1713, the earl of Strafford wrote to the Electreſs of Hannover. His letters contain an account of public and private negociations, reflections on the ſtate of affairs, and obſervations on the Emperor's obſtinacy in continuing the war. Lady Strafford having a grateful ſenſe of the notice which the Electreſs had been pleaſed to take of her, wrote alſo a letter to her Royal Highneſs.

A copy. Ibid.

Extracts of a letter from Sophia, Electreſs of Hannover, to the earl of Strafford.

Tranſlation.

Herrenhauſen, Auguſt 4th, 1713.

"I Believe it was from a little vanity, you have choſen that your lady ſhould write to me, and let me ſee that ſhe has not leſs wit than you, and writes a prettier hand."——"You have reaſon to be well pleaſed that you are born an Engliſhman; for you baniſh your Kings when they don't behave well, and want to indroduce a new religion. There is none that I abhor ſo much as the Popiſh: for there is none ſo contrary to Chriſtianity. Whoever is a ſovereign, ſhould never ſubmit himſelf to the dominion of a foreign power, ſuch as the Pope."

The Jew who wrote the following very intelligent and ſenſible letter, gave the Elector a very different account of the ſtate of parties in England, from either his own agents or the Engliſh noblemen, who ſent him their opinion and advice. It is in Robethon's hand, and marked by him at the top, "Tranſlated from Jacob Mears the Jew."

September. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 36.

Jacob Mears to the Elector.

The Earl of Oxford's motives and views.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Cleves, Sept. 12th, 1713.

"AS I am encouraged from your Electoral Highneſs to give my opinion of the affairs of England, I ſhall take the liberty to tell you,

you, that the changes which happened, are founded ſolely upon the enmity of the earl of Oxford againſt the duke of Marlborough. To render that great General uſeleſs, Oxford adviſed the Queen to finiſh the war, and conclude a peace with France; and, to gain the favour of the people, he provided for the payment of ten millions of debt, by eſtabliſhing the South Sea company; gaining, at the ſame time, the Clergy of the church of England, by building fifty new churches, and by other methods ſufficiently known. 1713. September.

He hath likewiſe drawn the Jacobites into his party, by conniving at their hopes and at their views for the Pretender, in order to alarm thereby your illuſtrious houſe. But, in my humble opinion, your Electoral Highneſs ſhould employ all ſorts of means to engage Oxford and his friends in your intereſts; promiſing to continue them in their offices, and to protect them againſt Marlborough and his adherents, after the death of the Queen; for I don't believe that lord Oxford and his friends are for the Pretender; all he did was from a hatred to Marlborough, and to revenge himſelf of one, who had diſgraced him with the Queen."

Jacob Mears adviſes the Elector to employ ſome men of addreſs in England, with powers from him to gain the leaders of the Tories, by promiſes and money, who might eaſily be prevailed upon to abandon the Pretender, and would then diſpoſe the Queen to be favourable to his Electoral Highneſs. He thinks the Electoral Prince ſhould go over, and gives directions about his behaviour in England.

"I ſubmit all this to the great prudence of your Electoral Highneſs, and am always ready to obey your orders; and if your Electoral Highneſs chooſes that I ſhould come to Hannover before I go over to England, I am ready to obey, and to have the honour of going for your commands, entreating your Electoral Highneſs to conceal my name and my perſon. I ſhall wait at Cleves for an anſwer to this letter."

"To prevent him from coming here," ſays Robethon, in a note at the end of this letter, "I wrote to him, thanking him very gravely, and telling him that he might go to England when he pleaſed, and that if he learned any thing which concerned the ſervice of your Electoral Highneſs, he might give information of it to the reſident Kreyenberg."

Extracts

1713. September. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. No. 18.

Extracts of Letters from Baron de Schutz, envoy from the Elector of Hannover, and Monſieur Galke, ſecretary of the embaſſy in London, to Bothmar at the Hague, and Robethon in Hannover.

Containing ſeveral particulars concerning their ſecret intrigues in England.

Sept. and Oct. 1713.

SINCE the death of the Baron de Grote, the Elector had no one to repreſent him in England but his ordinary reſident Kreyenberg. Galke was only ſecretary to the embaſſy, and Monſieur l'Hermitage does not appear to have been in any public character from the court of Hannover. Baron de Schutz, whoſe father had been envoy at London, was ſent thither, with the ſame character, in the beginning of September. His firſt letter
Ibid. p. 38. to Robethon is dated from the Hague on the 12th. He acknowledges himſelf obliged to Robethon for his employment. He wrote him another letter on the 14th, and gave him an account of a converſation with
Ibid. p. 40. Mr. Cadogan. "He (Cadogan) approves entirely of the plan of uniting ourſelves with the Tories, of whom ſome are for our ſucceſſion, and others diſſatisfied with the Queen and with the miniſtry, and he thinks that the motions we chooſe to make in the enſuing parliament ſhould be propoſed by them, and not by the Whigs. He recommends Mr. Hutchiſon as a fit perſon for that purpoſe; being an avowed Tory, and having great credit among the party."

"He believes the duke of Ormond is well affected towards our ſucceſſion; but he apprehends he may be led, on account of his ſtrong engagements with the lord treaſurer, and as he is not capable of reſiſting, by a ſolid reaſoning. He deſcribes the duke of Argyle as a man entirely led by his ambition: he believes, however, that the miniſtry having broken their word to him, he may ſupport, at leaſt for ſome time, the party he has lately embraced, and by whom he was very well received, although he was well known to them. Cadogan accuſes him of having been one of the principal inſtruments who contributed to all the changes which happened for ſome years back, from perſonal hatred, and to ſatisfy his ambition."

Cadogan conſidered as the greateſt advantage to their party, the continuance of the war of the Empire againſt France, and the death of the King of France, or of the Queen, or of the Pretender. The firſt was

old, the ſecond was ſickly, and the third was conſumptive. The Queen, he ſaid, GOT DRUNK every day, as a remedy againſt the gout in her ſtomach. 1713. September.

Baron de Schutz to Robethon.

London, Sept. 22d, 1713. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 42.

THIS letter regards almoſt entirely his journey and arrival in London, and Kreyenberg having placed the lottery tickets belonging to the Electreſs in the hands of Mr. Strafford, a merchant, who failed ſome time ago, and ſome other private buſineſs. "The duke of Argyle continues to be on very bad terms with lord Oxford. Neither the one nor the other are now in town. It is believed that Sir Thomas Hanmer is entirely reconciled with lord Oxford. L'Hermitage aſſures me, that the miniſtry are enraged at the continuance of the war in the Empire."

Baron de Schutz to Baron de Bothmar, in cyphers. Ibid. p. 44.

This is a copy decyphered in Schrader's hand; the addreſs and date, at the top, in Robethon's.

Tranſlation.

September 22d, 1713.

"I Have it from very good authority, that the Queen is altogether prejudiced againſt our family, and that the impreſſions they have given her in that way are ſo ſtrong, that it is judged impoſſible to efface them. Lord Oxford leads her implicitly; making her believe that all his meaſures were neceſſary to preſerve her crown, after having perſuaded her that the Whigs had a deſign of depriving her of it. One is at a loſs what character to give of this man. He told a ſtranger, who wanted to put him on his guard againſt ſome one, 'I never truſted any one; I am determined not to truſt any one for the future; conſequently no one deceived me, or can deceive me.' He promiſes the ſame thing to five different perſons, which, at leaſt, will procure him four enemies for one friend. Pleſſen promiſed to give me notice in time; but we ſee one another but ſeldom, and in public we pretend to be ſcarcely acquainted."

Baron de Schutz to Robethon. Ibid. p. 46.

Beſides the originals of Schutz's letters, decyphered by Robethon, there are copies of the moſt of them in Robethon's hand. Theſe copies are abridged and put into the form in which Robethon choſe to ſhew them to the

1713. September. the Elector; and he ſometimes omits things which he did not think neceſſary to mention. The following extracts, therefore, are always from the originals.

Tranſlation.

September 26th, 1713.

"MR. Cadogan told me, that Sir Thomas Hanmer is not ſatisfied with the treaſurer: for he pretends never to have received any thing from him, and ſays, it is not in the treaſurer's power to prevent his being ſpeaker. As Hanmer is very ſelfiſh, one cannot depend upon his continuing firm.

Lord Bolingbroke came to ſee Cadogan immediately upon his arrival, to aſk if he would chooſe to be preſented to the Queen, which was to have been done the day before yeſterday, by the duke of Ormond. He made him the greateſt offers of ſervice; and, in eight or ten days, Cadogan will tell me every thing he ſhall learn in a tour he propoſes to the country to ſee lord Sunderland, with whom he will find lord Halifax."

Schutz to Bothmar.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8 p. 55.

The date is in Bothmar's hand. All Schutz's letters to him were decyphered by Schrader. This is a copy in Schrader's hand.

Tranſlation.

Sept. $\frac{18}{29}$, 1713.

"THE avowed Jacobites ſpeak with aſſurance of the Pretender's return; but they are divided in their opinion of the manner. The moſt unreaſonable among them would chooſe that, without depending upon a powerful party here, he ſhould come with a conſiderable body of troops from France. Others, leſt they ſhould alarm the people, want that he ſhould come alone, after having written to the Queen, repreſenting to her his right to the crown, in the moſt ſubmiſſive and affecting manner: for they ſuppoſe that the Queen would propoſe him to the parliament, which, they flatter themſelves, will be devoted to the court, and diſpoſed to infringe the act of ſucceſſion.

Such a repreſentation, in their opinion, would have ſo much the greater influence on the Queen's mind, that it is certain ſhe attributes the loſs of her children to the dethroning of her father; having been very ſenſibly touched with an affecting letter which he wrote to her before his death, and in which he recommended his family to her. It was brought to her

by Madam Oglethrope, who went twice to France. Theſe things are communicated to ſeveral perſons, in order to ſound them, and partly in order to take the neceſſary precautions and meaſures againſt the objections which are made to them; and laſtly, in order to find out if meaſures are concerted for oppoſing them. I have all this from lord Portmore *." 1713. September.

Monſieur de Pleſſe, or de Pleſſen, as his name is ſometimes written, had been of the prince of Denmark's houſehold. He had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the Elector's agents in London, unknown to the Queen and to the miniſtry, to whom it appears he had conſtant acceſs.

"Although he (Pleſſen) diſcourſed with the Queen about the prince of Wales, during an hour, for three following days, he was not able to obtain any anſwer from her, when he turned the diſcourſe to the Electoral family of Hannover; but her Majeſty began conſtantly to ſpeak of ſomething elſe."

Galke to Robethon.

An original in Galke's hand, decyphered by Robethon. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 57.

Tranſlation.

September 29th, 1713.

"I AM aſſured from all hands, eſpecially by thoſe who had buſineſs to tranſact with the treaſurer, that it is impoſſible to comprehend the anſwers he gives, much leſs to put them afterwards in writing. Beſides he frequently gives ſuch as have no connexion with the propoſals which were made to him. Again, when he takes me aſide, and appears to ſpeak with the utmoſt confidence to me, and to enter deep into buſineſs, he leaves me, and bows to the right and to the left to thoſe who come in. All thoſe in the room, who ſee ſuch a farce, imagine you have had an audience, and a favourable anſwer; and no doubt but you to whom he ſpoke, knows that he ſaid nothing to you."

This is only the copy of a letter ſent by Schutz in cyphers. There is a copy of it decyphered in an unknown hand, and another in Robethon's. October. Ibid. p. 61 and 63.

Tranſlation.

October 3d, 1713.

"MR. Stanhope came to ſee me, and made me all the proteſtations I could expect. He does not think there will be fewer Whigs

* His lordſhip's authority is good. He was himſelf a Jacobite.

1713. September. in the next parliament than in the laſt; but he has a very bad opinion of it. He conſiders the efforts made in Scotland for breaking the union, as proceeding from the inſtigations of the lord treaſurer; becauſe after that, it will be more eaſy for him to bring in the Pretender. In ſhort, his opinion is, that if things continue never ſo ſhort a time upon the preſent footing, the Elector will not come to the crown, unleſs he comes with an army. He believes the greateſt number of the country gentlemen are rather againſt us than for us; but, to make amends, he aſſures that the wiſeſt heads and moſt honeſt men have our intereſt at heart."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 67.

The following is a copy, in Robethon's hand, of a letter written in cyphers by Schutz to Bothmar.

October 10th, 1713.

"MR. Cadogan told me, this morning, that on a jaunt to the country to ſee his friends, and, among others, lord Sunderland, he had employed to very good purpoſe the arguments with which you furniſhed him in writing, when he paſſed through the Hague. He recommends again to employ 6 or 7000 *l.* Sterling, to ſecure, thereby, ſix or ſeven voices in the houſe of peers, which will ſecure us a majority againſt the treaty of commerce, and againſt the attempts which may be made to infringe the ſucceſſion. For he ſays, it is a certain fact, that ſeveral peers, wanting a livelihood, are obliged, in order to have wherewith to ſubſiſt, to take penſions from the court, and to vote as it orders them. He hopes Sir Thomas Hanmer may be gained, and he deſigns to ſound him by the means of two of his friends, with whom he is to paſs ſome days.

L'Hermitage, who will not go any more to Hannover, tells me, that if our court is not at this expence, to gain ſome members in the houſe of peers, who will prefer 400 *l.* Sterling from us, to 1000 *l.* from the Queen, we will ruin ourſelves and our friends in this country. Mr. Cadogan intreats you much to repreſent the conſequence of all this to our court. He promiſed me a liſt of theſe poor lords, when lord Sunderland ſhall be here.

Ibid.

The ſame to the ſame.

Tranſlation.

October 13th.

"THE duke of Argyle having ſent for Kreyenberg to his country-houſe, Monday laſt, told him, that he knew, from good authority, that the Queen would not change the five among the ſixteen Scotch peers, whoſe names Kreyenberg ſent already. He looks upon the earl of

Breadalbin, though his near relation, and alſo upon the earls of Dundonald and Dunmore, as avowed Jacobites; and he is afraid lord Selkirk and lord Portmore will follow the miniſtry. 1713. October.

He ſpoke to the Queen, ſome time ago, concerning his brother lord Ilay; ſaying, that he flattered himſelf that her Majeſty would be pleaſed to employ him in the enſuing parliament. But he ſays ſhe anſwered coolly, that ſhe had not yet come to any reſolution concerning the Scotch peers. When lord Ilay ſpoke of it to the lord treaſurer, he anſwered, that he did not deſign to meddle in theſe things.

The duke of Argyle aſſures, that he ſpoke ſeveral times, for ſome months, to the Queen, and diſcovered to her his apprehenſions from the Pretender; adding, that he ſuſpected even ſome perſons about her Majeſty. To which her Majeſty anſwered, ſometimes by a ſneering ſmile, and ſometimes by ſaying to him, How can any one entertain ſuch thoughts?"

Schutz to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 71.

A copy in Robethon's hand. The original was ſent by Schutz in cyphers, and by a ſecret addreſs.

October 13th.

"GEneral Lumley having promiſed to endeavour to gain Sir Thomas Hanmer, Mr. Cadogan goes with him to Mr. Hill's, to ſee if he will aſſiſt him in engaging the knight to change. In that caſe, Mr. Cadogan thinks that I ſhould promiſe him titles and offices from his Electoral Highneſs, when he accedes to the crown. Mr. Cadogan hopes, that the duke of Kent will change for us; but he recommends the penſions to five or ſix poor lords, as a capital affair, and without which the union of England with Scotland will be loſt."

Robethon adds, in his own hand, to another letter from Mr. Schutz of this date; "They ſay, that my lady Jerſey is gone ſecretly to France. I ſhall inform myſelf more particularly about this." She is mentioned again in a letter from Galke, dated from London, $\frac{2}{12}$ October, 1713. "They reaſon differently about lady Jerſey's journey to France. Some maintain, that ſhe went only to obtain ſome money which her late huſband placed there unknown to his family*; and, as a proof of this, they

Ibid. p. 70.

Ibid. p. 77.

* Sir Edward Villiers was created earl of Jerſey by King William. He was, in his reign, envoy and ambaſſador extraordinary to the States General, one of the plenipotentiaries

1713. October. they obſerve, that, notwithſtanding the great œconomy with which he lived, no ready money was found by him at his death: others pretend that ſhe went in order to be at a diſtance from her creditors; and laſtly others ſay, that it was to be among the firſt to make her court, and to offer her ſecond ſon in Lorrain. The relations of the young man waited on lord Bolingbroke, to entreat him to ſend after him, and bring him back hither, and hinder him from following his mother to France; but before thoſe who were ſent to take him at Dover, he had left it."

Robethon added, in his own hand, after this letter; "Lady Jerſey was at Windſor to take leave of lady Maſham."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 79 and 81.

There are other two letters from Schutz of this date; one in French to Robethon, and one in High Dutch to preſident Bernſdorff. He complains, that he frequently ſpoke to Monſieur Kreyenberg about the 400 lottery tickets belonging to the Electreſs, but without ſucceſs. He believes that Kreyenberg's affairs are in bad order; for he owned to him the loſs of 5000 *l.* which he had truſted to Strafford. He begs that his own expences ſhould be conſidered, and entitle him to a greater allowance, eſpecially as every thing was very dear.

Tranſlation from the High Dutch.

"I know too well, from experience, that when I ſhall ſpend all my own little income, no one will give me a fortune; and if, in ſerving our maſter with activity and zeal, one muſt ruin his health and loſe his money, I truly think, that nothing but an extravagant, not to ſay a fooliſh, deſire can induce any one to accept ſuch ſervices. You may depend upon it, that the four weeks I have paſſed here, coſt me already, after deducting all extraordinary expences, 200 guineas. Now, judge you, who know the ſtate of my affairs, if I can ſupport this with the ninety which I am to receive."

Repreſentations of this kind frequently occur in the correſpondence of the Hannoverian agents in London.

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tiaries for the treaty of Ryſwick, ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of France, ſecretary of ſtate, and chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold. He died on the 28th of Auguſt, 1711, the day he was to have been named lord privy ſeal. He had married Barbara Chiffinch, daughter to William Chiffinch, Eſq; cloſet-keeper to King Charles II.

Schutz

Schutz to Robethon.

1713. October. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 83.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of a letter ſent by Schutz in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

October 24th.

"LORD Halifax received, with the utmoſt gratitude, the compliments and aſſurances which I gave him from the Elector; declaring to me his willingneſs to ſacrifice his fortune and his life for his ſervice."

Halifax aſſured Schutz, that the treaſurer endeavours to convince every one that the Elector approves of all his meaſures: this prevented the friends of the ſucceſſion from oppoſing him; "and if he ſpeaks in this ſtrain, to a nobleman of lord Halifax's capacity, with whom he pretends to converſe as a friend, and who is conſidered to have the confidence of the Elector, what will he not ſay to others, who, he knows, are not ſo well informed? Theſe aſſertions of the treaſurer's, and the orders which monſieur de Grote had, as well as myſelf, to ſee very few Whigs, and but rarely and in ſecret, will render it very difficult to undeceive our friends.

"Lord Halifax believes the Queen, as well as her miniſtry, is entirely againſt our ſucceſſion, but he is perſuaded, that her Majeſty, far from chooſing to yield the crown to the Pretender in her lifetime, is no ways diſpoſed, as yet, to bring him over."

Lord Halifax aſſured Schutz, that it was owing to him alone, that the Treaty of Commerce was rejected: he was the firſt who oppoſed it in the houſe of peers, and he engaged lord Angleſea and others to oppoſe it in the houſe of commons: "And as he gave me clearly to underſtand, that to ſacrifice all his fortune, and expoſe himſelf to the reſentment of France, of the Pretender, and of the Queen's miniſtry, was playing a very high game, until one was well aſſured that ſuch a conduct was approved, could not a letter to him be obtained from the Elector, thanking him for his ſervices in the laſt ſeſſion, begging the continuance of them, and aſking his opinion of the ſtate of affairs in this country."

1713. October. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 93.

Schutz to Robethon.

This letter was carried to Hannover by Monſieur de Melleville, and was not written in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

London, October 30th, 1713.

"I Saw lord Sunderland at Kreyenberg's the day before yeſterday. He does not deſpair of the affairs of this country, as many others do. He thinks the Treaty of Commerce will be rejected, although a better one will be preſented to this parliament, than that which was rejected by the laſt. He aſſures me the duke of Argyle, who paſſed ſome days with him in the country, may be depended upon. He thinks him incapable of ever reconciling himſelf with the miniſter; as he acknowledges now that he acted formerly on wrong principles, and is diſſatisfied with his brother for having ſhuffled, *i. e.* for having paid court to the lord treaſurer, in hopes that he would have made him one of the 16 Scotch peers. The misfortune is, that he has thereby neglected to be choſen in oppoſition to the court, which the duke thinks he could not have miſſed to be, if he had ſpoke out, and employed the intereſt of his friends in Scotland. They ſay he is diſguſted at having been played the fool with in this manner, and diſappointed in his hopes; and he muſt have exerted himſelf very much and with great ſucceſs, though chiefly out of ſpite, in order to carry the elections of the commons in Scotland againſt the court, ſince it is certain that, of 45 members, there are 34 or 35 Whigs.

Young Mr. Murray, who is known at Hannover, has changed ſides, and is now a ſpy of the lord treaſurer's, who detached him to me the day before yeſterday. He had the imprudence to regret to me, that many were choſen who were diſagreeable to the court, and who were puniſhed by the laſt parliament."

Ibid. p. 98.

Schutz to Robethon.

The original letter decyphered by Robethon.

Tranſlation.

October 31ſt, 1713.

"CADOGAN came again to repreſent to me the indiſpenſable neceſſity of the Elector's giving ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds Sterling to ſecure ſix or ſeven lords, who are paid by the court, and whom the court does not ſuſpect of being able to leave them, as they have ſo much need of the penſions given to ſupport them."

Extracts

Extracts of Letters from Schutz to Robethon and to Bothmar, Nov. 1713. Containing ſeveral particulars concerning private characters and the hiſtory of the times.

1713. November. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 102.

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy in Robethon's hand of a letter ſent by Schutz, in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

Nov. 3, 1713.

"THE duke of Argyle, with whom I was this morning, aſſured me ſtrongly, that the lord treaſurer could not be depended on; that he knew him better than any one, from his own experience; and that he was very ſure, that he exerted himſelf with all his might againſt the ſucceſſion, and for the Pretender. His intimate friends muſt have ſaid, that he was too far engaged to withdraw, and that he was forced to moſt of the things which he did. The duke of Argyle aſſured me, that very odd queſtions were put to the officers, of whom the treaſurer was not entirely ſure; and that he broke them, when their anſwers did not pleaſe him. He behaves in the ſame manner to thoſe who have other employments.

The offer which the elder Mr. Murray made me, this morning, of carrying me to the lord treaſurer, and which I thought proper to refuſe, proceeded, undoubtedly, from the lord treaſurer himſelf. This embarraſſes me greatly, and will do ſo more hereafter, if I do not receive orders ſoon to aſſume a character. Our friends diſapprove much of my incognito, if it is to continue."

A copy in Robethon's hand of a letter ſent by Schutz, in cyphers. Ibid. p. 104.

Tranſlation.

Nov. 7, 1713.

"THE Duke of Argyle coming to ſee me, the day after I waited on him, ſpoke to me with great openneſs; telling me among many other particulars, that he conſtantly ſpoke to the Queen about the ſucceſſion; but, however frequently, could never obtain any anſwer from her. As the duke ſometimes obſerved, that he was not well received by her Majeſty, he aſcribed the cauſe of this, to the malicious reports which had been made to her of his conduct, and he entreated her to let him know what he was accuſed of, that he might exculpate himſelf by informing her of the truth; but having never been able to obtain that favour, he conjured her to compare the freedom and the boldneſs,

1713. November. neſs, with which he always told her his opinion concerning affairs in general, and concerning his diffidence of ſome perſons who had the honour of approaching her frequently, without enjoining ſecrecy, with the manner in which they ſpoke to her, in order to judge who acted moſt honourably to her. But ſtill he had no anſwer.

Monſieur de Pleſſen confirmed the truth of all this to Schutz. The duke of Argyle thought it was abſolutely neceſſary to gain lord Angleſey and Sir Thomas Hanmer. The friends of the ſucceſſion offered to aſſiſt Hanmer in being choſen ſpeaker; and he aſſured them, that he was under no engagements with the court."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 109.

Schutz to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

London, Nov. 14, 1713.

"THE ſon of the duke of Berwick, who is to marry the widow of lord Petre, is expected here. Her fortune muſt be immenſe; thoſe who ſpeak moderately of it, give her 40,000*l.* a year. Her huſband was a Jacobite; but wanted to have the Pretender, without the aſſiſtance of France, and ſeeing that was impoſſible, he gave himſelf no further trouble to bring him in."

The following letter is not in Schutz's own hand; but it is an original decyphered by Robethon, who marked at the top, "from M. de Schutz, ſent by Mr. Cadogan."

Tranſlation.

Nov. 18, 1713.

Ibid. p. 115. "THE intentions of her Britannic Majeſty ſhould be ſufficiently known to us, ſince the Tories, who are our friends, as well as the Whigs, acknowledge that ſhe is totally prejudiced againſt us; and that failing the Pretender, in whoſe favour, beſides her own inclinations, the recommendations of a dying father engage her to act, her hatred againſt us is ſo ſtrong, that ſhe will endeavour to leave the crown to the greateſt ſtranger, rather than allow it to fall to the Electoral family. She is confirmed in theſe ſentiments by thoſe who are continually with her and who poſſeſs her favour, and who, beſides being for the Pretender, hate our princes.

A maid of honour who attended the week when the thing happened, ſays, that lady Jerſey, two days before ſhe ſet out for France, had a converſation of two hours with the Queen, in the night time."

A copy

A copy in Schrader's hand, ſo that the original was probably a letter from Schutz to Bothmar, in cyphers. 1713. November. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. P. 114.

Tranſlation.

Nov. 21, 1713.

"MISS Oglethorpe, the lord treaſurer's miſtreſs, ſaid, that the Pretender was to travel, and ſhe ſaid ſo the very day news came from Holland, that the biſhop of London had declared at Utrecht, to the plenipotentiaries who are there, that the Queen entreated their maſters not to receive the Pretender in their dominions."

The following letter is in Galke's hand, and not ſigned; but it is decyphered by Robethon, who marks on the top, "from M. de Schutz."

Tranſlation. Ibid. p. 126.

Nov. 24, 1713.

"LORD Halifax is very happy at the ſteps which the Queen's miniſters were obliged to take, at Utrecht, by the biſhop of London. He hopes it will furniſh an opportunity, in the enſuing parliament, of doing ſomething for the further ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, and for the advantage of the Electoral family; as he is perſuaded, it was unwillingly the Queen's miniſters took ſuch a ſtep. For he believes them diſpoſed, from inclination and duty, to favour the Pretender. He flatters himſelf that our affairs are not ſo deſperate as we imagine, and that our enemies meet with difficulties which we are ignorant of, and which forced them to ſuch a meaſure. In ſhort, he hopes, whether the Pretender ſtays in Lorrain or leaves it, that means will be found in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, to take advantage of this ſtep againſt them.

It was, on this occaſion, the Queen muſt have written to the Pretender to inform him, that it was againſt her will ſhe took that ſtep, aſſuring him, that his intereſts were always dear to her; that ſhe would take all imaginable care of them; that it was not yet the time to declare herſelf, and a great deal more in the ſame ſtrain, and even treating him as a brother. But as ſuch a letter muſt have been written very privately, it is difficult to conceive how any notice could be got of it, and it is neceſſary not to diſcover any diffidence of the Queen in that reſpect, as the bad conſequence of that would fall back upon us."

1713. November. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 127.

Schutz to Bothmar.

This is a copy in Schrader's hand, who always decyphered the letters ſent to Bothmar. The date is in Bothmar's own hand, and Robethon marks "it was ſent by Schutz, in cyphers."

Tranſlation.

London, Nov. 28, 1713.

"A Mr. Strickland, vice chamberlain of the Pretender's court, is here now; as I knew this only ſince yeſterday, I have not been able yet to learn whom he has ſeen ſince he came here.

It is affirmed, that the court gives a great deal of money to the Highlanders in Scotland, in order to have them ready when they ſhall have occaſion for them; from which it is preſumed, that the Pretender may probably take a tour to that country, and this opinion is greatly confirmed by the diſcourſes of the Jacobites, who ſpeak openly of his arriving ſoon. A great number of Popiſh prieſts arrive here every day. They have paſſes under the little ſeal [*le petit ſceau*], for entering the kingdom. Several of them were met, within a few days ago, at the dutcheſs of Buckingham's."

Ibid. p. 134.

Schutz to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

London, Nov. 28, 1713.

"THERE is a rumour in town, that lord Peterborough was for ſome time incognito at Dunkirk, and alſo in England; at one time under the name of Smith, and at another time, under the name of Thompſon. At Dover, he appeared with a plaiſter on an eye, and in bad cloaths. This diſguiſe did not hinder his ſervant from knowing him there, and from calling him by miſtake, my lord, which angered him ſo much, that after having beat the ſervant, he forgot himſelf ſo far, as to ſay, that the raſcal had made him miſs a great aim. Others imagine there is room to conjecture, that having been three weeks between this place and Paris, he muſt have ſtopt at ſome other place."

Ibid. p. 135.

In a copy of a letter of the ſame date from Schutz to Bothmar, for it is in Schrader's hand, who decyphered all Bothmar's letters, we meet with the following poſtſcript.

"Peterborough ſtaid, for many days, incognito, at Sandrick, while he was ſuppoſed to be gone; after which, he went by Calais to Barleduc, having been ſent thither from hence. De Lormes aſſures me he knows this certainly, though he does not chooſe to name his author."

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

1713. November. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 144.

This letter is in the duke's hand; but not ſigned.

Reflections on the meaſures of the Engliſh Miniſtry.—Reaſons for ſending the Electoral Prince.

SIR, Antwerp, Nov. the 30th, 1713.

"I Have not troubled you ſince my coming to this place, becauſe nothing of the leaſt conſequence has offered; but Mr. Cadogan being now returned from England, with an account of the preſent ſeituation of things and diſpoſion of people's minds there, I thought it neceſſary to take notice in general to you of it, and, at the ſame time, acquaint you, I ſend him to the Hague, in ſome few days, to comunicate all matters to Monſieur Bothmar, in order to his tranſmitting, in the moſt ample manner, to his Electoral Highneſs, the ſentiments and thoughts of our friends in England, concerning the unhappy condition we are in, which I am ſorry to tell you, grows worſe every day, and will very ſoon be deſperate, unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedy is applyed. Though the whole conduct of our miniſtry, both as to affaires at home and abroad, leaves no rome to doubt of their intentions to bring in the Pretender, yet I cannot forbear mentioning ſome circumſtances relating to it, which have happened ſince the laſt ſeſſions of Parliament: I ſhall begin with our court's entering into a ſtricter and greater union with France than ever, notwithſtanding the colluſive maner with which the French King has evaded executing thoſe articles made with England, which were for our advantage; and as the higheſt and moſt convincing mark of the double dealing and pernicious deſigns of our miniſters; I ſhall, in the next place, inſtance their affectation of writting to ſuch princes, not to receive the Pretender, into whoes countrys they are ſure he will never come, and their making no ſtep in earneſt, towardes the removing him out of Lorrain, notwithſtanding the addreſſes of both houſes, and that his being there or in France is the ſame thing, by which means, the article in the treaty of peace, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant's Succeſſion is eluded: to this muſt be added, the giving all employments, millitary and civil, to notorious Jacobits; the putting the governments of Scotland and Ireland into the hands of two perſons who are known friends to the Pretender; the chooſing the 16 lords to ſerve for Scotland, of which two were with the Pretender, laſt ſumer, and moſt of the reſt declared Jacobits; the miniſters receiv-

1713. November. ng with ſuch diſtinction, Sir Patrick Lawleſs, and under the pretence of his tranſacting the buſineſs of Spain, their admitting him intoo their confidence and privacy, though an Iriſh Papiſt and an avowed agent of the Pretender's; the violence and force uſed in the election of members for the citty of London; the invading the freedome of elections all over the kingdome, by corruption, opreſſion, and bribary, in order to get ſuch perſons choſe, as are in the intereſt of the Pretender; the animating the clergy to preach up hereditary and teſtamentary right, both which principles are deſtructive to the ſucceſſion; the encoraging the publiſhing that pernicious book, lately write to ſupport thoſe doctrins, which, though high treaſon by our laws, yet this book which aſſerts them, was write, either by direction or conivence of Ld. T. as may be judged by the following circumſtances. Firſt the matterials for it were collect'd either out of manuſcripts in his own library, or out of ſuch publick recordes as Mr. Lowndes was known to have been employed in the ſerch of; Ld. T—r, library keeper, corrected the manuſcript, and the printing of the book was publiſh'd in the Gazet, and though the printer was taken up for form's ſake, the ſale of the book is openly permitted, and great numbers of them ſent gratis all over the kingdome. Many inſtances of the ſame nature might be joyned to theſe I have mentioned; but I think theſe more then ſufficient to demonſtrate the views of the miniſtry, and the dainger of delaying any longer the entering into effectual meaſures for the preventing of them. But as this matter is of the higheſt moment, and that the ſafety of our religion, property and liberty will depend upon the reſolutions to be now taken, our friends in England ſubmit every thing to his Electoral Highneſs's great wiſdom and diſcretion, and will execute with zeal and pleaſure, whatever inſtructions or orders he ſhall pleaſe to give them in this moſt important affaire. However, they beleive themſelves oblidged, at the ſame time, both in duty to his Electoral Highneſs and out of concern for the ſafety and good of their country, to repreſent, in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive maner, that conſidering the preſent ſtate of things in England, nothing can ſo effectually aſſure the ſucceſſion, as his Electoral Highneſs going there; or, if that can not be hoped for, the ſending the prince, which would animate and encorage, to the greateſt degree, all thoſe of both partys, who wiſh well to the ſucceſſion, and break the meaſures of thoſe who

are

are againſt it. But, though this is the unanimous ſenſe of our friends in England, yet they leave and wholly ſubmit it to his Electorale Highneſs prudence and judgement, and deſire that this their advice may be underſtood to proceed from hearts ful of affection and unalterable attachement to his Electoral Highneſs perſon and intereſts; for the promoting of which they will be allways ready to venture their lives and fortunes. As I write you this, in the laſt confidence, I deſire it may be comunicated only to his Electoral Highneſs and Monſieur Bernſtorf, and for fear of accedents, you will be pleaſed afterwards to burn it. I am with truth, yours." 1713. December.

Schutz to Robethon.

Original Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 151.

Schutz had, by this time, aſſumed the character of Envoy from the Elector, and was introduced to the Queen.

Tranſlation.

London, December 4th, 1713.

——"LORD Ilay returned, yeſterday, from Scotland. He was with me, this morning; but as it was the firſt viſit, and as a number of people came in upon us, we could not ſpeak of many things. To judge of him by his words, he is entirely in the intereſts of our maſter; conſequently it is unlucky, that he is not in parliament to give him proofs of this. He takes it very much amiſs, that he is not one of the 16 peers of Scotland.

You have incloſed a very curious piece. It is in the hands of the miniſtry, who have not ventured to preſent it to the Queen."

Robethon adds, in his own hand: "It is an addreſs from the Highlanders of Scotland, who deſire the Queen to diſpoſe of every thing, ſo as that her brother may ſucceed her."

Sir Hugh Paterſon of Bannockburn, being introduced to the Queen by the earl of Mar, preſented to her Majeſty addreſſes from the boroughs of Inverneſs and Nairne, which might be interpreted in this ſenſe.

Schutz to Robethon. Ibid. p. 156.

It is a copy in Schrader's hand of a letter from Schutz in cyphers; the original having been probably addreſſed to Bothmar at the Hague.

Tranſlation.

December 8th, 1713.

"HAving ſeen Lord Ilay, at his houſe, I aſked his opinion of the aſſociation propoſed for Scotland, of which his brother had ſent him

1713. December. him a form. He told me, that the form in the main was good, but the plan could not be followed, as it was in many things contrary to the laws; and that as it could be executed but by the Preſbyterians alone, who were all for the proteſtant ſucceſſion. As all the members of the church of England were *Jacobites, without exception*, great care muſt be taken to draw it up in ſuch a manner, that the latter could have nothing to object to it; ſince otherwiſe the members of that church in England would join them and oppoſe it. He promiſed to me, that he would conſider this, and contrive it with the aſſiſtance of ſome men of abilities.

It was he, who told me again, that the court pays about 40,000 l. ſterling to the Highlanders in Scotland; giving from 3 to 400 l. to the chieftain for exerciſing them frequently, and for being in a condition to aſſemble them, in caſe of need. Notwithſtanding this, it is his opinion, that if the government will not acknowledge and aſſiſt them openly, they may be oppoſed with ſucceſs, as he preſumes he can himſelf aſſemble 20,000 men in four counties which are for us *."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 149, and 158.

Schutz to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

December 11th, 1713.

SCHUTZ attended lord Oxford's levee, and aſked an hour in private with him. "I ſaw by his countenance he was embarraſſed. He anſwered me only in monoſyllables, and ſeemed to be willing to aſk if I had any thing very particular to ſay to him. I imagined, that, perhaps, he did not underſtand my French; for that reaſon, I whiſpered to him, an uſual cuſtom in his houſe, and aſked him again an hour in Engliſh. He anſwered me, at laſt, that he was ready every day to ſpeak to me at the treaſury."

Schutz was as little pleaſed with his audience at the treaſury. "He enquired about the health of the Electoral family, I believe twenty different times, interrupting me as often. After anſwering each queſtion, I began again to ſpeak to him of the arrears; and to continue this farce longer, he made excuſes to me, that he did not come to ſee me, alledging that the affliction occaſioned by the death of his daughter, prevented him."

* It is to be feared, that Ilay ſacrificed matter of fact to his zeal in this inſtance.

"There

" There came lately from the court of St. Germains, ſome perſons of condition, who are not named, and who are ſtill here, and endeavour to perſuade the widow of lord Petre to go to France to marry the duke of Berwick's ſon." 1713. December.

Schutz to — (Bothmar probably); for it is a copy in Schrader's hand of a letter written by Schutz in cyphers. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 135.

Tranſlation.

December 11th, 1713.

" HALIFAX and Sunderland made the elder Mr. Craggs tell me, that, conſidering the courſe which things take now, and after all the expence which our friends have been at, to carry the elections of the members of the common-council of London, they think it abſolutely neceſſary, that we ſhould not loſe the affair for the want of about 2000 l. ſterling, which the Elector ſhould furniſh, and which they ſolicit me inceſſantly to give. You may judge of my embarraſſment; for beſides this, Stanhope joins them, aſſuring me, that, however far he is from propoſing the ſmalleſt expence to the Elector, he finds this ſo eſſential and ſo ſeaſonable, that he cannot avoid to conjure me to procure it, as they are all ſure, that being maſters of the council, London will preſent to parliament any addreſs they chooſe, which will be an example to the reſt of the kingdom, and cannot fail to have great and good effect. Set this affair then in a proper light, that I may not be diſavowed, in caſe their reaſonings prevail with me ſo far as to engage me to furniſh this money."

Bothmar to Monſieur de Bernſdorff. Ibid. No. 134.

Hague, December 16, 1713.

CADOGAN was at the Hague, and gave to Bothmar a memorial concerning the ſtate of affairs in England, and the means of retrieving them. It was to be ſent to the Elector, and drawn up in ſuch a way, that it might be communicated to the well affected Tories: but he mentioned ſeveral other particulars to Bothmar, which the latter writes to his correſpondent in this letter. The Elector ſhould aſſure the Tories, that the Whigs would reſign to them offices and employments. If the Electoral Prince would go to England, there were 50 or 60 great men who would hazard their fortunes and their lives to ſerve him. If the Elector himſelf would go, they would furniſh him any ſums of money that he ſhould judge neceſſary for the execution of his deſigns. A proof of the poſſibility of this was, that eight or ten perſons were able to furniſh the Emperor

1713. December. peror with three millions. They would furniſh money much more readily for the preſervation of their own country.

They again entreated his Electoral Highneſs very earneſtly to grant the penſions they aſk for ſome poor lords, who want neceſſary ſubſiſtence; and if they cannot engage his Electoral Highneſs to agree to any thing they propoſe, they will endeavour to provide for themſelves as well as they can, and yield to the times. "He told me, that the dutcheſs of Marlborough was to return to England in ſpring, and that perhaps the duke would do ſo likewiſe; for being now 66 years of age, it was proper for him to think of dying in peace in his native country, if he could. If we will do nothing ourſelves to ſecure the ſucceſſion, we cannot expect it without a miracle. I am afraid we will not get off with the loſs of our hopes of that ſucceſſion, and that ſo much trouble will be given to us, and ſo many enemies raiſed againſt us elſewhere, that we will not be either in peace or ſafety in the Electorate, until we ſhall be ſo low, that they may be aſſured they have nothing further to apprehend from us."

"You recollect, that both the duke of Marlborough and Cadogan have proviſional orders from the Electreſs to take the command of the troops and of garriſons in caſe of the Queen's death. Cadogan told me, it would be proper to have a particular one for Mr. Armſtrong quartermaſter general, who commands at Dunkirk, to ſeize upon that place, and execute the orders of Marlborough or Cadogan. That order may remain in the duke of Marlborough's hands, until it will be time to execute it; which Cadogan anſwers Armſtrong will do, although the miniſtry confide in him. He is a creature of Cadogan's, who knows, that according to the laws ſuch orders are not valid; but he ſays, that officers and ſoldiers, ſo very well affected as they are, will not examine the point ſo narrowly, and will be ſatisfied with ſeeing the name and the ſeal of the Electreſs; and when once the thing is done, reaſons will be eaſily found afterwards to juſtify it.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 142.

Bothmar repeats a great deal to the ſame purpoſe, in a letter to Robethon, dated the 19th of this month, and, in a poſtſcript to it on the 23d, we meet with the firſt mention of a perſon, whoſe name will frequently occur hereafter, Mr. Clignet, poſtmaſter at Leyden. He intercepted a letter, which he communicated to Bothmar, and which Bothmar was to ſend to lord Sutherland. They ſuſpected it to be from lord Peterborough.

Clignet

Clignet himſelf wrote to Robethon at this time, and promiſed the continuance of his ſervices in this way. 1713. December. Ibid. No. 38.

Bothmar wrote again to Robethon on the 30th, about Cadogan's memorial. "He, Cadogan, reliſhes much the idea of Monſ. de Bernſtorff, that his Electoral Highneſs ſhould borrow to the extent of 20,000l. ſterling from his friends in England, at an intereſt of 5 per cent. to defray the expences to be laid out on the poor lords and the common-council. during the three years that the parliament ſits. He wiſhed the ſum had been 24,000l. which would have made 8,000l. a year; but he was at laſt ſatisfied with the 20,000. He ſays it will not be neceſſary to go far for this ſum. That he himſelf and the duke of Marlborough will furniſh it on the obligation of his Electoral Highneſs; and, providing the intereſt of 5 per cent. be regularly paid, they will not aſk when his Highneſs would chooſe to reimburſe the capital. I ſaid nothing to him of what you wrote to me of his Electoral Highneſs's reimburſing this capital out of his own revenue, in caſe other reſources fail; but I doubt much if we can inſert in the obligation, that this money will be paid out of the penſion to be granted to the ſucceſſor, on his acceſſion to the crown. It will be ſufficient not to ſpecify the time of reimburſing it. Ibid. No. 16.

I beg of you to tell me, if lord Stamford has received any thing yearly till now from his Electoral Highneſs or from the Electreſs."

Bothmar writes to Robethon about letters he received from the Sieur Ridpath, and a book Ridpath was to publiſh at this time. Bothmar propoſes, that the Elector ſhould be at the expence of the impreſſion, and recompenſe Mr. Steel, who was aſſiſted in a work at this time, by Mr. Walpole and Mr. Stanhope.

The neceſſity of ſending over the Electoral Prince, at leaſt of giving out publickly, that it was intended to ſend him, is repeated in almoſt every letter written by the friends of the family of Hannover from England and Holland, in the courſe of this year.

STUART PAPERS.

1714.

1714. THE earl of Middleton, ſecretary of ſtate to the Pretender, having retired from that office, in the beginning of December, Nairne, whoſe collection of papers has thrown ſo much light on the hiſtory of theſe kingdoms, reſigned his place of under-ſecretary. The ſeals being given to Sir Thomas Higgins, the correſpondence to and from Britain paſſed through his hands; and all the papers are probably ſtill preſerved in the Scotch College at Paris. That part only of the correſpondence with the Pretender, which paſſed through the office of Mr. Nairne, as ſecretary of the cloſet, has fallen into the hands of the Editor. This deficiency is, however, very amply ſupplied, by the minute detail of facts, contained in the Hannoverian diſpatches for the preſent year.

The Pretender, having retired from the dominions of France, before the concluſion of the peace, lived in great ſecurity at Bar-le-duc, in Lorrain. The two houſes of parliament, inſtigated by the Whigs, who were themſelves urged by the houſe of Hannover, preſented addreſſes to the Queen, to uſe her influence with the princes in alliance with Great Britain, not to receive him into their dominions. Theſe princes, however, were no ſtrangers to the circumſtance, that the Queen, and even ſome of her ſervants, deſired that he ſhould not be moleſted. She herſelf had obtained, from the French King, and by her influence, from the Emperor, ſuch paſſports, for her brother, as juſtified the reception given to him by the duke of Lorrain. The Jacobites in Britain, with their uſual intemperance and zeal, were highly elevated with the hopes of his ſpeedy reſtoration. His health was publickly drunk. He was mentioned, in common diſcourſe, by the title of King; and ſcarce any doubt can be formed, that the Queen herſelf encouraged his hopes, and promoted

promoted his views. The reſpect with which he was received abroad roſe in proportion to the favourable appearance of his affairs at home. The duke of Lorrain received him with a royal munificence, and gave him convincing proofs of his friendſhip in the following negociation. 1714. February.

A letter to the Duke of Lorrain from his Envoy at Vienna, Concerning the marriage of the Pretender with one of the Arch-dutcheſſes. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 15.

Tranſlation.

February 22d, 1714.

" IN anſwer to the letter, with which I have been honoured from your Royal Highneſs, concerning the deſigns of the Chevalier de St. George to be allied to the family of Auſtria, I ſhall tell you that I have communicated them to the prince of Trauſton, who willingly undertook the commiſſion to the Emperor, and even gave me reaſon to expect a ſpeedy anſwer, which I have waited for from day to day; but your Royal Highneſs knows, that they are not as expeditious, at this court, as one could wiſh. Accordingly I have not been able to obtain an anſwer until laſt night, when the prince ſent for me very late to tell me, that he had given an account to the Emperor of what I had ſaid to him concerning the Chevalier de St. George; that his Majeſty had appeared to reliſh the propoſal, but found the preſent times too critical to be able to come to a determination; adding, that he did not believe that it was the intereſt of the Chevalier de St. George to determine any thing poſitively, in the preſent conjuncture, and that he was diſpoſed to give the Chevalier marks of eſteem and regard when the occaſions offered. This, in a few words, is the anſwer that was made to me. I remarked, however, in continuing the converſation with the prince of Trauſton, that, far from being averſe from this alliance, they would deſire it much; eſpecially if the Chevalier de St. George was reſtored to his dominions, as it is not doubted will happen in a ſhort time.

This miniſter found, that there was a diſproportion of age, between the Chevalier de St. George and the youngeſt of the archdutcheſſes, niece to the reigning Emperor; and that they would be more inclined to ſettle the youngeſt of the archdutcheſſes, his ſiſter, the firſt being only twelve, and the laſt two and twenty years old; and it is believed here, that the Chevalier de St. George is twenty-five. The miniſter ſtrictly enjoined me

1714. March. to write to your Royal Highneſs, that you ought to preſerve the moſt profound ſecrecy in this affair; that the preſent conjuncture requires this, on your own account, and on account of the Emperor and of the Chevalier de St. George; that a diſcovery would infallibly ruin it; and that I ſhould do myſelf the honour to write all this preciſely to your Royal Highneſs, of whom I have the honour to be, with all poſſible reſpect,

SIR,

Your Royal Highneſs's moſt humble, &c.

DESAMOISE."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 52.

The anſwer of the Duke of Lorrain to his Envoy at Vienna.

Tranſlation.

March, 1714.

"I Was not able to anſwer ſooner the letter which you wrote to me, wherein you informed me of the Emperor's anſwer to what I had written to you concerning the deſigns of the Chevalier de St. George, with regard to the alliance he would chooſe to form with the family of Auſtria. The reaſon of my delay has been, that I could not till now find an opportunity of giving information to the Chevalier de St. George, who appeared to me to be very ſenſible of the marks of regard and eſteem which the Emperor has ſhewn him; and he has given me in charge to write to you about this, in order that by my orders you might ſhow that he has a grateful ſenſe of the Emperor's behaviour; that he has a mutual eſteem for him, and will ſeek every opportunity of cultivating that friendſhip and regard, which the Emperor has teſtified for him. He expreſſed himſelf in the moſt obliging terms. You will, therefore, execute this commiſſion as ſoon as you receive my letter. I will even tell you, as from myſelf, that I thought I had perceived the Chevalier de St. George would have wiſhed that he himſelf could have written to the Emperor, to ſhew his gratitude; but that he did not believe it became him to write for the firſt time as an incognito. I want to know, though for no other reaſon but pure curioſity, if the Emperor would receive or anſwer a letter from the Chevalier de St. George, and write to him as King.

I forgot to tell you, that I had for a long time the curioſity to aſk you, as particular an account as you could give me of the temper, the genius, and the education of the four archdutcheſſes, the ſiſters and the nieces; and

and as I have the pictures of all the Emperors, I would chooſe likewiſe to have thoſe of the archdutcheſſes. I command Sauter to write to you the particulars I would chooſe to know; and, as you muſt take time to get the pictures, I wiſh that may not hinder you from anſwering what I have written above." 1714. March.

In various letters to the earl of Middleton, Sir William Ellis, and others, from their correſpondents in England, it appears, that ſome friends propoſed to the Chevalier de St. George to change his religion, at leaſt to have proteſtant ſervants, and a proteſtant clergyman with him. To ſatisfy them in this laſt particular, Mr. Leſly, the famous nonjuring clergyman, ſo often mentioned in theſe papers under the feigned name of Lamb, was ſent for to Bar-le-duc, in the room of Mr. Weſt, who was not ſo well known. Mr. Leſly wrote a letter on the ſubject, addreſſed to a member of parliament. It was openly handed about by the party; and at the ſame time, the Chevalier himſelf wrote another on the ſame ſubject.

"*Abſtract of a letter, written in his Majeſty's hand, on the ſubject of religion, to a perſon in England, to be ſhewn to his friends there.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 27. and vol. iv. No. 54.

A copy in Nairne's hand.

March 13th, 1714.

"I Would very much have wiſhed not to have been obliged, at this time, to enter upon ſo nice a ſubject as that of religion; but your two laſt letters are ſo preſſing and poſitive, that it would be an unpardonable diſſimulation in me, ſhould I not anſwer your letters, with the ſame ſincerity you write them.

I ſhall, therefore, begin by putting you in mind of the laſt converſation I had with you upon that ſubject, to which I have nothing to add, but that I neither want counſel nor advice to remain unalterable in my fixt reſolution, of never diſſembling my religion; but rather to abandon all than act againſt my conſcience and honour, coſt what it will. Theſe are my ſentiments; and, had I others, or ſhould I act contrary to thoſe I have, where is the man of honour that would truſt me? and how could ever my ſubjects depend upon me, or be happy under me, if I ſhould make uſe of ſuch a notorious hypocriſy to get myſelf amongſt them? I

1714. March. know their generous character could not but deteſt both the crime itſelf and him that ſhould be guilty of it. And would they but give themſelves time ſeriouſly to conſider, I am perſuaded they would not make my religion the only obſtacle to my reſtoration; it being itſelf the greateſt ſecurity for their liberties, properties, and religion, by putting it out of my power ever to invade them ſhould I intend it; which is ſo far from my thoughts, that, on the contrary, I am moſt willing and ready to grant all the reaſonable ſecurity that can be demanded of me, in relation to all theſe points, all my deſire being to make them a flouriſhing and happy people.

I can have no other intereſt but theirs; whereas, how many other rightful heirs are there to the crown after me, who being powerful foreigners, may have inclinations equal to their power, and may very probably never give reſt to England, till they enſlave it in good earneſt?

Will my ſubjects be always ſo blinded, as to make a monſter of what is in effect their greateſt ſecurity; and not perceive and endeavour to prevent the real and juſt cauſes they have of fear and apprehenſion?

My preſent ſincerity, at a time it may coſt me ſo dear, ought to be a ſufficient earneſt to them of my religious obſervance of whatever I promiſe them: for I can ſay, with truth, that I heartily abhor all diſſimulation and double dealing, and I love my ſubjects even now too well not to wiſh, as much for their ſakes as my own, that they would at leaſt open their eyes to ſee their true intereſt, and timely provide for their future peace and quiet.

I know my grandfather and father too had always a good opinion of the principles of the church of England, relating to monarchy; and experience ſufficiently ſheweth, that the crown was never ſtruck at but ſhe alſo felt the blow: and, though ſome of her chief profeſſors have failed in their duty, we muſt not meaſure the principles of a church by the actions of ſome particular perſons."

Queen Anne died on the firſt of Auguſt this year. The Chevalier de St. George communicated the news to the duke of Lorrain, and received the following letter from him on the occaſion.

The Duke of Lorrain to the Chevalier de St. George.

On the death of Queen Anne.

1714. Auguſt. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 55.

The letter is in the Duke's hand.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Auguſt 15, 1714.

"THIS moment Mr. Strickland is arrived with the letter, which you did me the honour to write to me. Behold then, at laſt, the period arrived which muſt decide your fortune! You have taken the only proper courſe, by going to Paris; and I hope that you will find at the court of France the ſuccours which are neceſſary for ſecuring the ſucceſs of your enterpriſe. The honour which you did me, Sir, during your ſtay in my dominions, and the liberty with which you allowed me to tell you my ſentiments, induce me to entreat you now to remember, that by the death of Queen Anne, France is free of all engagements with England; thoſe which had been contracted by the moſt Chriſtian King having been only with the Queen perſonally, and not with the Engliſh nation. This leaves France without any engagement, and in a ſituation to ſupport you without any reproach. But, Sir, this ſupport, when too public, may not be advantageous to you; and in my opinion, as I have had the honour of repreſenting to you ſeveral times already, the moſt eſſential ſuccours are, not to allow you to want money, to ſecure your paſſage by ſome ſhips, and to permit you to take along with you the national troops, which would not alarm any one in England; whereas French troops certainly would.

Some arms and ammunition will be no leſs neceſſary; ammunition may be eaſily found at Calais, and for fear of loſing time, arms may be taken from the troops which work at the new harbour near Dunkirk; for they may make ſome difficulties about the time which will be neceſſary for furniſhing theſe things. If the duke of Berwick, as you believed, was not deſirous of attending you, he has ſucceeded; but, Sir, I entreat you to remember that a good officer, who is not a ſtranger, is neceſſary for you. I have no doubts but you will land in Scotland; it is upon that kingdom, it appears to me, you ought principally to depend. You will probably find there a greater number of friends; and beſides, it is a country in which you can better maintain your ground. The diſunion of

that

1714. August. that kingdom is the meaſure, which will attach them moſt to you. Forgive me, Sir, this detail; but amidſt the great occupations, in which you are engaged, you may not perhaps recollect this, of which, however, you yourſelf are convinced. My zeal makes me take too much liberty, which you will be pleaſed to excuſe; as well as any omiſſion I may have been guilty of, during your ſtay in this country. I can do nothing now, but pray God to bleſs your undertaking, and to preſerve your health; beſeeching you, Sir, to grant me your protection, and to be perſuaded of my zeal, which will not ceaſe but with my life.

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient Servant,

LEOPOLD."

Carte's Memorandum-book marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 13.

An anecdote concerning Queen Anne's confeſſion to the Biſhop of London, about her brother, on her death-bed.

Mr. Carte had this anecdote probably from the duke of Ormond; for he marks it on the top, "D. of Ormond."

"THE night before the Queen died, when the council broke up, the duke of Buckingham came to the duke of Ormond, clapped his hand on his ſhoulder and ſaid, My lord you have 24 hours time to do our buſineſs in, and make yourſelf maſter of the kingdom.

The Queen, before ſhe died, ſent for the biſhop of London, made a ſort of confeſſion to him, particularly as to her brother; for it could not well relate to any thing elſe: when as the biſhop took leave of her to go out of the room, he ſaid aloud, in the preſence of the ducheſs of Ormond and other company, Madam, I'll obey your commands: I'll declare your mind; but it will coſt me my head.—The Queen propoſed to receive the ſacrament next day, but died firſt."

Ibid. p. 6.

Anecdote from R. Leſly.

"HE came into France in October 1714; his deſign was to go into the South with Mr. Downes, who was hindered by Graham the bookſeller chicaning with him about his books which he had ſold, and was detained in England; ſo that R. L. came alone to Paris, and was afterwards obliged to go to Nancy to the King, where talking with him on the terras, he adviſed him to make an attempt on England, the moment he

he heard the parliament was diſſolved. The King ſaid, the Highlanders preſſed him exceedingly to it; the Lowlanders were doubting as to the time, but would riſe if he came; and the Engliſh were againſt it, and for deferring. R. L. ſaid, for this reaſon he ought to go; becauſe the Engliſh were only for deferring, to know the iſſue of a parliament; which if the Tories got on their ſide, there would be a Tory miniſtry, and an end of the King's hopes. That himſelf and twenty cautions in a day given him in his ear by perſons about the court, not to adviſe the King to this attempt, but his duty obliged him to it; and though he did not care to mention particular perſons, yet he would name them if the King pleaſed. 1714. March.

He told ME this with more particulars, March the 25th, 1724."

Various Anecdotes concerning the Earl of Oxford, Bolingbroke, Harcourt, &c. about the time of the death of Queen Anne. Mr. Carte's Memorandom-book, marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 45, & 92.

"L. L. (on the 30th of May, 1726, at ſupper with L. S.) told us, that he never believed lord Oxford ſincere in his deſigns to ſerve the King, till one day Abbé Gaultier came to him on a very particular occaſion.

He had had with lord Oxford a conference about the King's affairs, in which lord Oxford was giving him his ſentiments, in relation to the conduct that the King ought to obſerve to carry his point. The Abbé ſaid, he might forget, and deſired lord Oxford to put them in writing; he did ſo, and gave the paper to the abbé, deſiring him to tranſcribe it, and reſtore it to him next day. When the abbé came home, though he underſtood Engliſh pretty well, yet it was ſo bad wrote, that the abbé could not read it. In this difficulty, knowing none to truſt ſo nice an affair with but L. L. he came to him, and told him the caſe, deſired him to tranſcribe it for him, which he did in ſo legible a hand, that the abbé could read it, and tranſcribed it afterwards himſelf, time enough to reſtore it next morning to lord Oxford; (L. L. thought him always ſincere afterwards).

July 9, 1725, dining at lady S.'s, lord M——r ſaid, that the night the proclamation was ordered to be iſſued out againſt ———, he was ſummoned to the cabinet council, at K—, and it being whiſpered, that it was in order to ſuch an affair; he meeting lord Oxford, aſked him if it was: lord Oxford ſaid, he knew nothing of it; that he did not meddle in affairs, Ibid. p. 92.

1714. March. fairs, and that he would be againſt it if propoſed. Soon after he met lord B. and aſking him about it, and expreſſing his wonder, that they ſhould think of ſuch a thing after it had been ſo carried in the houſe of lords; B. denied that he knew any thing of it. Afterwards they were called into council, where the Queen giving no body time to ſpeak, ſaid ſhe had reſolved on a proclamation, which ſhe cauſed to be read, and then, without ſtaying for, or aſking any body's advice, went out: ſo that it was all her own act. Aſking lord Bolingbroke afterwards how it came to be iſſued out, in ſuch a manner, he ſaid, lord Trevor (who was then neceſſary to him) poſitively inſiſted on it that it ſhould be done, and he was forced to comply.

May 30, 1726, at ſupper, at L. S.'s, L. L. was giving an account of the ſtruggle between lord B. and lord Oxford. The latter was abſolute at firſt, and lady Maſham hated L. B. who was only kept in, becauſe the peace was tranſacting, and nobody elſe could ſpeak French. At laſt, lord Oxford, diſobliging lady Maſham, in the affair of Quebec, ſhe joined L. B. and lord Oxford was turned out a little before the Queen died. The deſign of L. B. at the time, was to bring about the Hannover ſucceſſion: and two or three days before her death, L. L. and Sir W. Windham going in a coach together, the firſt ſaid, Now they had got the power entirely into their hands, they might eaſily bring about a reſtoration; to which Sir W. ſaid, Put that out of your head; that will never be: —— is an impracticable man (*i. e.* he would not change his religion at that moment) and will never be brought in: and L. L. going on the Saturday evening (before the Queen died) to Kenſington, met Arthur Moore and John Drummond waiting for L. B. (who dined with S. W. W. and a great deal of company that day, at Blackheath), who did not come, though John was appointed to attend there for L. B. to receive his laſt inſtructions, in order to ſet out the next day for Hannover, to make up matters with that court. This John Drummond himſelf told L. L.; but the Queen's death did not allow them time to execute their ſcheme, and they could never make the court believe they had any ſuch ſchemes.

Further

Further Anecdotes of the Lords Oxford, Harcourt, and Bolingbroke. The beginning of their quarrel.—Their conduct and views at the Queen's death.—The reaſons of the Earl of Oxford's quarrel with the duke of Ormond.—The duke of Marlborough and Lord Bolingbroke were always friends.

1714. Mr. Carte's Memorandum-book, marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 47.

"L. L. on the 28th of June, 1725, told me, that Mr. Harley, at the time he was bringing about the change in the miniſtry, in 1710, was near quarrelling with lord Harcourt and Bolingbroke. He had a mind to fix them in their old poſts of ſecretary of war and attorney-general. But the one inſiſted on being lord chancellor, and the other ſecretary of ſtate; which he refuſing to agree to, they came to L. L. and told him the caſe, and that there was no doing any thing with him, and therefore, they determined to go, the one into Oxfordſhire and the other into Berkſhire, next morning; and as he was to ſtay in town, they begged of him to ſhew himſelf cool and reſerved to him. L. L. ſaid, he was ſorry for the occaſion of their going; but he would not quarrel with an old friend without reaſon. They ſaid, all that they deſired of him was, to ſhew himſelf cool to Mr. Harley, which he determined to do. After they were gone, lord L. wrote a letter to Mr. Harley, acquainting him with Harcourt and Bolingbroke's being with him and their reſolution; and told him very plainly, that if he went on at this rate, he would loſe all his friends, and nobody would have any thing to do with him; repreſented the conſequences, and deſired him to conſider them. He left a copy of this letter in England. Harcourt and Bolingbroke, after parting with L. L. had gone to Mr. Harley's, and this letter was delivered to Mr. Harley, whilſt they were with him, and they ſaw the ſuperſcription to be lord L's hand. Bolingbroke aſked L. L. afterwards, what was in the letter; for, he ſaid, he never ſaw a man ſo ſtruck, in his life-time, as Harley was after reading it. The iſſue was, Harcourt and Bolingbroke were ſatisfied, and ſtaid in town.

Harley uſed often to complain to lord L. of the Tories having been cut out of buſineſs for above twenty years, and of their unfitneſs for it; and had, therefore, a mind to bring over a capable Whig or two. But the leaſt motion of it put the Tories in a flame, and he could not do it.

Harcourt had complained often, in very feeling terms, to lord L. that he knew no more of the meaſures of the court, though he was L. C. than

1714. his footman. That lord Bolingbroke had not made him a viſit of a year; and lord Oxford did not ſo much as know him. But juſt before the Queen died, Bolingbroke brought him into his meaſures, and they were entire confidents.

Oxford and Bolingbroke had always been puſhing one another, from the very time of their power, and labouring to ſupplant each other. Lord Oxford told L. L. upon aſking when he had ſeen Harry St. John, and L. L. anſwering, that Harry was a man of buſineſs, and he had not ſeen him of a long while, that Bolingbroke was betraying all their counſels to lord Marlborough; and that he owed the finding out of the ſecret to little Dartmouth, and Eraſmus Lewis had made the diſcovery.

It is certain, lord Marlborough was very fond always of Harry St. John; and, on the loſs of his ſon, the lord Blandford, ſaid he had no comfort left, but in Harry St. John, whom he loved and conſidered as his ſon: and, notwithſtanding the difference, on account of Party the duke always had a regard for him.

Bolingbroke, in the midſt of his ſtruggle with lord Oxford, was hated mortally by lady Maſham and abominated by the Queen, for his looſe life, and Oxford was in the height of his credit; ſo that he muſt have fallen, if he had not been neceſſary for the ſcheme of the peace, he being the only man about court that could ſpeak French, or tranſact any thing with Meſnager or the other perſons ſent over by the court of France, or to be ſent into France.

About the ſame time, or a little after the firſt overtures of peace, the Quebec expedition was ſet on foot, in which lord Oxford refuſed to gratify Mrs. Maſham, in an affair relating to it, by which ſhe would have got a good ſum of money. She, though his relation, reſented this highly. Bolingbroke improved the moment, ſtruck in with her and told her, he would get it done, in ſpite of lord Oxford. He did ſo; and ſhe ſtood by him afterwards.

Lord Oxford, who was for ſerving the King *, fancied Bolingbroke was engaged in that ſcheme; and therefore, thought to ſtrike in with the H. of H. This completed his ruin; and he was miſtaken in his point: for Bolingbroke's view was the H. of H. and the night after lord Oxford was out, L. L. came to Kenſington, to get the Queen to ſign ſome papers,

* This ſeems to be a miſtake.

which

which he deferred upon the dutcheſs of Ormond (who was then in wait- 1714.
ing) her telling, that the Queen was ſomething indiſpoſed; but ſhe would acquaint her, if his lordſhip pleaſed. But, he ſaid, it was no matter of conſequence, and he would not diſturb her. He ſaw there waiting for lord Bolingbroke, who failed them, Charles Cæſar, John Drummond, &c. John was to part in a day's time, for Holland, to engage lord Albemarle to negociate for them, with the court of Hannover; and theſe and others then in waiting, as John Drummond himſelf told L. L. were all in that ſcheme. The Queen's death blew up this affair; that miniſtry laſting only three days, and the houſe of Hannover not ſenſible of their obligation to them.

Lord Marlborough landing, as it were, the moment of the Queen's death, I was apt to fancy, he might be in that ſcheme; but L. L. ſaid, he did not believe it; and he heard lord Bolingbroke, in company with himſelf, lord Bath, and others, on the day of the duke's entry into London, ſpeak with a violent reſentment upon it, and ſay, He ought to be ſent to the Tower for it.

December the 13th, Mrs. A. O. told me, that lord Oxford oppoſed the duke of Ormond's liſt of new officers for the army, becauſe it was compoſed of Bagnals, Mathews, and other Iriſh, and becauſe the duke of Ormond inſiſted, that the officers turned out ſhould be paid for their regiments and poſts which they had purchaſed with their blood, which the new officers propoſed were not able to do; nor could the Exchequer then ſupply 50,000 *l.* which was the leaſt it amounted to. That, upon lady Maſham's quarrel with lord Oxford, about her ſhare in the 10 per cent. reſerved out of the Aſſiento contract, which was intended to be ſhared between her, &c. ſhe ſent for A. O. to apply to the duke of Ormond; who ſaid, ſhe could not pretend to have ſo much credit with the duke, though perhaps her mother might. That her mother was ſent for, and ſhe (A. O.) went to Sir John Stapleton's, where the duke was to ſup, fetched him away to Kenſington, where lady Maſham told him how ill the Queen was, and how uneaſy at nothing being done for her brother; and that, if he would but ſecure her 30,000 *l.* of the ten per cent. which amounted to 100,000 *l.* ſhe would join with him, and he ſhould have the modelling of the army, &c. as he pleaſed. He was afterwards introduced to the Queen, who was ill, (this was the year before her death) in order

to

1714. to offer his ſervice to ſerve her brother, and have the modelling of the army, &c. granted him: but inſtead of giving any aſſurances or making any propoſals to the Queen, who was prepared to grant him every thing; he only aſked her, if ſhe had any commands for him, and went away without ſaying more.

The duke of Ormond took it ill of lord Oxford, that when he deſired 1200 *l.* a year penſion might be ſettled on lady Hales, lord Oxford propoſed to make the duke's own penſion 6000 *l.* inſtead of 5000 a year, and offered to get it done, and then the duke might give her as much on his own eſtate: but lady Hales piqued herſelf on having a penſion from the Queen; and made the duke refuſe the offer and quarrel with lord Oxford, who would not grant the 1200 *l.* a year penſion.

When lord Oxford was turned out, Bolingbroke's ſcheme and Harcourt's was for the houſe of Hannover, to make the duke of Marlborough general, and if the duke of Ormond ſubmitted to it, to allow him the poſt of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; if not, to turn him out of all, and ſlight him."

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1714.

THOUGH the Tories were generally deemed Jacobites, by the houſe of Hannover, there is no reaſon to believe, that the whole of that party were friends to the Pretender. The bigotry of that prince, in adhering, with ſuch obſtinacy, to the Romiſh faith, cooled the zeal of thoſe who were moſt attached to the line of hereditary ſucceſſion. Beſides, many Tory leaders, diſappointed in their own views upon office, and offended, upon that account, with the lord treaſurer, began to cabal with the Whigs. Among theſe was the earl of Angleſea, a man of quick parts, but revengeful in his diſpoſition. This earl, together with Sir William Dawes, the ſucceſſor of arch-biſhop Sharpe, in the ſee of York, poſſeſſed great influence with the Tories. On the 5th of April, in the preſent year, they joined themſelves to the Whigs; when, upon a diviſion in the houſe of lords, the proteſtant ſucceſſion was, by a ſmall majority, voted out of danger. They were followed by the whole bench of biſhops, by the earls of Abington and Jerſey, the lords Aſhburnham and Cartret, and ſome other temporal peers of the High Church party. Their principles, however, were not the ſole motives of this deſertion. The means by which Angleſea, the arch-biſhop, and their friend Sir Thomas Hanmer, were gained to the houſe of Hannover, are explained, upon more ſolid grounds, in the following papers. 1714.

Notwithſtanding the votes in parliament, the ſecurity of laws which have never been infringed, and the manifeſt attachment of a great majority of the nation, the family of Hannover, miſled by the ignorance of their agents and the violence of the Whigs, continued to think, that their ſucceſſion to the throne was in the utmoſt danger. The Elector himſelf, haraſſed and fatigued, by the eagerneſs of his agents, and the vehement

1714. remonſtrances of thoſe who called themſelves his friends, had become extremely indifferent, about a throne ſo difficult to mount. He had, during the whole courſe of the preceding year, declined to gratify the Whigs, in ſending over the Electoral Prince. He refuſed to ſatisfy either their avarice or their wants with penſions. He would not give them money to influence the general elections in their favour. He rejected their violent propoſal of invading the kingdom with an army. Having failed to awaken the ambition of his Highneſs, they applied themſelves to his humanity and his fears. They repreſented, that their liberties, their fortunes, and, perhaps, their lives were in the utmoſt danger, ſhould the Pretender ſucceed to the throne. They inſinuated, that neither the Elector himſelf nor his family could be ſafe, upon that event, in the heart of Germany: that a prince, who conſidered them as rivals in the ſucceſſion, would never ſit down contented, till he had reduced them ſo low, as to ceaſe to be an object of terror. This laſt conſideration had, at length, ſuch an effect upon his Highneſs, that he permitted his envoy in London to demand a writ of ſummons to the Electoral Prince, as duke of Cambridge; a tranſaction that made a great noiſe at the time, and is fully explained in the following papers.

The attention of the people having been gradually raiſed by this and ſimilar circumſtances, the Queen and her ſervants found it abſolutely neceſſary to concur, at laſt, in appearance, with the ſentiments of the nation. They had hitherto ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the arts of the Whigs, in eſtabliſhing a general opinion, that a perfect harmony ſubſiſted between the courts of Great Britain and Hannover. Whatever affection the Queen might have had for her brother, a great part of it was obliterated, by his bigotted attachment to a ſyſtem of religion which ſhe abhorred. She, however, ſecretly wiſhed that he might ſucceed her in the throne. But her ſervants would be extremely willing to retain their power, by gaining the good graces of the houſe of Hannover *; and ſhe herſelf

* "A fooliſh circumſtance which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late miniſtry to eſtabliſh themſelves in the good graces of the court of Hannover, as I ſhall particularly relate in another work. It may ſuffice to hint, at preſent, that a delay in conveying a very inconſiderable ſum to a very inconſiderable French *vagrant* †, gave the opportunity

† "*Robithon*, then at Hannover, out of the ſervice of ſome German prince, it is not known how, got into ſome credit with the Elector."

herſelf ſent Mr. Harley, this year, to Hannover, to inquire what further ſecurities the Elector thought neceſſary for the ſucceſſion of his family to the throne. She offered to concur in whatever he ſhould demand, excepting the ſending over a prince of his family to reſide in the kingdom. This, ſhe thought, was the ſame thing as to deſcend from the throne. She and her miniſters were much blamed by the Whigs, for refuſing to invite the Electoral prince. That party had forgot that they themſelves had been equally averſe from ſuch an invitation, when they were in power †. 1714.

The lord treaſurer, while a commoner, and ſpeaker of the houſe, voted for all the acts that were paſſed in different ſeſſions of parliament, for ſettling and ſecuring the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. Notwithſtanding what has been ſuppoſed by the court of Hannover, and aſſerted, with uniform vehemence, by the Whigs, no deciſive proofs can be advanced, that he ever favoured the Pretender, during the four years of his adminiſtration. In the two laſt years, when he found himſelf declining in the Queen's favour, and felt a conſequent diminution of his influence in the cabinet, he made all advances to the court of Hannover, conſiſtent with the awkwardneſs of his manner, the reſerve of his temper, and that affectation of ſecrecy and deſign, which he thought abſolutely neceſſary for a miniſter, and which he probably uſed to conceal his own want of extenſive talents. A diſcerning reader will perceive, even through the complaints and prejudices of the Hannoverian agents, that this unfortunate man wiſhed ſincerely to ſecure a retreat for himſelf, behind the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. He paid no court to the Jacobites and high Tories,

portunity to a more induſtrious party of corrupting that channel, through which all the ideas of the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the Queen, the miniſters, and the whole Britiſh nation were conveyed." *Swift's Enquiry.*

† "For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the miniſters, and did, afterwards, offer many reaſons for it, in a diſcourſe intended for the public (but ſtopped by the Queen's death). That the young grandſon, whoſe name I cannot remember, ſhould be invited over to be educated in England: by which, I conceived the Queen might be ſecure from the influence of cabals and factions. The zealots, who affected to believe the ſucceſſion in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of Engliſh manners and language." *Swift's Enquiry.*

1714. that was not abſolutely neceſſary for continuing himſelf in office. Bolingbroke was the principal adviſer of all the violent meaſures which contributed to increaſe the terrors of the Whigs, and to continue the ſuſpicions of the houſe of Hannover.

The apprehenſions of thoſe who were, or pretended to be, well affected to the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover, were not entirely groundleſs. The jealouſy of the Electoral family could not altogether have proceeded from the inventions of faction, the miſrepreſentations of party, or the ignorance or blind zeal of their agents in London. Though Queen Anne was, perhaps, conveniently free from ſtrong attachments of any kind, though ſhe was actually too dilatory and unenterpriſing in her nature, and timid in her diſpoſition, to engage in any dangerous undertaking; though ſhe was probably as averſe from bringing over the Pretender, during her life, as ſhe was from ſeeing a prince of the Electoral family reſiding in the kingdom; yet it can be now no queſtion, but towards the end of her reign, ſhe was favourably diſpoſed towards her brother, and would have been well pleaſed, without any trouble or danger to herſelf, to have ſecured for him the eventual ſucceſſion of the throne. He himſelf was no ſtranger to this circumſtance, and he formed his expectations accordingly. In a declaration, publiſhed immediately upon her demiſe, he ſays, "Of her good intentions towards us, we could not, for ſome time paſt, well doubt; and this was the reaſon WE then ſat ſtill, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death."

The court of Hannover, though the ſuſpicions of their agents were greater than the truth, could not poſſibly be ſtrangers to the Queen's intentions. Notwithſtanding all the kind aſſurances and proteſtations of friendſhip received from Anne, it was natural for them to ſuſpect her ſincerity, when they ſaw that all the avowed friends of the Pretender ſupported all her meaſures. The character and manner of her miniſter were calculated to increaſe the ſuſpicions of the Electoral family. With ſome abilities, he poſſeſſed all the weakneſſes, and even ſtooped to the meanneſſes in which the whole art of every ſhallow politician conſiſts. Regardleſs of ſincerity, in his political conduct, he often promiſed more than he had either power or inclination to perform. Flying perpetually from the

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point, in his converſation upon buſineſs, he diſguſted mankind in general, 1714.
in proportion to the eagerneſs which men entertain concerning their own affairs. It was only when he meant not to adhere to his word, he gave any anſwer at all; and that was even then contrived in a way that rendered it ambiguous. There was an air of ſecrecy in all his manner, and viſible in every feature of his countenance, and an affectation of myſtery and deep deſign, even in trifles. This defect in his character was ſo little calculated to gain the confidence of others, that it actually expoſed himſelf to ſuſpicions, when in reality he might have no bad deſigns.

The repeated charges brought againſt the earl of Oxford, in the Hannover papers, may be juſtified by the defects of his own manner and mind. But his colleagues in office, eſpecially the viſcount Bolingbroke, were more ſanguine in their temper and determined in their meaſures. An inveteracy, ariſing from mutual injuries, had ſubſiſted between them and the Whigs for ſeveral years. It was foreſeen, that an univerſal change of men and meaſures would take place, upon the demiſe of the Queen: that the Electoral family would employ the Whigs in the adminiſtration of their affairs, whenever they ſhould ſucceed to the crown: that the Tories would be humbled, and thoſe at preſent in office be in danger of their lives and fortunes. It was, therefore, natural to ſuppoſe, that men in ſuch circumſtances had entered into ſecret meaſures to form a ſhelter for themſelves, againſt the ſtorm which was gathering over their heads. Their common prudence, if not their principles, might be ſuppoſed to direct their views to the Pretender. But, notwithſtanding all theſe appearances, there is reaſon to believe that, had the Queen lived for ſome time longer, even Bolingbroke would have found means to reconcile himſelf to the houſe of Hannover; having held an uninterrupted communication with the duke of Marlborough, who was much more attached to the recovery of his own power, than to either of the rivals for the Britiſh throne.

"THESE devils of *Grubſtreet* rogues that write the *Flying Poſt* and *Medley* in one paper, will not be quiet. They are always mauling lord treaſurer, lord Bolingbroke, and me. We have the dog under proſecution, but Bolingbroke is not active enough; but I hope to ſwinge him. He is a *Scotch* rogue, one *Ridpath*. They get out upon bail, and

1714. January. write on: we take them again, and get freſh bail; and ſo it goes round *."

There are ſeveral letters from this Ridpath to baron Bothmar, the Hannoverian envoy at the Hague. He had fled to Holland, and was writing at this time an anſwer to the book on *Hereditary Right*, and endeavouring to make himſelf very neceſſary to his correſpondent.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10, No. 41.

George Ridpath to the Baron de Bothmar.

The Scots, who are well affected to the Hannover ſucceſſion.

Rotterdam, January 2d, 1714.

"I Have a letter from colonel Erſkine, who was lately in the weſt of Scotland, with his nephew, Mr. Cunningham of Buchan, one of our members of parliament, and other gentlemen, who have an intereſt in that part of the kingdom. His errand was to ſet addreſſes on foot in favour of the Hannover ſucceſſion. They have communicated the matter to ſeveral great men, who are their friends, ſuch as the earl of Ilay, who is lately gone to London, and my lord Polwarth, who has undertaken to ſpeak to ſeveral of the ſquadron, *i. e.* the duke of Montroſe and Roxborough, the marquis of Tweedale, Mr. Baillie of Jerviſwood, ſon-in-law to the earl of Marchmont, &c. The earl of Buchan, who is alſo nephew to colonel Erſkine, has likewiſe ſpoke to them, and they appeared very frank in the matter; being very much provoked by the Highland addreſs, of which I ſent your Excellency a copy, and is going through among other Jacobites in that country."

Ridpath was aſſured by the colonel, that the Cameronians of the South and of the Weſt, both of Mr. Hepburn's and Mr. M'Millan's party, had declared openly againſt the Pretender, and expreſſed great indignation at their being ſuſpected of Jacobitiſm. He had a confirmation of theſe and of other particulars, in a letter from a miniſter at Edinburgh; and he recommends to Bothmar to procure a letter of thanks from the court of Hannover to colonel Erſkine and the earl of Buchan, who had great intereſt among the Preſbyterians.

* Swift's Letters, p. 185. vol. 1. 8vo. London, 1767.

Extracts

Extracts of letters from Baron de Schutz in London, to Robethon in Hannover.

1714. January. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 169.

The Pretender favours the Proteſtants.—Earl of Stair obliged to ſell his regiment.—Earl of Oxford makes advances to Schutz, who continues to ſuſpect him.—The Queen's ſickneſs.

Schutz to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

London, January 2d, 1714.

"THE duke of Berwick's frequent journies to Barleduc are not undertaken without ſome great deſign. It is aſſerted that the Pretender has diſmiſſed all his Roman Catholic ſervants, and, among them, they name even two lords. The young widow Peters ſeems to be reſolved to go to France to marry there the ſon of the duke of Berwick.

My laſt will have informed you, before now, that lord Oxford changed his opinion. Notwithſtanding all the proofs of this news, I had a great difficulty to believe it; and I could not conceive that we could derive great advantage from it. I expect to ſee him to-morrow, and I ſhall ſpeak to him again about the arrears. I am very ſorry I was not at home to-day when he called."

The ſame to the ſame. Ibid. p. 172.

This is a copy, in Robethon's hand, of a letter written by Schutz in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

January 2d, 1714.

"LORD Stair told me, that lord Mar came to tell him, in a friendly manner, that it was intended to make ſome changes among the officers; and that he being one of thoſe they wanted to remove, he was willing to aſk him if he would diſpoſe of his regiment. To which he anſwered, that having never done any thing that could diſpleaſe the Queen, and having ſerved her faithfully, he could not imagine he deſerved to be broke: that, to ſay the truth, he had no deſire to diſpoſe of his regiment; and that the Queen was miſtreſs to do what ſhe choſe. But as he cannot prevent the ſtorm, in caſe they wanted to oblige him to reſign, he intends to conſult his friends; and if they judge it proper, he will make as much as he can of his regiment, rather than allow himſelf to be deprived of it, for a trifling ſum, at which the price will be fixed, as happened to others."

The

1714. January. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils. 8. p. 173.

The ſame to the ſame.

This is Schutz's original letter, decyphered by Robethon.

Tranſlation.

London, January 5th, 1714.

"I Waited upon lord Oxford, the day before yeſterday, to expreſs my regret for not being at home when he did me the honour to call, and to aſk him if he had any orders to give me. He anſwered to this, that he would come to ſee me again; intimating to me, that he would chooſe to have a private converſation with me, in order to give me his ſentiments of the Elector's affairs in this country, and of the meaſures which, in his opinion, he ſhould take in the preſent conjuncture. I entreated him then, after having thanked him for his good intentions to my maſter, to name an hour, that I might have the honour of coming to wait on him, which he did not chooſe, putting me off till his return from Windſor; and aſſuring me that her Majeſty was perfectly well affected to his Electoral Highneſs, and to all the Electoral family.

When I aſked him if he had recommended to the Queen his Electoral Highneſs's rank in the Electoral college, and his office of arch-treaſurer, without anſwering by yes or no, he made great proteſtations to me of his zeal, of which he was willing to give proofs, without being influenced by hopes of being recompenſed; but, in order to have no reaſon to reproach himſelf hereafter, that he neglected to give the ſalutary advices which he thought himſelf obliged to give."

Schutz not knowing, probably, that Oxford had quarrelled, at this time, with Bolingbroke, and loſt his influence in the cabinet, paid ſo little attention to theſe advances, that he did not communicate them to the Elector, but deſired Robethon to make them known to his maſter. He conſidered them, he ſays, "as general expreſſions, which would have been more allowable when I ſaw him for the firſt time, ſix weeks ago;" but did not appear to him now to deſerve to be mentioned.

Ibid. p. 178, 179, &c.

The Queen was dangerouſly ill, at this time, and there is a particular account of her ſituation, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the miniſtry to conceal it, in letters from Kreyenberg to Bothmar, and from Schutz to Robethon. The treaſurer and ſecretary Bromley received an expreſs from lord Bolingbroke, from Windſor, between two and three in the morning, of the 5th of January. Bromley ſet out directly for Windſor,

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but the treaſurer ſtaid in London, which made Kreyenberg believe that there was nothing very extraordinary, if other circumſtances did not prove the contrary. Dr. Sloane, who was never called for, by a certain great perſonage, but when in great danger, ſet out about the ſame time for Windſor. Maſham ſent to the clerk of the ſignet-office, before he was out of bed, begging of him to make out his patent of remembrancer of the Exchequer, (though in the Chriſtmas holydays), which made Kreyenberg believe that time was of conſequence at Windſor. 1714. January.

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 146.

The miniſtry are in the Pretender's intereſt.—It is neceſſary to ſend over the Electoral Prince, &c.

SIR, Antwerp, January 6th, 1714.

"I Did not receive, till the 20th of laſt month, the favour of yours of the 12th, and I defer'd anſwering itt till the return of Mr. Cadogan from the Hague, who, as I acquaint'd you in my laſt, went thithere to communicatte to Mr. Bothmer the ſentiments and thoughts of our friends in England, and to inform himſelf of the ſeituation of things in Hollande. By the accounts he brings, as well as by what has been write from thence, it is evident the principal regents of the Republic begin to be now convinced of the deſigns of the Engliſh miniſtry to bring in the Pretender; and ſince the deſtruction of their ſtate muſt inevitably follow, they have warmly taken the alarm, and ſeem diſpoſed to enter into any meaſures towards preventing itt, which the form of their government will alow of; and, as they very well know, a ſtrickt frienſhip with the Emperor and Empire is abſolutly neceſſary for attaining this great end, they are at preſent very deſirous to reconcile themſelves to his Imperial Majeſty; but the managements they are outwardly forced to keep with France and the Engliſh miniſtry, obliging them to proceed in this matter with the utmoſt ſecriſy and caution, they are reſolv'd to tranſact it privately, by ſuch friends as both ſides have an intire confidence in; and, to ſhew how much they are in earneſt, they appear inclin'd to recede from ſeveral advantages given them by their Barier Treaty. As his Imperial Majeſty has likewiſe the buſineſs of England at heart, and believes his own ſafety concerned in ſecuring the ſucceſſion of his E. H. and familly†, it is hardly

† The duke was miſinformed.

to

1714. January. to be doubt'd but ſuch temperaments may be found by the comon friends afore-mention'd, as will re-eſtabliſh the former union between the Emperor and the Republick; which matter being explain'd in the memorials tranſmitted by Monſr. Bothmer, I muſt refer to them for the expedient you mentioned of an addreſs of thankes for the good offices employed, and endeavours uſed to remove the Pretender, and the grounding an invitation on their having prov'd ineffectual. I ſhall take the liberty, ſince you deſire my privat opinion, to tel you freely, I am apprehenſive that matter may be ſo artfully manag'd by the court, as to get the firſt part of the propoſition paſt and the other dropt, the ill conſequences of which are ſo obvious, that it is unneceſſary to explain them: However, if his E. H. ſhall not approve of what our friends in England have humbly repreſent'd, they will be ready to execut, with all the zeal and fidelity imaginable, this or any other thing his Electoral Highneſs ſhall judge for his ſervice; and ſince the miniſters drive on matters ſo faſt in favour of the Pretender, every body muſt agree, if ſomething further be not done in the next ſeſſions of parliament towardes ſecuring the ſucceſſion, it is to be feared it may be irretrievably loſt. Mr. Cadogan returns in about fourteen days to the Hague, in order to receive his El. H's. commands from Monſieur Bothmer, in relation to what he is to ſay to our friends, at his return into England. I am ever your's.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 182.

Extracts of letters from Schutz to Robethon.

Suſpicions of Oxford.—Embarraſſment of the miniſtry.—Rumours of the Pretender's converſion; and of a French armament.—Advances made by Schutz to Sir Thomas Hanmer.

Schutz to Robethon.

The beginning of this letter is in Galke's, and the reſt in Schutz's own hand; and the whole of it is decyphered by Robethon.

January $\frac{1}{12}$, 1714.

"THE lord-treaſurer told me to-day, conjuring me not to communicate it to any one, leſt they ſhould fruſtrate the deſign, that having ſpoke to the Queen of our affairs, a ſtrong proof of his ſincere deſign to do every thing in his power to procure the advancement of our ſucceſſion,

ſucceſſion, ſhe was willing to paſs an act, by which the Electreſs would be empowered to name all the regents, without being confined to the ſeven, who, by an act of parliament, are to be regents by their offices; and that it was on that point he wanted to ſpeak to me. 1714. January.

I could not conjecture any thing from what he ſaid to me, with regard to this power to the Electreſs, but that he wanted to have an opportunity of touching [altering] the act of ſucceſſion, and you may judge what uſe he would make of it. I ſpoke of this to Halifax; and his advice is, that the Elector ſhould take care not to concur in it; but to declare that he is ſatisfied with the preſent form. Knowing the treaſurer's character, his opinion is, that though he ſhould ſpeak of this to me again, he will not ſay more than he has ſaid already."

Schutz to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 184.

The original decyphered by Robethon.

London, January $\frac{5}{16}$, 1714.

THE miniſtry, during the Queen's late illneſs, were embarraſſed by their uncertainty, whether the late or the new parliament ſhould aſſemble, in caſe of her Majeſty's death. But as the old muſt meet then, they will do every thing they can to aſſemble the new very ſoon. A proclamation was ſigned yeſterday, with a blank for the date, to be filled up as they pleaſe. The chancellor was buſy ſearching the records for precedents for regents to prorogue a parliament; which ſhews that they are afraid of any parliament, in caſe of the Queen's death.

" It is always rumoured, that Sir Thomas Hanmer will be choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. He is not yet, however, reconciled with the court. It is ſaid that the ſeals are to be put ſoon to an act in favour of Mareſchal Berwick, repealing that by which he was outlawed: many believe that this is done already, as there are ſeveral examples of the ſame kind, and as Roman Catholicks, who had ſerved in France, are placed in the army and in other employments. Bolingbroke and Oxford gave a bad reception to Argyle and Stair, the day before yeſterday, at Windſor. Lord Mariſhal, a great Jacobite, will have the company of Scotch grenadiers, vacant by the death of lord Crawford. The Jacobites triumph at the news received yeſterday from France, which ſay, that

1714. January. that the Pretender is of the religion of the church of England, and that he received the communion on New year's-day, from the hands of Mr. Leſley, who is inveſted with the character of his chaplain."

Schutz to Robethon.

Hannover Papers vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 188. A copy in Robethon's hand. The original was written by Schutz in cyphers.

January 19th, O. S. 1714.

"SINCE the Queen's illneſs, and the rumours of a French armament at Breſt, our friends, both Tories and Whigs, urge me inceſſantly about ſending to them the Electoral Prince; proteſting that nothing elſe can ſave our affairs. The duke of Kent, lord Orrery, and lord Windſor gave me to underſtand they were of that opinion, and aſſured me it was likewiſe the opinion of Sir Thomas Hanmer. They maintain, that ſeveral who are for us, will not venture to declare themſelves, while we will not ſhow, by ſuch an eaſy ſtep, that we have the affair of the ſucceſſion at heart; but they will declare themſelves as ſoon as they ſee a prince of the family here. They ſay likewiſe, that ſeverals of our enemies will not act againſt us in that caſe.

Lord Ilay gave me the project incloſed of an addreſs, which the well-affected in Scotland intend to preſent to the Queen. You ſee how many friends we have in Scotland, in England, and in Ireland, where the parliament was prorogued, merely for ſhewing too much zeal for us."

Ibid. p. 195. Robethon tranſlated the Scotch addreſs for the uſe of the Elector. They complain, among other things, of diſcourſes and publications depreciating the Queen's parliamentary right to the crown, and maintaining the hereditary right of a popiſh, abjured Pretender. They complain, that large bodies of Highlanders, who were Roman Catholics, and declared enemies of her Majeſty's government, frequently aſſembled in arms, and took the liberty to publiſh, that their chiefs and captains not only had her Majeſty's protection, but were furniſhed by her with large ſums from her Treaſury.

Ibid. p. 189. *Schutz to Robethon.*

London, January $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}$, 1714.

——"SIR Thomas Hanmer is in town ſince Thurſday laſt. He went the day before yeſterday to Windſor, where leſt he ſhould dine

dine with any of the miniſtry, he aſked the dutcheſs of Northumberland, as ſoon as he arrived, if he could preſume to come and dine with her. It is affirmed, more than ever, that he is on bad terms with the miniſtry; which I have reaſon to believe is true." 1714. January.

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of what Schutz wrote in cyphers. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 191.

January 23d, O. S. 1714.

"LORD Oxford wrote a letter this afternoon to lord Halifax, in which he tells him, that his couſin, Mr. Thomas Harley, having kiſſed the Queen's hand yeſterday, to thank her for having named him to go to Hannover, and being charged with a commiſſion, which he was ſure would give pleaſure to his lordſhip, he did not chooſe to loſe a moment in giving him notice of it.

Having reaſoned with lord Halifax on this event, we imagine, that from this meaſure we muſt ſuppoſe one of two things, or perhaps both; either that the Queen appears to the lord treaſurer to be in ſuch a bad ſtate of health, that he thinks he ought to make his court to his Electoral Highneſs, or that things are not yet come to maturity here in favour of the Pretender, and that France does not chooſe to aſſiſt him to mount the throne, nor to give him the number of troops which his friends judge neceſſary. But, in either caſe, he thinks that we can draw great advantage from it; and even though lord Oxford ſhould be as great a fool, and as great a rogue, on this occaſion, as he has always been, ſuch a meaſure as ſending, in this preſent conjuncture, his couſin, who is his great favourite, may ſet him for ever at variance with ſuch of the Tories as are for the Pretender; by which he will loſe a great part of his credit.

Lord Halifax told me, that the petition of the principal merchants of London, and likewiſe that of 3 or 4000 of the richeſt inhabitants of that city, was reſolved upon, Friday and Sunday laſt, at his houſe; and that they were to be delivered to-day. He promiſes himſelf great effect from them; and the more ſo, that there is no example of London's having ever given one."

1714. January. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. No. 193.

Intelligence from England by the way of Calais.

A copy in Schrader's hand-writing.

January $\frac{14}{25}$, 1714.

"THE miniſters give out that the Queen is out of danger; but the phyſicians ſay the contrary. Doctor Arbuthnot, a Scotchman, who alone took care of her Majeſty for two years, will not take upon him to preſcribe any more, without conſulting others. Mr. Blondel, a famous ſurgeon, was called to Windſor, and, on his return, he told in confidence to one of my friends (for they enjoined him ſecrecy), that he was called to open the Queen's thigh, and that he thought ſhe was in a very dangerous ſtate.

Upon the firſt news of the Queen's ſickneſs, ſeveral French battalions had orders to march towards the ſea, under pretext of changing the garriſons; and they remain there, viz. at Graveling, Calais, Berg, St. Winnox, St. Omers, and Boulogne. Moſt of the Iriſh regiments in the French ſervice, who made the campaign on the Upper Rhine, are arrived likewiſe in the Low Countries. Clare's regiment is at Douay, Galmoy's at Valenciennes, and Donington's, which was the late King James's regiment of guards, at Aveſnes."

Ibid. p. 194.

Schutz to Robethon.

London, January $\frac{15}{26}$, 1714.

"I Went Yeſterday to ſee Sir Thomas Hanmer, whither Mr. Hill carried me. He received me very well, and aſſured me, that he had deſired Mr. Hill to bring him to wait upon me. I made him the proper compliments, which he received with teſtimonies of great reſpect, proteſting that he had the intereſts of the Electoral family much at heart: that he believed the happineſs of all the nation depended on the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and that he did not deſire to be believed on his word, but by his actions; hoping to find opportunities which would enable him to give proofs of his intentions. He called upon me to-day, while I was at the treaſurer's. It is impoſſible to imagine how much the miniſtry flatter him. The lord treaſurer was more than an hour alone with him yeſterday."

Ibid. p. 221.

There is a copy, in Robethon's hand, of another letter, which Schutz wrote, of this date, in cyphers. Schutz thought lord Oxford flattered himſelf,

himſelf, that by Mr. Harley's embaſſy to Hannover, he would convince the Electoral family, that he was really in their intereſt; but he ſuppoſed that he intended nothing more than to give the Electreſs power to alter the regency, in which he ſuſpected, that both Oxford and the chancellor had bad intentions. 1714. January.

George Ridpath to Bothmar.

A character of Ker of Kerſland.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 55.

Rotterdam, January 27th, 1714.

HE had not finiſhed his anſwer to the Hereditary Right yet, but expected to have it ready for the preſs very ſoon.

"This morning, one Mr. Ker of Kerſland, a Scotch gentleman, but a very dangerous perſon and a ſpy, ſent to me, deſiring to ſpeak with me. He pretends to be going to Hannover and other parts of Germany, but firſt to the Hague. He is one of the worſt of men, though he pretends to be a Preſbyterian, and to have great intereſt among the zealots of the Weſt of Scotland. He had ſo once; but now they know him. I am confident, that he is ſent over by the lord treaſurer, and that thoſe who are with him come upon ſome ill deſign, as well as himſelf.

P. S. Kerſland has an odd look with his eyes, particularly the right one; he has a thick calf of a leg."

Extracts of Letters from Schutz and Kreyenberg to Robethon and Bothmar.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 196.

A letter from Schutz.

A copy in the hand-writing of Mr. Schrader, who uſually decyphered Bothmar's letters, to whom the original was probably written.

London, $\frac{19}{30}$ January, 1714.

"SIR Thomas Hanmer told me, that he ſaw with regret, that Mr. Thomas Harley was choſen to be ſent to our court, as he would have wiſhed that they had made choice of a man of quality and merit, and whoſe zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as eſtabliſhed in the Electoral family, was known to all the world, in order that the Elector might place confidence in a man of that character. When I made him obſerve the little attention which the preſent miniſters paid to my maſter, he appeared to be ſurpriſed, and ſaid to me, that, although they called themſelves of a certain party, he hoped, that a judgment would not be formed of the whole party from a bad ſpecimen."

There

1714. January. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 58.

There is a copy of a letter giving an account of the negociations between France and the Emperor at this time; there is written at the top of it, in Robethon's hand, "Paris, 31 January, 1714, From the Secretary of the Pretender's mother to lord Ailsbury." It concludes with the following passage: "Our friend at Bar-le-duc remains firm to his persuasions as yet, though many efforts have been made to bring him over. It was a great comfort to his mother to find his firmness in that point, by a letter under his own hand. We shall see what the darling hopes of a crown will do, when proper steps are made towards it."

Schutz to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 202.

London, $\frac{22 \text{ January,}}{2 \text{ February,}}$ 1714.

"I Was with the treasurer, in the morning, the day before yesterday, and I don't fail to go regularly every day he sees company: but I own to you, I was surprised when he told me, that if I had any thing particular to say to his cousin before his departure, he would come to speak to me, after having assured me several times, of his own accord, that he himself, as well as his cousin, would speak to me of all the points on which he proposed to explain himself in Hannover. I made no answer to this discourse, so inconsistent with those he had held with me formerly; but confined myself to recommending to him again the business of the arrears; about which, he answered, he would speak to me before his cousin set out."

Schutz expected, that the news of a French armament upon the news of the Queen's death, and the march of troops to Boulogne and Calais, would open the eyes of the public.

Schutz to Bothmar.

Ibid. p. 205. A copy, in Schrader's hand, of a letter written by Schutz in cyphers.

London, $\frac{26 \text{ January,}}{6 \text{ February,}}$ 1714.

"I Wrote to you, that, the morning after the Queen found herself indisposed, an express came from Windsor to the abbé Gaultier, to inform him of her situation, of which he sent immediate intelligence to France. Upon this, no doubt, the armaments of which you speak were begun."

Lord

Lord Halifax went to thank lord Oxford, for acquainting him with his couſin's embaſſy to Hannover; but Oxford ſaid nothing of the ſubject of this embaſſy; and the couſin himſelf, who came to wait of lord Halifax, and ſtaid an hour, was as ſilent about it; upon which Halifax ſaid to him, "That he wiſhed lord Oxford, who had all the power in his hands, would put our ſucceſſion out of danger; that he would thereby do a ſignal ſervice to the nation, which he would render happy, and gain to himſelf the gratitude and favour of all the family that ſhould ſucceed to the throne: but if he would not do this, he muſt not be ſurpriſed, if he (Halifax) and all thoſe who were of his opinion, ſhould exert all their efforts in ſpite of him, to put this affair in a clear point of view, and to ſave themſelves with their country. He aſſures me, they muſt undoubtedly meditate ſome miſchievous blow; and that, if they do not bring in the Pretender, it will not be for want of attempting it. 1714. February.

Our friends hope, that the States-general will watch the motions of the French, and have the ſix Scotch regiments in their pay, in ſome place near the ſea, in order that they may be ſent over inſtantly in caſe of need."

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of a letter written by Schutz in cyphers. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 209.

February 6th, N. S. 1714.

"IT is certain, that lord Bolingbroke wrote, yeſterday, to Arthur More, to tell him, that the Queen is in a dangerous ſituation. He ſaid, God grant ſhe may live till Friday next; adding, that he has not yet been able to regulate every thing with her; but that, if ſhe lives to that day, he has great hopes to ſee their deſign ſucceed. Sir Patrick Lawleſs ſaw her Majeſty laſt night, and having returned from her about midnight, he went to Monſ. de la Faye, who ſet out inſtantly for France."

Several men of quality applied again to Schutz about the Elector's ſending over the prince. Many of them expected to be ſent to the Tower as ſoon as the French deſigns were ripe. A friend gave 100 l. to an officer for going to France, to learn with certainty, if the Iriſh troops were aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Bologne.

There is a letter from Kreyenberg, in High Dutch, either to Robethon or Bothmar of this date. He gives a very particular account of the Ibid. p. 214.

1714. February. Queen's ſickneſs. She had great pain in the ſtomach and belly, with a difficulty of breathing; ſome called it a colic, and others a gout in the ſtomach. The phyſicians were ſent for by expreſs; in the mean time, doctor Arbuthnot, who was alone in waiting, preſcribed the neceſſary remedies, which for a conſiderable time had no effect; but, at length, the Queen had the long wiſhed for *beneficium ventris*, and with ſome violence, by which however ſhe was much relieved, but ſtill is thought by no means to be out of danger.

Mr. de la Faye, a gentleman of great credit at the French court, was ſuddenly called out of company at night, by Monſ. d'Iberville. He made ready to go immediately poſt to Paris. At 12 at night he was equipped for his journey; but was obliged to wait till 6 in the morning, to get lord Bolingbroke's diſpatches, with which he ſet out for Dover.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 211.

Schutz to Robethon.

London, $\frac{20 \text{ January,}}{9 \text{ February,}}$ 1714.

"TO-day the lord treaſurer did not tell me ſo poſitively, as the day before yeſterday, that the Pretender had left Bar. This is ſurpriſing! Abbé Gaultier ſaid, that he went to Luneville, and that he would adviſe him to go to Rome, where I wiſh he was."

Ibid. p. 213.

The ſame to the ſame;—and of the ſame date.

A copy in Robethon's hand, of what was written by Schutz in cyphers.

"I Employed a friend to beg of Sir Thomas Hanmer, who is an intimate friend of Mr. Bromley's, to be ſo good as to ſound him, as to his intentions towards the ſucceſſion. He did ſo; and Bromley proteſted to him, that he had it as much at heart as he was againſt the Pretender. He went ſtill farther, and diſcovered his ſuſpicions againſt ſome of the preſent miniſtry; but Bromley affirmed, that he was not juſt to them; at leaſt, he aſſured him, that he did not obſerve any ſuch thing in their words or actions. This, together with his ſending his ſon to Hannover, may be a reaſon for believing what he ſays, at leaſt with regard to himſelf."

Applications from ſeveral people for the coming over of the Electoral Prince, and the reaſons for it, are repeated over again in this letter: "It is not a panic terror which makes them reaſon in this manner; but all

the actions of the miniſters diſcover, that they will forget nothing in the Queen's laſt moments for putting the finiſhing hand to a work, in which if they fail, Bolingbroke ſaid, more than once, they were ruined. What are you afraid of, to diſpleaſe a Queen and a miniſtry who want to ruin you?" 1714. February.

Bromley denied to Sir Thomas Hanmer, that an armament was preparing in France.

George Ridpath to Bothmar.

Further particulars of Ker of Kerſland.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 55.

Rotterdam, February 9th, 1714.

"AS to Ferguſon, who calls himſelf Ker of Kerſland, the character I have given of him may be depended on. I am of your Excellency's opinion, that the letter you was pleaſed to ſend a tranſlation of, is of his own framing, and it confirms me that he is ſent as a ſpy by my lord treaſurer; for the plan is, according to the directions which his lordſhip gave to one of his ſpies, to fiſh out matter for a plot to be charged on the Whigs, for bringing in the houſe of Hannover by force, during her Majeſty's life, which the ſpy himſelf diſcovered to one of my friends."

Ridpath, in this long and tedious letter, confutes all that Ker had written of the Cameronians and of the Preſbyterians in general, and of the influence and conduct of his predeceſſors, as well as his own. "It's true he had intereſt enough among the Cameronians, on his wife's account, at the time of the Union, to keep them from breaking up the parliament; but he was well paid for it, by the lord Godolphin and the D. of Queenſberry, and by that money bribed others to concur with him; but that being now known, the Cameronians hate him and call him a traitor."

Ferguſon, it ſeems, had married the eldeſt daughter of Ker of Kerſland, and the male heirs being extinct, aſſumed the name of the family. "He did get money from lord Godolphin, on pretence of his intereſt with the Cameronians, and that he was courted by France; but upon the change, he played the knave, and endeavoured to blacken the late miniſtry, as not having liſtened to his information of a Jacobite plot, and that he could procure an addreſs from 15,000 Cameronians for ſettling

1714. February. the Hannover ſucceſſion, and by this means got money from the preſent lord treaſurer, and I believe he has been his tool ever ſince."

Bothmar and Robethon thought Ridpath an uſeful correſpondent.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 55.

February 12th.—"I have received two letters from England by the laſt poſt; one of them confirms the character I gave your Excellency of Ferguſon, *alias* Ker of Kerſland. It is from a relation of his, that I write for a fuller account of his character; he ſays, he is one of the worſt men upon earth, begs me to have no manner of concern with him, and that I would adviſe all my friends to beware of him, as of the plague."

Extracts of Letters from Schutz to Robethon.

Schutz to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 218.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

February 13th, 1714.

"THE proteſtations which the treaſurer himſelf made to me, and which his couſin made to me by his orders, that he would take care of our affairs, in caſe of the Queen's death, have little weight with me; as I imagine we are not much obliged to thoſe, who will not ſhew themſelves to be our friends, but when it will not be in their power to do us any harm. You may be perſuaded, that in caſe of the Queen's death, every thing will be regulated here to the ſatisfaction of his Electoral Highneſs; ſo that Monſ. de Bothmar will have no difficulties to ſurmount when he arrives, the Queen's death being not, as I wrote you frequently, what we have moſt to fear; beſides, if there will be any danger then, it will be over before Monſ. de Bothmar can be informed of it.

You'll ſee the inſtructions I want are not for what ſhall be done in caſe of the Queen's death, but in caſe the Pretender comes during her life. It is not the want of a leader, in caſe of her death, which embarraſſes; but who ſhall be a leader in caſe of an enterpriſe by France againſt this kingdom during her Majeſty's life."

Ibid. p. 227.

The ſame to the ſame.

London, $\frac{15}{16}$ February, 1714.

"I Was at the lord treaſurer's the day before yeſterday, to tell him that his couſin had ſaid nothing particular to me, and aſk him if I ſhould

ſhould write any thing to Hannover before he arrived. Upon this, he aſſured me, that his couſin was fully inſtructed in all particulars; and that he hoped his Electoral Highneſs would be highly ſatisfied with what he would communicate to him. 1714. February.

There is a rumour current in town, that ſome man of great quality would go ſoon to Hannover; but I believe it is without any foundation, and the more ſo, that they name the duke of Ormond, or the duke of Kent, or lord Halifax."

The ſame to the ſame.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 224.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers. "This letter," ſays Robethon at the end of it, "came by a ſecret addreſs, which I have at Leyden; but the letters of the ſame date, addreſſed to the Hague," which have been already inſerted, "had not arrived, when the poſt ſet out from thence to Hannover, on the 20th."

The deſigns of the miniſtry.—The dangers of the ſucceſſion.—Reaſons for ſending over ſome Prince of the Electoral family.

February 16th, 1714.

"HAving ſpoke, a few days ago, to lord Townſhend and lord Cowper, on their return from the country, before they had ſeen any of our friends, they ſaid the very ſame things to me, which I wrote to you already. I hope, therefore, you will maturely weigh an affair of ſo great importance, on which depends your ſucceſſion, and the fortune and lives of thoſe who have your intereſts at heart in this country, and who are devoted to your ſervice.

Conſider further, that if ever the Pretender mounts the throne, (which he will undoubtedly do, if he comes with a French army, *i. e.* 10 or 12,000 men, before any of the family is here) in what manner England and France in conjunction will concur in your ruin, and in the deſtruction of a family, which they will know they diſobliged ſo much, by robbing it of a crown which was deſtined for it, and of which they will not believe themſelves to be in peaceable poſſeſſion, while that family remains on a good footing. I leave it to you to conſider, what efforts they will make to ruin it, in one way or other.

You muſt be ſufficiently convinced, ever ſince the ſame thing has been ſo often repeated to you, that the miniſtry of this country make great

1714. February. efforts to weaken our party among the people, by making them believe, that the oaths which they take, as well as the act of ſucceſſion, regard the Electoral family merely becauſe they were the neareſt proteſtant ſucceſſors, at the time when theſe acts were paſt; and that, as they were paſt merely to prevent the danger of ſeeing the crown of theſe kingdoms fall into the hands of a Roman Catholic, the principal deſign was to have a proteſtant ſucceſſor. That, therefore, it was ſufficient to anſwer that deſign; and that, to find a proteſtant ſucceſſor, who was nearer of kin than the Electoral family, would be a thing which was juſt, and to which every true Engliſhman ought to be naturally inclined.

Theſe reaſonings have their weak ſide, of which I wiſh the nation was as thoroughly perſuaded as I am. But the real ſtate of this kingdom at preſent is, that all honeſt men, without diſtinction of party, acknowledge, that although of every ten men in the nation nine ſhould be for us, it is certain, that of fifteen Tories there are fourteen who would not oppoſe the Pretender, in caſe he came with a French army; but, inſtead of making any reſiſtance to him, would be the firſt to receive and acknowledge him.

It is likewiſe very certain, that if ſome prince of the Electoral family came now to this country, all thoſe who are at this time in office would haſten to make their court to him, and things would be made quite ſafe and ſolidly ſettled in our favour.

What anſwer ſhall I make to theſe facts, which I know to be certain? How can I encourage men, whom you do not chooſe to acknowledge or ſupport, either by money or by ſending over ſome one of the family? Or in ſhort, what other meaſures can I take, which will give them courage, at a time when they know for certain, that the next ſeſſion of parliament will not end without enfringing the acts of ſucceſſion? And what remedy do you imagine you can then apply, which may prevent or diſconcert their deſign? Is it Mr. Harley's embaſſy, and the manner in which the lord treaſurer and he explain themſelves to me? Is it the proofs, which they give you of their attachment at Utrecht? In ſhort what is it?"

For my ſhare, Sir, I entreat you to employ all theſe reaſons to convince our maſter, without being reſtrained by any apprehenſions of hurting my fortune thereby. I had rather loſe it, by ſaving men of honour, who are in the intereſts of his Electoral Highneſs, and by ſhowing him the

true ſtate in which his affairs are in this country, than fail to inform him of his danger of loſing both his ſucceſſion and perhaps ſomething elſe. 1714. February.

Theſe things muſt undoubtedly appear diſagreeable to you. Judge then, how I muſt conſider them, and with what ſatisfaction I can hear them repeated to me ſo often, by all thoſe who are generally acknowledged to poſſeſs abilities and zeal, and who have had the conſtancy, till now, of remaining attached to our intereſts; although, without a miraculous interpoſition in their favour, as well as in ours, they muſt believe themſelves to be abſolutely loſt, ſeeing themſelves entirely abandoned by thoſe in whoſe cauſe they run every kind of riſk."

Monſ. Martines to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 61.

Martines was Reſident from the Landgrave of Heſſe at Paris. This is a copy in Robethon's hand of a letter written by Martines in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

Paris, February 19th, N. S. 1714.

"EVery one here ſays, that all that the Queen of England does ſeemingly to remove the Pretender, is but a feint, and that the real deſign is to give him the crown. Lord Hamilton, who was always here with the late King James, and ſince with the Pretender, ſaid, ſome days ago, that he who would be firſt in London after the Queen's death, would be crowned. If it is the Pretender, he will have the crown undoubtedly; and if it is the Elector of Hannover, he will have it. But it is eaſier for the latter to be there than for the Pretender, who cannot go but through France, which he is forbid to do, and where he cannot paſs but incognito.

But it is very certain, that they furniſh him here with all the means of going over ſpeedily to England when the event happens."

Lord

1714. February. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 229.

Lord Polwarth to Robethon.

Meaſures taken to ſupport the intereſts of the family of Hannover, and to oppoſe the adherents of the Pretender.—A liſt of the peers and commoners choſen in Scotland, wherein the friends of the family of Hannover and of the Pretender are diſtinguiſhed.

Original.

SIR, Edinburg, Feb. $\frac{9}{20}$, 1714.

"I Wrote to you, on the 6th of January, and then offered my opinion of what I thought was for your ſervice. I know not if my letter came ſafe. Since that time, and before, I have been following out the method appeared to me the propereſt to advance that intereſt I ſhall ever ſerve, and which are, to unite upon the main diſtinction of being friends to the eſtabliſhment and proteſtant ſucceſſion all thoſe whom I had ground to believe wiſhed well to them, but, by ſome unhappy incidents, differed in minuter matters: and then to engage thoſe I know to be ſincere friends to that ſucceſſion, and of character and intereſt, in a cloſer friendſhip and correſpondence with you: both which I have advanced a good dale, notwithſtanding of ſome rubs I have met with in both, needleſs to be mentioned here, but what you may know afterwards.

Matters, ſince that time, have preſſed a little harder. The Queen, as you muſt know, has been ill; and, upon the firſt notice of it, the Jacobites, who have been over looked, while others were under diſcouragements, and who had provided themſelves in arms, ſeemed ready to make a puſh for their favourite Pretender; and many of the Popiſh and Jacobite nobility and gentry came to town, as is ſuſpected with that view. Whereupon, friends, I can't give their names here, met and conſidered what might be proper upon this emergency. The ſafety of this place ſoon appeared to be of the laſt conſequence to the cauſe in general in this country, both for its being the ſate of the government here, and ſo a right place, more obſervable and important; for the life and ſpirit it muſt give to meaner and remote places, and becauſe of the public money's being for the moſt part lodged here: a good morſel for their ſtomachs!

To ſecure this place, therefore, the magiſtrates, who are generally well affected, and who have the executive part of the law in their hands, were ſpoke to, and deſired earneſtly to augment their guard, and take care it

be

be in right hands; to arm the honeſt people of the town, and to have a watchful eye upon all ſtrangers and ſuſpected perſons, to prevent a ſurpriſe, and ſo pary the firſt ſhock, which probably may be the worſt: all which they radyly enugh agreed to, and I hope will obſerve. Care is taken to encourage them, by aſſurances of ſupport and advice, which you know people of their reach and reſolution require not a little; at the ſame time, what arms can be got are providing for thoſe places of the country may be truſted, and accounts are given of circumſtances to friends elſewhere, that things may goe uniformly. 1714. February.

I muſt own we have more Jacobites here than in other places of Britain, and that they are but two well provided; but ſtill I am perſuaded, the honeſt people, with a very ſmall aſſiſtance, will be able to hold head againſt, if they have non els to deal with; however, care would be taken that the ſmall number of troops here be ordered and diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage.

Theſe are the meaſures were thought at preſent adviſeable, which I could not advertiſe you of ſooner, I hope they will pleas; and as need may require, and ther is acceſs, you will ſend advice of what is thought proper.

I ſend you now the reſt of what I promiſed, and what I formerly writ of; which is no eaſie matter, and which I cannot deſire you to rely upon, ſo unfixt are the generallity of mankind. However, that I may not fail in any thing that may poſſiblely be of uſe to you, I have ſent it according to the preſent ſituation. You'll underſtand what I now write by comparing it with what I wrote before. And as to 5, 7, 12, and 14, of the 1ſt, they have been thought friends of the preſent eſtabliſhment and ſucceſſion; but their behaviour of late has rendered them ſuſpect. The reſt have left no ground to doubt them, as you already know.

The 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, of the ſecond, have always been reckoned friends to that eſtabliſhment and ſucceſſion, upon good grounds: as the 1, 5, 7, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 29, 31, 35, 37, and 40, have been ſuſpected of being friends to the Pretender.

I cannot give you particulars here, but what's write will give you a view of what you deſired of me. I have ſent alſo a cypher incloſed, by which I may have occaſion to write. You'll pleas to let me know if it

1714. February. comes safe to hand: ther was a mistake in my former. Lieut. Col. George Douglas is a member to the commons in place of Captain Moody, which you'll pleas to help. I could have sent you some papers are handed about here, the Highland address, and the Pretender's declaration; but I know you have them another way, and I would not give you duble truble. Adieu.

A List of the Members from Scotland to the Parliament 12th of Nov. 1713.

Sixteen Peers.

* 1. Duke of Athol.
* 2. Earl of Mar.
* 3. Earl of Eglington.
* 4. Earl of Kinnoul.
† 5. Earl of Loudon.
* 6. Earl of Findlater.
† 7. Earl of Selkirk.
* 8. Earl of Northesk.
* 9. Earl of Dondonald.
* 10. Earl of Braidalbin.
* 11. Earl of Dunmore.
† 12. Earl of Orkney.
* 13. Earl of Roseberry.
† 14. Earl of Portmore.
* 15. Viscount of Kilsyth.
* 16. Lord Balmerino.

Forty-five Commoners.

* 1. George Lockhart of Carnwath, Esq;
† 2. John Cockburn of Ormiston, Esq;
† 3. George Baillie of Jerisvood, Esq;
† 4. Sir Gilbert Eliot of Stabbs, Bart.
* 5. Mr. John Pringle of Hayning.
† 6. William Morison of Prestongrange, Esq;
* 7. Sir James Hamilton of Rosehaugh, Bart.
† 8. Sir William Johnston of Westerhall, Bart.
† 9. The honourable Brigadier John Stuart.
† 10. John Montgomery of Giffan, Esq;
† 11. The honourable John Campbell.
† 12. Colonel John Campbell.
† 13. Sir Robert Pollock of that ilk, Bart.
* 14. Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn.
† 15. Sir James Carmichal of Bonington, Bart.
* 16. Lord James Murray, Dawallie.
* 17. Colonel James Scot.
* 18. Sir Alexander Cuming of Culter, Bart.

* 19 Alexander

1714. February.

* 19. Alexander Mackenzie of Fraſerdale.
† 20. John Forbes of Culloden.
† 21. Sir James Campbell of Ardkinlaſs.
* 22. Sir Alexander Erſkine, Lord Lyon.
* 23. Mr. John Carneggy of Boyſick.
† 24. Alexander Abercromby of Glaſſach.
' 25. Colonel John Stuart of Stuartfield.
† 26. Alexander Grant of that ilk.
' 27. Lieutenant colonel George Douglas.
† 28. Sir John Erſkine of Alva, Bart.
* 29. Lieutenant general Roſs.
† 30. Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees, Bart.
' 31. George Yeoman of Murie.
† 32. Colonel John Middleton.
† 33. Henry Cuninghame, Balquhan.
† 34. Thomas Smith, Eſq;
' 35. Charles Oliphant, M. D.
† 39. Sir David Dalrymple, Bart.
* 37. James Oſwald of Dunykeer.
† 38. Sir John Anſtruther, Bart.
† 39. Mr. William Stuart.
* 40. Honourable James Murray, Eſq;
† 41. Sir Alexander Maxwell of Monrieth.
† 42. Robert Monro of Foulis.

Sir William Johnſton of Weſterhall, Sir James Carmichal of Boninton, and William Moriſon of Preſtongrange, are choſen for two places, which makes in all forty five members to the houſe of commons. When they make their election, I ſhall write who they are that are choſen.

Extracts of letters from Schutz and Kreyenberg, to Robethon and Bothmar. The death of Archbiſhop Sharp.—Oxford's credit and deſigns.—The friends of the ſucceſſion inſiſt upon the coming of the Electoral Prince.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils. p. 231 and 233.

Tranſlation.

THERE are two letters from Schutz, dated $\frac{2}{12}$ February. One of them to Robethon is an original, and the other to Bothmar is a copy.

1714. February. copy in Schrader's hand. He tells Robethon, that ſecretary Bromley maintained that there was no armament going forward in France, nor any troops moving down to the coaſt. He acquaints him with the death of archbiſhop Sharp, and gives his character. "He (the archbiſhop) really believed four years ago, with others, whoſe eyes are now opened, that the church of England was in danger, and concurred in the meaſures of thoſe who endeavoured to put it in ſecurity; but having found out his miſtake, and being convinced that they had no other deſign than to ſatisfy their avarice, their ambition, and their private reſentments, he left them about a year and a half ago, and even hindered her Majeſty from giving a deanery in England to the *Sieur Saviſt*, the favourite and creature of the prime miniſter, who gave him ſince a deanery in Dublin."

This is the only mention we meet with of doctor Swift in all the Hannoverian papers.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils. f. 237, 251, and 236. There is a letter from Kreyenberg to Robethon in High Dutch, and two in French, from Schutz; one in his own hand, and the other in Galke's, dated $\frac{12}{23}$ February.

They acquaint him, that ſome motion was to be made in parliament in favour of the Electoral family. "If one may form a judgment from ſeveral incidents which happened within a few days, affairs take a turn here to our advantage. Some perſons declare openly for us, from whom that was never expected. We ſhall ſee if they continue to ſpeak the ſame language when the parliament meets. Among other circumſtances, it is conſidered as a very lucky one, that orders are given to bring back three regiments of cavalry and two of dragoons, which remained in Flanders till now, although they were a part of the 8000 men which are granted for the defence of Great Britain."

Ibid. p. 259. London, $\frac{16}{27}$ February, 1714.—Schutz writes to Robethon that the parliament met; that Sir Thomas Hanmer was choſen ſpeaker; that the ſeals were put to a warrant the preceding week for 5000 *l.* to the Lord Treaſurer, as a reward for his good ſervices, and to enable him to purchaſe a houſe of the duke of Grafton's, in the neighbourhood of St. James's palace; and that 6000 *l.* were to be given to lord Peterborough, for his ſervices as general of marines.

There is a copy in Robethon's hand, of a long letter which Schutz wrote in cyphers, of the ſame date. 1714. February. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils. p. 261.

" Lord Nottingham came to me to deſire me to offer his reſpects to the Elector, and to intreat him not to take amiſs the liberty which he takes of declaring to him his ſentiments on the preſent ſtate of affairs in this country, as he thinks himſelf in conſcience obliged to give him theſe proofs of his attachments to his ſervice, after having once devoted himſelf to it.

" As he lays it down for a foundation, that the Queen's miniſters are againſt the ſucceſſion, and for the Pretender, which he proves by their conduct theſe two years, he thinks it is not by them we ſhould expect to be maintained in our rights to the ſucceſſion; and as they are convinced themſelves, it would be too late, after the Queen's death, to attempt to ſet the Pretender on the throne, they will exert themſelves to ſecure it to him during her Majeſty's life."

Nottingham thought they would do this by the aſſiſtance of France, or in an attempt to alter the regency bill, and expected the Elector would, at laſt, agree to the only remedy, which all his friends judged would be effectual; viz. to ſend over the Electoral Prince. " Your friends will not fall, without employing all their efforts to preſerve you the crown: and as they ſee that all their repreſentations to you have been in vain, that you do not deign to believe them, and judge, perhaps that it is their own intereſt which influences them to ſpeak in this manner, they will demand of the lord chancellor a writ for the Electoral Prince to take his ſeat in the houſe of peers." This would be conſidered as an invitation from the Queen, and no one would venture to oppoſe it. " They aſk from me," ſays Schutz, " a poſitive anſwer to this directly. They can only repreſent things to you, and if, after you neglect every thing, they will at leaſt have the ſatisfaction to have done whatever depends upon them, and will endeavour to ſupport the misfortunes which will happen to them, only becauſe you neglect your intereſts, by refuſing to follow the advice of thoſe who think them inſeparable from their own."

P. S. " The deſign of the miniſtry is to give a blow to the ſucceſſion, by altering the regency bill, and naming, among the lords juſtices, after the Queen's death, ſome who are devoted to the Pretender."

1714. February. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils. p. 252.

There is a copy in Schrader's hand, of a letter from Schutz to Bothmar, of this date. Both lord Oxford and ſecretary Bromley declared againſt the coming of the Electoral Prince, as a thing that would be liable to a thouſand inconveniencies. "Oxford has done every thing in his power to be reconciled with the duke of Argyle, and entreated lord Orrery to be always his friend, promiſing to him, that he would keep himſelf very quiet in parliament, and do prejudice to none; but both the one and the other continued firm, without giving him the ſmalleſt pes."

Ibid. p. 238.

Kreyenberg to Robethon.

It was rumoured in town, when Kreyenberg wrote this letter, that the Miniſtry were to propoſe in Parliament an invitation to the Electoral Prince.—He gives Robethon his opinion of their deſigns, particularly of Oxford's view in propoſing to alter the act of regency.

Tranſlation from the High Dutch.

London $\frac{16}{27}$ February, 1714.

"UPON the late change of the miniſtry, there was a general rumour that the Queen was to ſend the earl of Rivers to Hannover, to deſire the Elector to ſend a prince of his family to reſide in England, which at that time the treaſurer gave out as a thing determined upon, and even told the lords Somers and Halifax, as in great confidence, that the Queen intended to offer the Elector the command of the army in Flanders, and this was told in ſuch a manner that theſe lords believed it. But it was ſoon found that this ſtory was only to amuſe the nation, and to re-eſtabliſh credit in ſome degree; and that the treaſurer might know the diſpoſition of the houſe, as in the infancy of his miniſtry he could not know how every individual would allow himſelf to be managed."

"The ſame rumour was ſpread two years ago, at the meeting of the parliament; upon which, however, I will not inſiſt, as it appears to have been rather a direct mockery, than that the ſituation of affairs then required it. But now things are come to a criſis; a new parliament is choſen, and the firſt ſeſſion, which is always a delicate matter, has not the deſired effect; trade is interrupted; France is victorious over the empire, and behaves with haughtineſs to her friends as well as enemies. The lord treaſurer, by his haughtineſs and breaches of promiſe, is perſonally

hated by many people. A conſiderable party begin to make an outcry about the ſucceſſion and other things. The bank, and conſequently the public credit, is in a very bad ſituation; the ſtocks fall; the people are diſcontented; and laſtly, the Queen is in ſo bad a ſtate of health, that nobody believes ſhe can live long. 1714. February.

In ſuch circumſtances, it is not to be wondered that the treaſurer falls to his old ſhifts, and finding that the report of the duke of Kent's going to Hannover has little effect (as every body is perſuaded that were the court in earneſt, one would be ſent of ſome intereſt in either party) he now gives out, that the Queen has given occaſion to an invitation, and that ſecretary Bromley was not only to propoſe it to the lower houſe, but was in perſon to go to Hannover, to deliver the Queen's meſſage.

What I have ſaid above of the lord treaſurer's conduct, particularly with regard to lord Rivers's embaſſy, muſt neceſſarily raiſe doubts, as to his ſincerity in this,—and not to ſpeak of the Queen's perſonal inclinations, when one conſiders the lord treaſurer's behaviour, at the very time he makes ſuch great promiſes, I do not ſee the leaſt regard can be had to them; I muſt own that one here, on the ſpot, can judge of this better, than can be ſhown by a letter. I ſhall, however, add one or two remarks.

Firſt, then, I muſt obſerve in general, that to make ſo great and ſudden a change of meaſures, is very difficult, and requires near connexions with another ſet of people, which hitherto has not happened; neither is the firſt miniſter in ſuch a ſituation, that he can act ſo cavalierly with France and the Jacobites here, who are not ſo contemptible a party as is generally believed, without having made up with the other party, as hath been ſaid.

2dly, The Jacobites are more and more encouraged, and are daily placed in all the ſmall poſts, of which no liſts are kept; and, as to the great employments, it is certain, that lord Stairs and the duke of Argyle have loſt theirs.

3dly, The court is buſy, at this moment, to get out, by petitions or otherwiſe, from the houſe of commons, all thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the ſucceſſion, and particularly an inquiry is made, in a moſt ſcandalous and inquiſition-like manner, againſt Mr. Walpole, who has made himſelf formidable, and it is reſolved to have him *per fas et nefas* voted out of the houſe.

4thly,

1714. February. 4thly, There is good reaſon to believe, that the report of confirming the act of regency, which has been ſpoken of, is not without grounds, nay, that it appears to be really reſolved upon; and the ſucceſs of this matter is the leſs doubted of at court, that it appears very plauſible to the Tories. To whom they ſet forth, that in the ſealed act, as it now ſtands, moſt of the lords of the regency are Whigs, and ſo they muſt fall into the hands of their enemies, whereas, if the next ſucceſſor is fixed by a new inſtrument, to be regiſtered in Chancery, decency will require that, at leaſt, a certain number of Tories ſhould be named with them. Others ſay, that the nomination will be left to the Queen and parliament. Be that as it will, it is certain, that if the act of regency undergo this change, it is in fact annulled, and ſo the ſtrongeſt wall in favour of the ſucceſſion, thrown down. How all theſe things agree with the preſent offers is eaſy to judge.

I have endeavoured to flatter myſelf into a belief, that the lord treaſurer acts in this matter uprightly; but can find no reaſons to encourage me to ſuch a belief. When one conſiders that man's humour and way of acting, they may think, that perhaps the Jacobite party grows too ſtrong for him, and that, ſuppoſing the Queen's health re-eſtabliſhed, to keep that party in awe, and perhaps to get ſomething from France, he will ſhow them he is not in ſo bad a ſituation, but that he can do without them, and for ſome time continue his game without being obliged to declare for the one or the other party. All this might be ſuppoſed of this miniſter, if one did not reflect, that the preſent ſtep is of too much importance, and that he had not reaſon to be afraid of the propoſals being really brought to a bearing. Thoſe that think he has been obliged to this ſtep againſt his will, have a better opinion of the lower houſe than I have, unleſs the ſtate of the Queen's health is ſo bad, that there is no appearance of her being able to come to London; allow me to add, that the advantages that the lord treaſurer will draw, or ſeeks to draw, from the preſent propoſals, are theſe.

1ſt, In general to amuſe the people, and to prevent the fall of credit.

2dly, To prevent ſome Tories coming into meaſures with the Whigs, and ſo hinder theſe laſt from making ſome diſagreeable overtures in the beginning of the ſeſſion; and

3dly,

1714. February.

3dly, To afford to theſe that pretend to be friends to the ſucceſſion, yet for private intereſt will not break with the treaſurer, an excuſe for not meddling, in any thing, in favour of the ſucceſſion; ſo that the treaſurer will, by this means, gain ſome weeks, during which time he will be able to bring his forces into order, and may then laugh at every one for the reſt of the ſeſſion, and undertake, with ſafety, to change the act of regency.

Lord Cowper having underſtood that there was a writ made out, at the chancellor's office, for the hereditary prince, as duke of Cambridge, to appear in parliament, employed the clerk who gives out the writs to the peers, to inquire at the lord chancellor, whether he ſhould bring the Electoral Prince's writ to the envoy of the Elector's court. The chancellor received him in a very angry manner, inquired who had employed him in that meſſage, reprimanded him ſeverely, and ordered that the writ ſhould not be delivered out of the office, even though inquired for. The officers ſent by Mr. Stanhope to the Boulonnoiſe and Flanders are returned, and report that they found no troops in motion there, only that nine Iriſh battalions and a regiment of dragoons were advanced from Lorrain, and in quarters at Douay, Valenciennes, and Heſdin, and that the officers ſaid openly, that they had orders to be ready to march upon a minute's warning.

After I had ended this letter, I have learned from good authority, that Mr. Harley's inſtructions bear, to let his Electoral Highneſs know, that a faction of ill diſpoſed people diſturbed her Majeſty's government, by raiſing jealouſies and alarms, particularly with regard to the ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding the act ſettling the ſucceſſion was in full force; that her Majeſty would however, do all ſhe could, with honour, to make his Highneſs eaſy as to that matter; but that, if to chagrin her, an invitation ſhould be propoſed to parliament, ſhe would look upon it as a perſonal affront. I cannot be ſure of the truth of this information, but as I had it from good hands, I thought it my duty to communicate it."

The Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia.

He endeavours to convince her that the Tories are her beſt friends.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford; and a French tranſlation, vol. marked Bothmar, x. No. 64.

MADAM, Hague, Feb. 23, 1714.

"BEING returned to my poſt again, on this ſide the water, give me leave to remind your Royal Highneſs of your moſt devoted humble

1714. February. ble ſervant, and to beg the continuation of the honour of your good graces, and thoſe of your commands, if you have any in this country. I thought Mr. Harley would have been over, by this time, and then Monſieur Lahonton would have ſeen the effects your Royal Highneſs has over me, ſince nothing is harder at our court to obtain, than money; though I muſt own, in this caſe, naming your name, my lord treaſurer was as ready as I was to obey any command of your Royal Highneſs's. I could not have imagined, till I was in England, the heats and animoſities there is amongſt people even of the ſame principles; and, believe me, Madam, all the noiſe made about the Pretender is groundleſs; and the Tories are full as much in your intereſt, or rather more, than the Whigs, though the latter have of late got up a way of threatening the Tories with the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as if your Royal Highneſs, or thoſe of your illuſtrious houſe, who ſhould ſucceed the Queen, were not to reign over the Tories, as well as the Whigs. I am ſatisfied that your Royal Highneſs knows Great Britain too well, not to know who are honeſt men, and who otherwiſe, without the diſtinguiſhing names of Whig and Tory: for I am ſure you know, what is called Tory, are thoſe which are for the church of England, which is all or almoſt all the clergy of England; a great majority in the parliament and nation, and almoſt all the landed men in the kingdom; who ſhould be more deſirous than they to ſecure their religion and liberty to their poſterity; and you may depend upon it, Madam, they are all heartily in your intereſt? I need no better proofs, than that famous book of Steel's, called, The Criſis, which the Whigs cry up ſo much, and which I think is demonſtration to your Royal Highneſs, that you have nothing to fear from the Tories. Are they not all ſworn to your ſucceſſion? Have they not all abjured the Pretender? And is there one man either in parliament, miniſtry, or any place of truſt, that is not ſworn to ſupport your ſucceſſion, and to oppoſe the Pretender's? Are not our laws made ſo ſtrong, that it is high treaſon to do any thing againſt your ſucceſſion? Can any one pretend to ſuppoſe, that all the clergy, all the men of the greateſt eſtates in the kingdom, would at once venture ſoul, and body, and fortune, to be in the intereſt of one, who puts their religion and liberties in danger? Can any honeſt man pretend to ſay, that all theſe people would voluntarily engage to be damned, to be hanged, and to loſe, at once, all their eſtates and liberty, from themſelves

and

and poſterity? All I could wiſh is, that means could be found out to quiet people's minds, and that the proteſtant ſucceſſion ſhould not be more the cry of one party than the other; that it ſhould be (as it is) eſteemed the good of both parties and of all the kingdom. I flatter myſelf I have ſome place in your good opinion, elſe I durſt not take the liberty I do to aſſure you, that I know all the preſent miniſtry is as much, or more ſincerely in your intereſt than the laſt were. I had a very good opportunity to know it; for when the Queen was lately ſo ill, that people began to make reflection, if ſhe ſhould have died, and being to be, by my poſt, as firſt lord of the admiralty, one of the ſeven regents, or lords juſtices, in caſe of a demiſe, I ſaw ſo entire and ſo ſtrong a reſolution to adhere to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, that I ſhall never be more in any doubt about it. Let me beg, Madam, that what I have writ may be kept to yourſelf, and that you will not ſhow my letter, but burn it; being I only mean what I write for your own private information, being you have always uſed me with that goodneſs, I may ſay kindneſs, that I can't do too much to ſhow my gratitude and real zeal for your intereſt. The Queen, by all our relations, is ſo perfectly recovered, that ſhe may live many years; wherefore, I ſha'n't be ſuſpected of flattery, and were ſhe in a worſe ſtate of health, I durſt not have ventured to write on this topick with the freedom I have done, for fear of a falſe interpretation."

1714. February.

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

In the Duke's hand; but not ſigned.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, x. No. 147.

He rejoices that the Dutch intend to oppoſe the deſigns of the Engliſh miniſtry, to bring in the Pretender.—He received his Electoral Highneſe's commiſſion, and will hazard life and fortune in his ſervice.

SIR, Feb. 26, 1714.

"I Received ſome time ago the favour of your letter of the 26th of January, but defer'd anſwering it, til Mr. Cadogan returned from the Hague with an account of the ſeitation of things and diſpoſition of people there, ſince her Majeſty's illneſs.* I am very glad to find by him, the republick takes the alarm, and begins to wake out of the lethargy it has fallen into, ſince the peace at Utrick. It is true, indeed, the Queen's health growing ſo bad, as in all probability ſhe can never recover it, and the miniſter's making ſuch open ſteps in favour of the Pretender,

1714. February. as to leave no doubt of their intentions to place him on the throne, has brought things ſo near a deciſion, that unleſs the ſtates deſign to look on and ſee us loſt, and conſequently themſelves, they could no longer remain inactive, or delay entering into ſuch vigorous meaſures, as are abſolutely neceſſary to ſave us both. The firſt and great mark of their preſent good diſpoſition, is their ſecret reſolution to ſet out, as ſoon as poſſible, a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war; for which they have found a very plauſible pretext, when their preparations are ſo far advanced, as to oblige them to own it. They have likewiſe, in caſe of her Majeſty's death, agreed on the moſt proper means for aſſiſting his Electoral Highneſs with their troops, and doing every thing that depends on them for his ſervice, which I omit explaining, ſince you have been particularly informed of it by Monſieur Bothmar. I ſhall only add, that they have promiſed to go on with their ſea-preparations, though her Majeſty ſhou'd continue to languiſh on for ſome weeks longer; for it has been ſhewn them, our danger would be greateſt in that caſe, for it would give the miniſters time to concert every thing with France, for bringing in the Pretender, even whielſt the Queen was alive; therefore, all meaſures to ſupport the ſucceſſion of his Electoral Highneſs, would prove ineffectual, unleſs a fleet was ready to obſtruct the Pretender's paſſage, and to convoy ſuch troops as muſt be ſent to join with the nation, in order to reſiſt him.

Mr. Cadogan returns this week to the Hague, and intends, in a few days after, for England; the meeting of the parliament obliging him to haſten there. He hopes, before he goes, to receive the honour of his Electoral Highneſs's commands; and our friends in England aſſure themſelves, ſuch vigorous reſolutions will ſpeedily be taken, as the greatneſs of the danger requires. I have ſo often acquainted you with my thoughts on this ſubject, as that makes it unneceſſary to ſay any thing more of it now. I have received the commiſſion his Electoral Highneſs has been pleaſed to honour me with. I muſt beg of you to make him my moſt humble and ſincere acknowledgements, for this new mark of favour and confidence. I ſhall make the beſt uſe I can of it, for his ſervice, in the advancing of which I am always ready to hazard both life and fortune. I conſtantly tranſmit whatever I receive of conſequence from England, to Monſieur Bothmar, that he may communicat it to the penſioner, at the

ſame

ſame time he forwardes it to Hannover. As to what you deſire to know concerning Dunkerk and the Engliſh troopes on this ſide, Mr. Cadogan having fully explained it in the laſt paper ſent you by Mr. Bothmar, I forbear troubling you with repeating it. I muſt deſire you will aſſure the Electoral Prince of my moſt humble reſpects, and that you will believe me, with truth, Yours." 1714. February.

Extracts of Letters from Schutz and Kreyenberg, from London, to Bothmar at the Hague, and Robethon in Hannover, with letters from Bothmar to Robethon, and copies of two letters he wrote to Cadogan, March, 1714.

The Whigs offer to allow the Tories all the merit and advantages of ſecuring the ſucceſſion.—They will not make any motion in parliament.—They complain they are abandoned.—They will not hazard any thing in the cauſe.—Reaſons for and againſt the coming of the Electoral Prince.—His writ of ſummons to the parliament.—Penſions aſked for ſome peers.—The character and views of Whigs and Tories in general, and of ſeveral individuals among them.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar x. p. 247.

Kreyenberg to Bothmar.

This is a copy of a letter which Kreyenberg wrote to Bothmar, as appears by another from him, dated a few days thereafter, to Robethon. Ibid. p. 282.

Tranſlation.

London, March 6, N. S. 1714.

"OUR friends having, for a long time, deliberated on the meaſures they ſhould take for the enſuing parliament, have at laſt agreed, that their beſt conduct will be to meddle in nothing, and to propoſe nothing in parliament. The reaſon they commonly and openly allege is, to ſhow lord Angleſea, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and men of that character, who have credit with the High Church party, and pretend to be our friends, that it is not from a ſpirit of faction they have acted till now, and they can be quiet, and do not deſire forcibly to aſſume to themſelves the glory of ſecuring the ſucceſſion, but are ready to aſſign to them, the Tories, all the honour and all the merit of it, and to promiſe to ſecond them, at the time, and in the manner they themſelves ſhall preſcribe.

Beſides they ſaw, as they told Kreyenberg, that all their efforts would be ineffectual, unleſs the Elector took ſome deciſive ſtep, on his ſide, and they were not ſure but he attributed their conduct more to private than to public views. They would wait, until they heard what Mr.

1714. February. Harley did at Hannover, and what anſwer was given him, and they would regulate themſelves accordingly. This reſolution made Kreyenberg very uneaſy, as he was afraid it proceeded from deſpair, and from an apprehenſion that they were blamed and abandoned by the Elector.

With regard to my lord Angleſea, I can venture to ſay, from my own knowledge of him, that he is rather for the ſucceſſion, than for the Pretender: but, at the ſame time, we may depend upon it, that he will do nothing, but in certain circumſtances, and that he will not break with the court, unleſs the Elector or the Electoral Prince is here; and that is the caſe of Sir Thomas Hanmer and of ſeveral others.

Lord Notingham urged Angleſea very much, to enter into meaſures for propoſing an invitation; but he always anſwered, that it was not neceſſary, and that it could not be done with propriety, as the Electoral Prince, in quality of peer, could come over whenever he pleaſed, and as all the Oxfords in the univerſe could not hinder him."

Schutz to Robethon.

Schutz argues in this letter, as Kreyenberg argued in the preceding.

March. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar x. p. 303.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{\text{23 February,}}{\text{6 March,}}$ 1714.

"I Was informed, a few days ago, ſays he, that the Queen's miniſtry triumph when they are together, eſpecially in their drunkenneſs, at their having, at laſt, engaged her Majeſty to order Mr. Harley, to make it clearly known to the Elector and Electreſs, that the coming of any one of the Electoral Family into this country, would diſpleaſe her infinitely; offering them, in other reſpects, all the ſecurity which they themſelves would chooſe to aſk, for further eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion in their family."

From thence Schutz draws ſeveral arguments for the coming of the Electoral Prince, and then proceeds.

"You have been already told, that, of ten who are for us, nine will accommodate themſelves to the times, and embrace the intereſts of him who will be the firſt on the ſpot, and who will undoubtedly have the beſt game and all the hopes of ſucceſs, rather than expoſe themſelves, by their oppoſition, to a civil war, which appears to them a real and an immediate evil; whereas, they flatter themſelves, that the government of

the Pretender, whom they look upon as a weak prince, will not be ſuch a great evil, as a civil war. And we want to flatter ourſelves, when we imagine, that thoſe who call themſelves our friends, are ſuch heroes, as that the love of their religion, and their attachment to us, will animate them ſufficiently to expoſe themſelves willingly to the greateſt dangers, to maintain the rights of a family, which is diſtant from them, and which always ſhewed great indifference for the ſucceſſion to the crown of theſe kingdoms." 1714. March.

In another letter of the ſame date, he expreſſes great impatience to know what impreſſions his arguments have made at Hannover. "Although I ought to be at perfect eaſe, whatever turn affairs may take now, as I did not neglect to give you all the neceſſary and ſuitable advices, I own that I take the thing too much to heart, and find my ſituation diſagreeable, to hear every day thoſe whom you yourſelves acknowledge to be your beſt friends, complain that you abandon them, and wantonly neglect our intereſts, notwithſtanding their intreaties and their clear repreſentations to you of the danger to which you are expoſed; when, at the ſame time, I underſtand, that in ſpite of all my importunities, there is any heſitation to repreſent to our maſter, what concerns him ſo much to know. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar x. p. 303.

After repeating the complaints of their friends, and their reſolution to do nothing in parliament, as mentioned in former letters from himſelf and from Kreyenberg, he writes, for the firſt time, about an affair which Kreyenberg had mentioned in a letter inſerted above, and which made a great noiſe thereafter.

"Chancellor Harcourt, to whom it was propoſed to ſend to me the writ of the duke of Cambridge, without his being able to ſuſpect that the propoſal came from me, gave a very bad reception to the perſon who made the motion to him, and ſtrictly forbad his clerks to bring it to me, or to give it to thoſe who might call for it, without an expreſs order from him. You may judge now the reaſons of this prohibition, and whether it proceeds from himſelf alone. The writ is in his office, in all the forms, with the great ſeal, and in a more authentic manner than the writ of other peers, from whence one may judge, that the princes of the blood uſually had them.

I imagine you eaſily conceive the embarraſſment I muſt be in, in regard to this writ. A great many, knowing that the chancellor has not ſent it

to

1714. March. to me, are ſurpriſed I do not aſk it. Now, how can I do ſo, having no orders from you? I own however, that this alone would not hinder me, if I could flatter myſelf, that, after I ſhall receive it and ſend it by expreſs to Hannover, which I would have done if I had got it, the Electoral Prince will immediately ſet out for this country.

Two things, he ſaid, hindered him from aſking the writ: he was afraid that the chancellor would venture to refuſe it; and that the Electoral Prince, though he got it, would not come over."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar x. p. 268.

Schutz to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{26 \text{ February,}}{9 \text{ March,}}$ 1714.

"THE Queen, ſince ſhe has been in town, called ſeveral peers into her cloſet, and among others, the duke of Kent, to whom ſhe ſaid, that ſhe hoped, he would always join her miniſters in all the affairs that might be debated in parliament. But upon his anſwering, that he would be always willing to declare himſelf for every thing, that would be of real ſervice to her Majeſty in parliament, and for the good of his country in general, ſhe told him, that ſhe intended to ſend lord Oxford to him, that they might converſe together upon that matter. He has been actually with him for two hours, ſpeaking as ambiguouſly as uſual. He wanted to prove he was a Whig, becauſe it was by his means that lord Cowper was made a peer; but when it was propoſed to bring over ſome one of the family of Lunenburg, he ſaid, that would be to place her coffin before her Majeſty's eyes; and that thoſe who had any reſpect and friendſhip for her, could never propoſe a thing that was ſo diſagreeable to her.

Thoſe who have ſeen lord Angleſea and are his friends, acknowledge that he is a great deal more cool than he was before he went to Ireland, and he declines hitherto, to enter into what our friends propoſe to him. One may judge by lord Orkney's diſcourſes, that he will go with the court-party, in every meaſure, as well as lord Lexington, whom the miniſtry found means to ſatisfy. They ſay very openly, that money and offices, now a-days, have charms which it is impoſſible to reſiſt. All

this is a confirmation of what has been ſaid already ſo often, that there will be a univerſal corruption here, unleſs great care is taken." 1714. March.

Schutz, in a letter to Bothmar, dated three days after this, ſays, "that the Queen mentioned to the duke of Kent, the inviting over any of the houſe of Lunenburg, as a thing ſhe expected he would not be for." Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar x. p. 276. Ibid. No. 63.

Bothmar to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

Hague, March 10, N. S. 1714.

"I Don't know if Monſieur de Bernſtorff will chooſe to ſhow my letter on the affairs of England, to our maſter. It contains a thing which will not diſpleaſe him; which is the means of excuſing himſelf to his friends for not ſending the Electoral Prince to England. But, on the other hand, he will not be pleaſed, that they inſiſt again ſo ſtrongly, on penſions to ſome poor lords. It were to be wiſhed his Electoral Highneſs would comply, in that inſtance, at leaſt, with his friends, as he refuſes to grant their other demands."*

Bothmar, it appears, had been applied to again, by Cadogan, for the penſions. He thanks Robethon for ſending him a tranſlation of lord Strafford's laſt letter to the Electreſs, and the anſwer from the Electreſs, to be mentioned hereafter in the order of time, is in the terms which Bothmar directs. See this tranſlation, Ibid. No. 64.

Schutz to Robethon.

Tranſlation. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 271.

London, $\frac{2}{13}$ March, 1714.

"THE lord treaſurer told me, three days ago, to take care of myſelf, as ſomething happened lately, of which the Elector muſt be informed, and that, for that purpoſe, he intended to diſpatch a meſſenger to his couſin. Although I aſked him ſeveral times what he meant by that, it was not poſſible for me to draw the ſmalleſt explanation from him, contenting himſelf with ſaying, that ſince Tom's departure, ſome change happened in affairs here."

Kreyenberg to Robethon. Ibid. p. 282.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{2}{13}$ March, 1714.

"KREYENBERG having written four pages about the complaints of the Whigs, of their being abandoned, and their reſolutions of doing nothing,

1714. March. nothing in parliament, and about lord Angleſea's conduct, ambition, &c. proceeds to give his opinion and advice in the following terms:

"With regard to the Tories in general, I am very far from calling them all Jacobites; but the misfortune is, that they ſuffer themſelves to be led, and it is certain, they will never oppoſe the Pretender, at the hazard of the ſmalleſt part of their fortune. They don't mince the matter in their converſations; although they allow that their religion and liberty would be more ſecure, by holding to the preſent eſtabliſhment; yet they flatter themſelves, that by good laws, both the one and the other may be very well ſecured. They are not the loweſt claſs of people who reaſon in this manner. It is but four or five days ago, that lord Guilford, ſpeaking to lord Cowper, as intimate private friends, about the rumours which are current concerning the Pretender, told him ſincerely, he could ſwear he knows nothing yet of a formed deſign of bringing in the Pretender, and does not believe there is any; but I frankly acknowledge, ſays he, that if matters ever go any length, the greateſt part of us Tories will willingly ſubmit, while you Whigs will, perhaps, be fools enough to expoſe your country to a civil war, and to be laid waſte by the French on the one hand, and by the Germans on the other."

Kreyenberg writes, that many of the Whigs would act, and that ſome of them argued already in the ſame manner, and maintained, that nothing could juſtify a civil war if they could poſſibly be ſafe without it. They ſaw, that if the Pretender was once come over, it would be very eaſy to hinder Holland or Denmark from giving any aſſiſtance: "and, what is ſtill worſe," continues Kreyenberg, "the Whigs do nothing new; partly from the want of power, and partly from their chagrin, at ſeeing themſelves neglected and abandoned, and it will not be long before they will file off, after the reſt; I do not mean, that they will all become Jacobites, but one will retire to the country, another leave the kingdom perhaps, and ſo on with the reſt.

Till now, the Whigs in general allowed themſelves to be governed by Devonſhire, Sunderland, Somers, Halifax, Townſhend, Cowper, Orford, and lately by Nottingham likewiſe, merely from the opinion they have, that theſe noblemen act in perfect concert with the Elector, and have great credit with his Electoral Highneſs: but they begin to perceive, that matters do not go on as they imagined; and as men ſeldom find out the

the true medium in things of this kind, they carry their reaſonings farther than is juſt. The duke of Argyle, ſince he has got a little into the ſecret of the Whigs, appears to be greatly ſurpriſed, and God knows, if in the humour he is in now, he will not join the firſt. He dropt ſome words to me, the other day, which convince me that his blood boils, and that he is a man who will conſult only his own intereſt." 1714. March.

Schutz writes to Robethon, in a letter of the ſame date, that lord Montroſe came from Scotland, on purpoſe to repeat to him what all the noblemen of that country, in the intereſt of the family, had repeated to him before, about the neceſſity of ſending over the Electoral Prince, or doing ſomething that would convince their friends they were not entirely abandoned. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 286.

Schutz to Robethon. Ibid. p. 288.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

March 21, 1714.

"LORD Halifax entreated me to inform you of what he is reſolved to do. He has charged thoſe among the Whigs who have moſt intercourſe with the Tories, to tell them, that for his ſhare, he would not ſpeak about the ſucceſſion any more in parliament. That they, the Tories, being out of queſtion, the majority might do with regard to it, whatever they pleaſed. That he renounced for ever all the advantages which might reſult to him, in caſe the ſucceſſion ſhould take place, and that they might take all the merit of it to themſelves.

He made this declaration, only becauſe he ſaw no other means of opening people's eyes, and he has ſome deſign of making it in parliament. According to his opinion, unleſs the Queen or the Pretender dies ſoon, you may look upon the ſucceſſion as loſt. The blame, he ſays, cannot fall upon him, ſince it is certain, that if you had followed, even lately, his advice, and the advice of all your friends, you would have prevented that article in the Queen's ſpeech, by which the miniſtry boaſt they have ſhut the door againſt any of the family who would chooſe to come here.

Sir Thomas Hanmer, whom I ſaw yeſterday, told me, that he did not deſpair yet; but it is certain, that he was duped, by lord Oxford and Mr. Bromley, in the affair of the addreſs of the commons. Beſides, lord

1714. March. Angleſea will not oppoſe the miniſtry, with whom ſome of his friends tell me he is reconciled. In ſhort, they will not contribute to bring over any of the family, although they allow it is the only means of putting the ſucceſſion out of all danger; and the motive of this ſhameful conduct is an apprehenſion that the Whigs may enter into employments, and all the proteſtations which the Whigs inceſſantly make to ſhew they renounce them, appear to them incredible, and not to be truſted."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 67.

Bothmar to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

Hague, March 20, N. S. 1714.

"I Wrote to-day to Mr. Cadogan two letters, by different addreſſes, for he wanted I ſhould write to him in particular concerning the penſions, that he might not be obliged to communicate it to every one. I incloſe to you a copy of both. I regret very much, that we have not been able to comply with the deſire of our friends, in the article of penſions. It would have augmented conſiderably their affection for us."

Ibid.

Copy of the oſtenſible letter from Bothmar to Cadogan, mentioned in the preceding.

Tranſlation.

Hague, March 20, N. S. 1714.

"HOPING that this letter will find you ſafely arrived, I acquit myſelf of my promiſe, to give you an account of the buſineſs of which you ſpoke to me here. I ſhall begin with the propoſal of the Electoral Prince's journey to England.

The Elector, having known, long ago, that the Queen was averſe from ſeeing any of his family at her court, heſitated always for that reaſon, to ſend the Prince, his ſon. However, he would have complied at length with the importunities of his friends in England, if notice had not been given to him, that Mr. Harley was charged by the Queen to intimate to him, that the ſending the prince or any of the Electoral family, would diſoblige her highly, and that ſhe would oppoſe their coming. It is likewiſe eaſy to perceive, that her Majeſty's ſpeech to the parliament referred to that. The Elector hopes therefore, his friends will conſider, that theſe circumſtances render this journey impracticable, unleſs he has a mind to come to an open rupture with the Queen. You and other friends may judge, Sir, if that would be ſeaſonable; if it would be for the

the advantage or diſadvantage of the ſucceſſion; and if affairs at home and abroad are in a ſituation to juſtify ſuch an extremity. 1714. March.

Since it appears then, to be impracticable to bring into the kingdom, the ſucceſſor, whom the laws deſtine to the throne, it will be the more neceſſary to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion, by removing the competitor. The Elector made inſtances for that purpoſe to the Queen, by the late baron de Grote, who gave a memorial on the ſubject to the lord treaſurer: he will continue to do ſo; when Mr. Harley arrives, he will give it to him in writing; and baron de Schutz will have orders to ſpeak in the ſame ſtyle at your court.

His Electoral Highneſs is of opinion likewiſe, that the regency-bill ſhould not be changed from a pretence of amending it. He will ſhew Mr. Harley likewiſe, that he is ſatisfied with it, and that he wiſhes it may be preſerved entire, which baron de Schutz had orders already to tell to the lord treaſurer and to the reſt of the Queen's miniſters. If there is any thing elſe to be done, for the greater ſecurity and further eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, his Electoral Highneſs reſigns himſelf to the opinions of his friends, who are the moſt competent judges for deciding concerning the utility, or neceſſity, as well as practicability of meaſures for that purpoſe.

The Queen's ſpeech gives room to think, that the court intends to make things, which concern the Proteſtant Succeſſion, the ſubject of deliberation. It is to be wiſhed, that the reſult may contribute to its firmer eſtabliſhment, and to be hoped, that there is no intention of making a law to forbid the Proteſtant Succeſſor to come into the kingdom, during the life of the Queen. It would be injurious to him to be put thereby, in ſome meaſure, on the ſame footing with the Pretender.

As to the reſt, Sir, you will inform our friends of the good diſpoſition of this State in favour of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and of what they were prepared to do, in caſe the Queen had died, and of what the Elector himſelf was reſolved to do. The Queen's recovery does not make them loſe ſight of theſe things. The Emperor's peace changes a little the ſtate of affairs; but he will continue in arms for three months yet, at leaſt, it being impoſſible to conclude the peace finally before that time. Endeavours will be uſed in the mean time to bring about an agreement between the Emperor and the States about the barrier, in order that his Imperial Majeſty may have a good number of troops in the Low

1714. March. Countries. He always aſſures the Elector, that he has the affair of the Succeſſion much at heart †, and the King of Pruſſia likewiſe gives the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the ſame purpoſe."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 67.

Copy of the private letter from Bothmar to Cadogan.

Tranſlation.

Hague, March 20, N. S. 1714.

"AFTER having written to you a letter, which our friends may ſee, on the three articles, of which we ſpoke together here, I take the liberty, according to our agreement, of writing to you in particular, this billet, on the article of penſions, eſpecially as the anſwer, in that reſpect, is not ſuch as I could wiſh; for they write to me, that the Elector does not chooſe at all to enter into that affair, believing that a beginning might lead him into an expence infinitely above his income, as he has not ſuch a purſe for things of that kind, as the lord treaſurer. All the repreſentations which were made to him, on the ſubject, could not bring him to a more favourable reſolution.

My friend writes to me, that our friends in England ſhould advance this money without the Elector's interfering, being certain that they ſhall be reimburſed, as ſoon as he or his mother ſhall come to the throne, or as ſoon as a penſion, in the mean time, is ſettled on the ſucceſſor. I imagine one muſt place ſomething more than confidence in you, to make this propoſal to you. I entreat you, Sir, to give, agreeably to your friendſhip for his Electoral Highneſs, the beſt turn you can to this denial. I am perſuaded that, excepting ſuch expences, he will do every thing that can be expected from him."

Ibid. vol. marked Strafford.

Extracts of letters from the Princeſs Sophia to the Earl of Strafford, and from the Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia.

March, 1714.

THE Electreſs, in a letter to Strafford, the 20th of March, and in another without a date, but ſuppoſed to be written about the ſame time, recommends to him the Proteſtants in the Palatinate, Piedmont, and the Cevennes, and deſires him to intereſt the Queen in their favour.

"We have Mr. Lombard here, who goes to England to be made a doctor. He preaches to the Engliſh here, and means to give them the

† Yet he liſtened, two months before, to a propoſal made by the Pretender to marry an arch-dutcheſs. He even, in ſome meaſure, recommended his own ſiſter to that prince.

communion at Eaſter, in the houſe of Monſieur Dalay, the Queen's reſident. I don't believe, however, that he conſiders my church as ſchiſmatical. That does very well in England, where modes of worſhip diſtinguiſh parties, and where the church eſtabliſhed by law ſhould be always predominant: but in foreign countries, I imagine it is even political to approve of whatever is againſt the Pope." 1714. March.

She declares in the ſequel, that ſhe has a very high perſonal eſteem for Strafford; that ſhe is of no party; that ſhe has an averſion even to the name of Whig and Tory; that ſhe has a regard for Mr. Harley; and that there is no place where more fervent prayers are put up for the Queen's health than at Hannover.

This letter is an anſwer to a letter from his lordſhip already inſerted. There is in another volume in an unknown hand, a copy of what ſhe was directed to write to him in this letter about the odious diſtinctions of Whigs and Tories in England. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 65.

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princeſs Sophia.

He made repreſentations to the French and Sicilian ambaſſadors, in favour of the Proteſtants.—In concert with the States General, he called together all the Miniſters of the Proteſtant Princes.—He writes concerning Bothmar's conduct on that occaſion. Original. Ibid. vol. marked Strafford.

Hague, March 21ſt, 1714.

"FAR be it from me to pretend to complain of any miniſter the Elector thinks fit to employ; but, upon this occaſion, I find myſelf obliged to take notice, leaſt others ſhould think fit to inſinuate complaints againſt me, that I think in public, and upon theſe occaſions of conferences, to ſee what yet remains to be done in favour of the proteſtant religion. Monſieur Bothmar takes too warmly upon him to juſtify the Emperor and Roman Catholic princes proceedings; for even count Sinzendorf himſelf owned to us, that though the Emperor had that article in the treaty of Riſwick impoſed upon him, yet ſince it was once received, he would not do any thing to get it aboliſhed; and it has but a very ill air in the world for a miniſter of the Elector to begin always with an inſinuation in public, that the Queen had not done enough, that ſhe had it in her power, and that ſhe ſhould have made France declare in poſitive words, that they would aboliſh the fourth article of the treaty of Riſwick.

He

1714. March. He was anſwered, that if the Emperor would but declare as much on his ſide, as the French King had done, that article would be as good as aboliſhed. Nay, Madam, I can aſſure your Royal Highneſs there was not a miniſter of one proteſtant prince but took up the argument againſt baron Bothmar. I told him, and repeated it, that the Queen had done, and would continue to uſe her moſt preſſing offices, in concert with the States General, to diſpoſe France to conſent to a plain abolition of that clauſe, in expreſs words, and hoped the princes of the Empire would do the ſame thing, on their ſide, with the Emperor, at leaſt to bring his I. M. to declare as much as France had done. I told baron Bothmar, if we had really at heart the proſperity and protection of the proteſtant religion, we ſhould look forwards, and not backward (only to find out inſinuations of reproaches one againſt another); and I muſt, under the liberty your R. H. has allowed me, ſay I was extremely ſurpriſed at the diſtinction baron Bothmar alone affected, in naming the States before the Queen; for all the other miniſters returned the princes their maſters' thanks, firſt to the Queen, and then to the States, for the care they expreſſed for the intereſt of the proteſtant religion in the Empire; but M. Bothmar, which was extremely wondered at, and taken notice of by all, returned the Elector's thanks to the States General, as well as the Queen, for their care, &c. and, throughout his whole ſpeech, never named the Queen, in preference to the States, but always ſaid the Maritime Powers, as if the Queen and States were either equal in dignity or power. I could wiſh this way of explaining himſelf was altered; for others of the Queen's ſervants might think it neceſſary to take more notice than I ſhall; for moſt ſincerely it ſhall be always my utmoſt endeavours to keep up a perfect good underſtanding between the Queen's court and yours, which is the only reaſon I venter to give this information to your R. H. who I know wiſhes that, on all occaſions, thoſe of your court ſhewed a particular deference for the Queen, as I am perſuaded your R. H. has, which you have often expreſſed. I hope nobody has been ſo officious to write this to England; and aſſure you, Madam, I have not done it, &c."

Extracts

Extracts of letters from Schutz to Bothmar; and from Schutz, Bothmar, Kreyenberg, and Martines, to Robethon. March and April, 1714. 1714. March.

The subjects of their former letters, and anecdotes of the times continued.—Intelligence of the Pretender.—The quarrel of the miniſtry.—The ſucceſſion in danger.

Schutz to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 292.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

March 23d, N. S. 1714.

"I Dare not make the propoſal of which you ſpeak to me, for finding money for penſions. You cannot imagine to yourſelf what prejudice this exceſſive parſimony does us.

I wiſh the Electreſs may ſay nothing to Mr. Harley, in anſwer to all the queſtions which he and his ſpy Murray may aſk her; as I am informed that the lord treaſurer reports to the Queen all that he hears of the Electreſs, and that they divert themſelves at it."

Monſieur de Martines to Robethon.

Ibid. vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 70.

Martines was the Heſſian envoy at Paris. This is a copy in Robethon's hand of what Martines wrote in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

Paris, March 23d, N. S. 1714.

"ONE of my intimate friends, who was, about two months laſt Autumn, with the Chevalier de St. George, arrived here four days ago. He ſpeaks very favourably of him. That prince ſpoke to him with great confidence, and did not conceal from him the good underſtanding between him and the Queen. He has news of her frequently from the Engliſh who come and return for that purpoſe. He reckons that all the Scots are undoubtedly in his intereſt."

His council were in doubt whether the Chevalier ſhould land in England or in Scotland, in caſe of the Queen's death. He had a clergyman of the church of England with him, who officiated to the proteſtant ſervants in his houſe above his own apartment; and it was thought he himſelf would not ſcruple to change.

"He, the Chevalier," continues Martines, "he himſelf told the perſon in queſtion what was ſaid to him by a quaker, who was much ſpoke of ſome time ago, and who came from England to Bar on purpoſe to ſee him. He ſaid to him, when he entered the room, "Good-day,

1714. March. James, the ſpirit deſired me to come to thee, to tell thee that thou ſhalt reign over us, and we all wiſh it. I come to tell thee that, if thou haſt need of money, we will give thee amongſt us from three to four millions." The prince wanted to make him ſome preſent; but he did not chooſe to take any, and went back directly to England. The prince made him eat at his own table.

The proteſtant clergyman who is with him is brother to one of the Queen's phyſicians. This phyſician ſends to his brother, from time to time, news of her Majeſty's health. He ſays that ſhe cannot live long."

Bothmar to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

Hague, March 31ſt, N. S. 1714.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 71.

"OUR Mr. Ridpath deſerves a handſome reward for his work; which appears to me to be well written, as far as I am able to judge. Perhaps the principle by which he inveſts the parliament with ſo much authority, will not pleaſe at your court. It is from it, however, we derive our right to ſucceed to the crown. It is certain that the lord treaſurer will not reward him for this work, although he ſhows that, according to the principles maintained in the book of hereditary right, which he refutes, the Queen might make him King by her will. I entreat you to ſee if it be poſſible to obtain an hundred piſtoles for Mr. Ridpath."

Schutz to Robethon.

April. Ibid. vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 320.

A copy in Robethon's hand of Schutz's letter in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

April 3d, N. S. 1714.

"LORD Montroſe, who is ſtill here, and who, as well as ſeveral others, judge by the turn which affairs take now, that the ſucceſſion will never take place without committing hoſtilities, propoſes that a credit ſhould be eſtabliſhed in London, in order that, in caſe of need, and with the conſent of the Elector, the money may be employed to maintain from 15 to 20,000 men, which our friends promiſe to aſſemble in Scotland, under the command of officers, who have been broke or reduced, with a promiſe not to touch that money but in the laſt extremity, and when his Electoral Highneſs himſelf will judge it proper. Without this it will be impoſſible for them to aſſemble that army, or to keep them together; as they are ſituated between the Highlands and the North of England, where there are the greateſt number of Jacobites."

Schutz

Schutz to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

Tranſlation.

1714. April. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 323.

London, 26 March, / 6 April, 1714.

"IT was once very likely I was to have important news to ſend you to-day, viz. that lord Oxford was without a ſtaff, abandoned by all the miniſters, and the Queen herſelf, in ſome meaſure, prejudiced againſt him. He aſked her permiſſion to lay down his office, when, at the ſame time, he found ſome one to wait on the Queen, and tell her that if ſhe gave him his diſmiſſion, the whole Tory party would be ruined, and that ſhe would fall again into the hands of the Whigs. This apprehenſion appeared ſo terrible to her, that ſhe tried all imaginable methods of keeping him, and of reconciling him, two nights ago, with all her miniſters. If he had fallen, lord Nottingham would be at the head of the treaſury; as lord Angleſea would approve of him only, of all our friends.

Nothing could be more uſeful to our affairs, than that this reconciliation ſhould not continue. There is reaſon to fear, that our enemies may prevail on the Queen to give her conſent to the Pretender's coming here, in her life-time. Lord Angleſea diſcovered a greater inclination to declare himſelf openly for us, during the quarrels of the miniſtry. The duke of Argyle outdid himſelf in endeavouring to influence him, while Mr. Hill and Sir Thomas Hanmer did every thing in their power likewiſe. The Archbiſhop of York is to have a conference with lord Nottingham to-morrow, at which the duke of Argyle will be preſent. In ſhort, our friends neglect nothing, and they deſerve that his Electoral Highneſs ſhould expreſs his gratitude to them.

Be very attentive to the motions of the prince of Wales. I am aſſured he left Bar-le-Duc. Lord Oxford ſays, it is in order to go to Switzerland: but he ſaid ſo before, without its being true." Ibid. p. 325.

Kreyenberg wrote a long letter, of the ſame date, giving an account of the diviſions among the miniſtry. The treaſurer himſelf told ſeveral of his friends, that he would reſign, and for that very reaſon, Kreyenberg did not believe him. He thought the cauſe of their diſpute was, that they could not agree about the meaſures for bringing in the Pretender (Bolingbroke being warm and precipitate, and Oxford ſlow and dilatory in every

1714. April. thing, hating to act openly); or that they were jealous who ſhould have moſt merit with him. Pretenſions to the Queen's favour could not probably be the cauſe of their quarrel; as they knew ſhe could not live long. Kreyenberg adds in a poſtſcript:

"After writing this letter, I am informed with certainty, that the Queen, at the ſolicitation of lady Maſham, whom lord Bolingbroke found means of gaining, had conſented to the diſmiſſion of the lord treaſurer; but that, the night before the laſt, there was a reconciliation on certain conditions. It is more than probable, that this affair will be followed with a change of meaſures. The lord chancellor was for Bolingbroke, and Mr. Bromley was neuter."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 331.

Schutz wrote, on the $\frac{30 \text{ March,}}{10 \text{ April,}}$ that the Whigs employed lord Nottingham to tell again to Sir Thomas Hanmer and lord Angleſea, that they entreated them to concur with them in the affair of the ſucceſſion, and that they would renounce all their pretenſions to employments, and do any thing the Tories could aſk of them. They thought a change abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the nation, and that the eaſieſt and moſt acceptable to the Tories would be, to deprive lord Oxford of the treaſurer's ſtaff, and to make Nottingham, his brother, and Mr. Hill commiſſioners of the treaſury. Theſe propoſals of the Whigs made no impreſſion on the Tories. They hated lord Oxford; but they were afraid his fall would kill the Queen. "That is, in plain Engliſh," ſays Schutz, "if ſhe chooſe the prince of Wales ſhould come and reign here, he muſt be received, for fear of putting her out of humour."

"Hanmer aſſures me, that our acts are in no danger during this ſeſſion, and he will not allow that the miniſtry are againſt us, nor for the prince of Wales."

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

Ibid. vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 76.

This letter is in the duke's hand-writing; but not ſigned.

Suſpicions of the Miniſtry, and profeſſions of his own attachment.

SIR, Antwerp, April 12th, 1714.

"I Have been ſo much afflicted with the accounts of my dear daughter, Bridgwater's ſickneſs and death, that I cou'd not return my thankes ſooner for the favour of yours of the 26th of laſt month. I am glad to find that his E. H. deſigned to uſe his endeavours in making the Emperor

peror and the Dutch friends, which ſeems to me to be of ſo much conſequence towards a good ſettlement in England, that I do not ſee how it can be done without it, conſidering the power the miniſters have in both houſes. I ſupoſe by this time honeſt Mr. Harley (according to his uſuall ſencerity) has given his E. H. an account of the ſcheme for this ſeſſions; but it is a puzling difficulty to me, to reconcile ſo many profeſſions to the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover with the through perſecutions of all thoſe who are known to be certainly in that intereſt. I deſire you will pleaſe to take a proper time to make my humble acknowledgements to his E. H. for the honour he doſe me; and aſſure him that I will be very carefull to give any account which may come to my knowledge for his ſervice. The laſt news I had from England was of the 23d March, old ſtile. They write that her Majeſty's inflamation in her leg ſpread, and it was feared would go up to her knee. I have no ſubject that is worth troubling you longer upon, and my mind is ſo much troubled with my own misfortunes, that I am very unfit to write upon any thing; and, therefore, will conclude, when I have aſſured you that I am ever moſt faithfully yours. 1714. April.

Extracts of letters from Schutz to Bothmar; and from Schutz, Bothmar, and Kreyenberg, to Robethon. April, 1714.

A coalition of Whigs and Tories to ſupport the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and oppoſe Lord Oxford and the Pretender.—Officers diſmiſſed, and the army new modelled.—A writ of ſummons demanded for the Electoral Prince.

Schutz to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

Tranſlation.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 337.

London, $\frac{2}{13}$ April, 1714.

"THE duke of Argyle brought about another meeting, laſt night, between lord Angleſea and Sir Thomas Hanmer, at which he, lord Nottingham, and ſome others aſſiſted. After a great deal of reaſoning, theſe three noblemen agreed upon the following articles.

1. To live in friendſhip with the Whigs, and to concert with them what muſt be done to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and oppoſe the Pretender.

1714. April. 2. Not to ſupport lord Oxford, but to aſſiſt one another in depriving him of his employment.

3. Not to allow the Treaſury to be in the hands of one man; but to put it in commiſſion: that our friends leave them to chooſe, for that purpoſe, as they may judge proper; all acknowledging that it was as neceſſary as it was prudent, to have in the Queen's council two or three perſons who would be for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and in oppoſition to the Queen's miniſters.

They promiſe to join the Whigs in entreating the Queen, by an addreſs, to repeat her inſtances to the duke of Lorrain to ſend the Pretender out of his dominions; aſſuring her, that in caſe of a refuſal, they would put her Majeſty in a condition to oblige the duke by force to do what was deſired of him. They will ſpeak afterwards of Sir Patrick Lawleſs, and intreat the Queen to ſend him away, and to order the Jacobites and the Highlanders in Scotland to be diſarmed."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 339.

Kreyenberg wrote a long letter of this date, in which he acquainted his correſpondent with the changes in the army. Lord Stair was obliged to ſell his regiment to lord Portmore for 6000 *l.* and the duke of Argyle the company of life-guards to the earl of Dundonald, an avowed Jacobite, for 10,000 *l.* of which the Queen gave 3000 *l.* The government of the caſtle of Edinburgh was to be given to a Mr. George Hamilton, an officer in the Dutch ſervice, who was a ſoldier of fortune, and would not ſurrender it, from fears of a forfeiture, as the duke of Gordon did, after the Revolution. Colonels Sydney and Egerton, of the foot guards, brothers to the earls of Leiceſter and Bridgwater, had notice from Gwyn, the ſecretary at war, that the Queen had no further ſervice for them, and that a thouſand guineas ſhould be paid to each of them, for their companies, which they had bought for the ordinary price of 3000 *l.* Colonel Paget of the guards had the ſame notice; but the price was not yet fixed; and it was ſaid that lord Windſor and general Lumley, though both Tories, would loſe their regiments. "The treaſurer proteſts, that he has no hand in theſe changes, and that theſe things are done without his knowledge, as he ſays to ſome, or againſt his conſent, as he ſays to others."

"Nottingham was to have a final conference, laſt night, with the archbiſhop of York, Angleſea, and the ſpeaker, to ſee what they intend to

to do. He had full powers to tell them, that they had nothing to do, but to order themſelves the manner in which they would chooſe to be ſupported by the Whigs; and that they might diſtribute offices as they had a mind, providing they would take care of three things. 1. To ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion: 2. To re-eſtabliſh the alliances broken by the miniſtry: 3. To preſerve the commerce of the kingdom. We muſt wait for the iſſue, although there is nothing to be expected from Angleſea, and without him there is reaſon to believe the other two will do nothing." 1714. April.

Bothmar to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

Hague, April 14th, N. S. 1714.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 92.

"I AM always tormented for the penſions of 600 *l.* to lord Fitzwalter, and of 200 *l.* to lord Willoughby. We ſhall loſe them, and perhaps others."

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 343.

Tranſlation.

April 17th, N. S. 1714.

"M. De Pleſſen had a long converſation with the Queen, ſome days ago, in which ſhe ſpoke to him more openly than uſual, giving him to underſtand that, of the two parties which compoſed the nation, one was ſuſpected of being inclined to bring in the Pretender, in her life-time, and the other, ſome one of the family of Hannover; but that ſhe would oppoſe both the one and the other, with all her force."

Pleſſen endeavoured to convince the Queen, that the Elector would never agree to ſend over any of his family, without an invitation from her Majeſty and the parliament; but that it was neceſſary to aſſure him, that no attempts would be made to infringe the acts of parliament, which eſtabliſhed his ſucceſſion.

"She ſaid, that, notwithſtanding all the reiterated aſſurances which ſhe had given the Elector, that ſhe was for his ſucceſſion, it ſeems he was not perſuaded of it, nor believed that ſhe was in his intereſts." Pleſſen aſſured the Queen, that the Elector did not doubt of her Majeſty's intentions; but that he juſtly ſuſpected thoſe of her miniſters, and ſaid many things to convince her, that ſhe was bound in conſcience to ſecure the proteſtant

1714. April. proteſtant religion, and to prevent their deſigns of bringing in a popiſh Pretender.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 348.

The ſame to the ſame.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of Schutz's letter in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

April 20th, N. S. 1714.

"WHAT the Queen did lately, when it was intended to preſent an addreſs to her for a reward to any who ſhould take the Pretender, leaves no room to doubt of her ſentiments, with regard to that man. She ſet all her miniſters to work, and they ſpoke, one after another, in oppoſition to it, and think they have made themſelves maſters of every thing, when they got a clauſe added, by which it is left to her Majeſty to publiſh ſuch a proclamation, when ſhe ſhall find it proper, being very ſure that will never be †. The Jacobites appear to be as well ſatisfied with the proceedings of that day, as the well-affected are dejected. Our new friends, the archbiſhop of York and the lord Angleſea, were for the clauſe, both of them having had a long converſation with her Majeſty, probably on that ſubject."

Ibid. p. 352.

Schutz to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{13}{24}$ April, 1714.

"I Have been honoured with your letter of the 13th inſt. and with the letter of the Electreſs. By the advice of friends I behaved in this manner. I made up to the chancellor, yeſterday, at court, when he came there, at two o'clock, to preſent the addreſs of the lords, and begged of him to give me an hour after dinner; on which he anſwered, that he would not go out that afternoon, and therefore left to my choice, the hour at which I would chooſe to come.

I accordingly waited upon him after five, and told him I had orders to thank him from the Electreſs, for the aſſurance he had given me, the firſt time I ſaw him, that he had her intereſts ſo much at heart, and made other compliments of the ſame kind to him; to which he anſwered as I could wiſh, proteſting his profound reſpect and duty to her Royal Highneſs, of which he would be happy to give proofs on all occaſions.

I then told him, that the Electreſs ordered me to aſk of him the Electoral Prince's writ, as duke of Cambridge. He changed colour upon this

† He was miſtaken, She iſſued a proclamation, June 23, 114.

and

and looked down, and told me, that he would ſpeak of it to the Queen, not daring to give it me without her orders; but added, after being ſilent for ſome time, he did not recollect that a writ was demanded of him ſince he was in her Majeſty's ſervice, (to this I might have eaſily anſwered, that the reaſon was that he never retained any) nor that any was ſent beyond ſea. On which I anſwered, that, by delivering it to me, he did not ſend it out of the kingdom; entreating him to give me his anſwer before this evening, in order that I might acquaint the Electreſs by this day's poſt, with what I had done to execute her orders. To this, he anſwered ſimply, that he intended to go to the Queen to ſpeak to her about it: ſo that I wait for the reſult of what was deliberated in the council, which I hear was called yeſterday evening, and continued ſitting until after midnight. Upon leaving him, he told me, at the door of his room, that he hoped I did not think that he refuſed me the writ, as he wanted only to know the Queen's orders firſt. 1714. April.

As it is near 7 o'clock to-night, I am going to write to him, in order to know his anſwer; and if I don't write to the Electreſs by this poſt, it will be a proof I have not received it."

Copy of Schutz's letter to the Lord Chancellor.

Tranſlation.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 362.

My Lord,

"I Hope your lordſhip will be pleaſed to ſend me an anſwer concerning what I had the honour to entertain you with yeſterday, that I may this evening acquaint the princeſs Sophia with the ſame by my letters. I am with great reſpect,

My Lord,

London, $\frac{13}{24}$ April, 1714, in the afternoon. Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble Servant."

Copy of the Lord Chancellor's anſwer.

Engliſh copy. Ibid. p. 363.

SIR, April 13th, O. S. 1714.

"WHEN you came to me, yeſterday, and told me, that by orders of the princeſs Sophia, you demanded a writ of ſummons for the duke of Cambridge, I let you know that I thought it my duty to acquaint her Majeſty therewith.

I have accordingly laid this matter before the Queen, who was pleaſed to ſay, that, not having received the leaſt information of this demand from.

1714. April. from you, or in any other manner whatſoever from the court of Hannover, ſhe could hardly perſuade herſelf that you acted by direction from thence; that ſhe, therefore, did not think fit to give me any other anſwer than this.

The writ for the duke of Cambridge was ſealed of courſe, when the writs of ſummons to all the other peers were ſealed, and lies ready to be delivered to you, whenever you call for it. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

HARCOURT, C.".

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. P. 354.

Schutz to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

Tranſlation.

$\frac{11}{24}$ April, 1714.

"YOUR friends continue to aſſure me, that the coming of the Electoral prince was abſolutely neceſſary, conſidering that the fears of the Pretender's coming were but too well founded. They were all delighted with the order which the Electreſs gave me, to demand the writ for the Electoral Prince; and before I did any thing in that affair, I aſked the advice of the following perſons, and they were all of the ſame opinion: Devonſhire, Somerſet, Nottingham, Argyle, Orford, Somers, Cowper, Halifax, Wharton, and Townſhend.

Angleſea being in the country, I could not conſult him before laſt night, when I ſaw him at Sir Thomas Hanmer's. He ſaid, that you could not do any thing more to the purpoſe; and that this is the laſt opportunity of ſaving your ſucceſſion; being very ſure, that unleſs you apply a ſpeedy remedy, it will be too late before the end of ſix months, as every thing will be then ruined.

Therefore, he, as well as all our other friends, conjure the Elector to ſend over the Prince immediately, although the writ ſhould be refuſed, as his preſence alone can re-eſtabliſh every thing yet; and as every thing will be loſt after taking ſuch a ſtep, if we go no farther. Sir Thomas Hanmer is of the ſame opinion, and promiſed, as well as Lord Angleſea, to employ his influence with all thoſe who depend upon him in the houſe of commons to make them declare themſelves, aſſuring me he is fully convinced the court will not be in a condition to hinder them."

Schutz, in the remaining part of this letter, gave Bothmar the ſame account of what paſſed between him and the chancellor which he gave to Robethon. 1714. April.

The Earl of Oxford to Baron Waſſenaer Duyvenvoorde.

Profeſſions of attachment to the Electoral family.

Hannover Papers, Copy vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 88.

Duyvenvoorde had written to him by directions from Hannover.

Right Honourable, $\frac{14}{25}$ April, 1714.

"THIS laſt poſt, I receiv'd the honour of your letter of the 17th of April, for which be pleaſed to accept of my moſt humble thanks.

I ſend this letter by an expreſs meſſenger, who is going to Mr. Harley, with my letters to Hannover; and, if you pleaſe, he will carry any thing you think fit to write. But that I may anſwer that openeſs wherewith you ſo obligingly treat me, I do, in the moſt ſolemn manner, aſſure you, that, next to the Queen, I am entirely and unalterably devoted to the intereſts of his Electoral Highneſs of Hannover. This is not only from the conſcience of my oaths, but out of profound reſpect to the Elector's great virtues. I may without vanity ſay, that I had the greateſt hand in ſettling the ſucceſſion. I have ever preſerved the ſame opinion; and it is owing to the declarations the Queen has ſo often made in their favour, that the generality of the people are come to be for that ſerene houſe.

I am ſure, that lady Maſham, the Queen's favourite, is entirely for their ſucceſſion. I am alſo ſure, that the Queen is ſo; and you may do me the juſtice to aſſure his Electoral Highneſs, that I am ready to give him all the proofs of my attachment to his interes, and to ſet in a t ue light the ſtate of this country; for it wil be very unfortunate for ſo great a prince, to be only prince over a party, which can never laſt long in England. And let me in confidence tell you, Sir, that there is but one thing can be any way of prejudice to the ſucceſſion in that family, and that is the endeavour to bring them, or any of them, over without the Queen's conſent. Two courts in this country have been ſo fatal, and the factions are ſo high, that it muſt be very miſchievous both to the Queen and to that ſerene houſe, to have any ſuch thing enterprized, that may create

1714. April. a difference between the Queen and that family: that wil change the diſpute to the crown and the ſucceſſor; whereas now, it is between the houſe of Hannover and a popiſh Pretender.

I wil add but this one word, that I will aſſure you, that upon any advances of kindneſs from the houſe of Hannover, I will pawn my life for it, they ſhall receive moſt eſſential proofs of the Queen's friendſhip; and I am ſure, that is the beſt confirmation of their ſucceſſion.

Be pleaſed to accept my moſt hearty thanks, and to believe me to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Right Honourable,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient Servant,

OXFORD."

Schutz to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 360.

Tranſlation.

A copy in Schrader's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers; incloſing a copy of his letter to the Chancellor, and the Chancellor's anſwers. Urges the ſending over the Electoral Prince.

London, $\frac{15}{26}$ April, 1714.

"I Received, Tueſday after midnight, or to ſpeak more properly Wedneſday morning, a letter from the chancellor, of which I incloſe a copy, and alſo of the letter I wrote to him, Tueſday after ſix o'clock. You will ſee that they ſuſpect me of having acted without orders; hoping perhaps, that, after they have opened ſuch a door for us, I ſhall be diſavowed, which I look to without any uneaſineſs.

"I was yeſterday morning at the chancellor's, to take the writ; but he and all his clerks had gone out; ſo that I returned empty handed. From thence I went to the lord treaſurer's, who drew me aſide and aſked if I had not the writ. I told him, I had not. He inquired if the chancellor had not written to me, and I acquainted him how I had miſſed him. He then ſaid to me, that the Queen was very much ſurpriſed I had never ſaid any thing to her about it; adding, that ſhe had never been treated in that manner. I anſwered, that my orders having been addreſſed to the lord chancellor, I went to him; that I was ſurpriſed he did not warn me of my miſtake, if it was neceſſary to addreſs myſelf to the Queen, which he might and ſhould have known better than I. He appeared to be in very bad humour, and much embarraſſed.

Angleſea

Angleſea and all our friends think, that I have taken the only method of obtaining the writ; and that it is for that reaſon they inſinuate, that the Queen complains I did not addreſs myſelf to her, in which caſe they would have endeavoured to divert the thing, with as much warmth as they now employ to hinder the coming of the prince; and it is plain that the embaſſy of lord Paget has no other deſign, eſpecially as he is to ſet out immediately. There have been, however, great rejoicings over all the city, ſince it was made public that I had aſked the writ for the prince; and ſome have no doubts of his coming ſpeedily, as others moſt certainly fear it. The bells were ringing for ſome days paſt, and healths drunk to his good journey. 1714. April.

The report which our enemies ſpread every where, and which found credit with a great number, that we were very indifferent about the ſucceſſion, will be conſidered as perfectly true, if, after having demanded the writ, the Electoral Prince does not come over immediately.

I am come again from the chancellor's; although it was but 9 o'clock in the morning, they aſſured me that it was an hour ſince he went out, which I conſidered as if they had a mind to amuſe me, and not to give me the writ. The chancellor's letter, however, is poſitive.

I was this morning with Mr. Bromley, to expreſs to him my ſurpriſe at ſeeing by the chancellor's letter, and by the lord treaſurer's diſcourſe to me yeſterday, that the Queen thought it ſtrange, that I did not addreſs myſelf to her; repeating to him what I had ſaid to lord Oxford, and entreating him to inform her Majeſty of it, who, I hoped, would approve of theſe reaſons, and not believe that there was any intention of failing in the reſpect due to her, or of doing a thing that was diſagreeable."

In another letter of the ſame date, Schutz mentions the good effects which the demanding the writ had already produced, and urges with the greateſt earneſtneſs the ſending over of the prince immediately. "The court diſpatched, laſt night, an expreſs to Mr. Harley, who no doubt will do all he can to intimidate our court, and particularly the Electreſs, with complaints of the demand. But, in the name of God, do not heſitate at any thing which he can ſay to you. It ought rather to determine you ſpeedily. This is the general opinion of all your friends, who deſerve, Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 365.

1714. April. on account of the danger to which they expoſe themſelves, that you ſhould not loſe a moment in coming to their relief.

Lord Angleſea, who was with me for an hour yeſterday, is entirely of the ſame opinion, and conjures the Elector to embrace this favourable opportunity of preſerving his right. All thoſe who are for him believe the coming of the Electoral Prince to be as ſalutary and advantageous, as thoſe who are againſt the ſucceſſion are frightened at his coming. Theſe are two different motives; but they ſhould be equally perſuaſive."

There is a tranſlation in Robethon's hand of a letter to Bothmar from an unknown friend in England, repeating the very ſame things.

Lord Townſhend to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 412. Ibid. p. 357.

It is not ſigned. There is a French tranſlation of it in Robethon's hand for the uſe of the Elector. The original was ſent with the following note from an unknown hand to Robethon:

"Lord Townſhend writes the incloſed to you. The dukes of Somerſet, Argyle, Roxborough, Montroſe, Devonſhire, Kent, and Bolton, tell you the ſame thing, which will come to your hands by another channel.

Some one aſked lord Paget, yeſterday, as he congratulated him upon being named to go to Hannover, if he believed he could perſuade that family to renounce the crown of England?"

His Lordſhip writes to Robethon in this letter, about the deſigns of the miniſtry.—The danger of the ſucceſſion.—The good effects of having demanded the writ of ſummons for the Duke of Cambridge.—The diſadvantage of not ſending him after that demand.

SIR, London, $\frac{11}{21}$ April, 1714.

Engliſh copy. "I Am to acknowledge, with the greateſt thankfulneſs, your letter of the 29th of March, which came ſafe, and has been communicated where it was proper. All you mention with regard to the peace of Raſtadt, agrees entirely with our ſentiments here, and the pains your court is taking towards bringing the Emperor and the States to an amicable accommodation, in relation to the Netherlands, together with the hopes you give us of ſucceſs in that grand affair, is a great encouragement to all that wiſh well to the houſe of Hannover. There is one paſſage in yours, where you ſeem to think it is impoſſible for the Pretender to make any

any attempt during the Queen's life. In this we are abſolutely of another opinion, for reaſons, as we think, ſo very obvious to thoſe who obſerve with the leaſt attention the preſent conduct here, that there is no need of entering into particulars on this head; and this being the ſettled notion of all your friends here, you will eaſily imagine, into how great a degree of deſpair we were all thrown by that part of your letter, where you mention the Elector's reſolution of not ſending the Electoral Prince without a previous invitation. For it is but a ſmall comfort to us, to ſee how diligent and careful you are in taking remote precautions abroad, whilſt we are convinced that the danger is ſo imminent here, that we ſhall in all probability be totally ruined before any of thoſe ſupports can poſſibly come to our relief. But now I muſt congratulate with you upon Monſ. le baron de Schutz's laſt orders for demanding the Electoral Prince's writ of ſummons. This I can aſſure you is thought by every body, both friends as well as enemies, to be the firſt ſtep that your court has made, that looks as if you were in earneſt about the ſucceſſion. Nothing can be more effectual, if it be ſupported by the immediate ſending the Prince, nor more ſeaſonable than it was at this time; for the Queen had juſt then given a moſt unkind anſwer, to give it no worſe term, to an addreſs for the ſupport of the ſucceſſion, and when the houſe of lords came to conſider of this anſwer, the effect of the Electoral Prince's having demanded his writ appeared moſt plainly by the behaviour of a great number of lords upon that occaſion, though that news was not then publickly known. Monſ. Schutz will acquaint you with the conſternation our miniſters were under, upon this occaſion, and the fright the chancellor was in, leſt it ſhould be thought he had denied the writ. They are ſo ſenſible that this ſtep, if it be followed by the immediate coming of the prince, will ſo effectually ruin their deſigns, and tend ſo directly to the ſecuring the ſucceſſion from all future danger, that you may depend upon their making uſe of all arts and contrivances imaginable to prevent his coming. Neither threats nor flattery will be ſpared. They are ſo intent and ſo bent upon prevailing with you to ſtop the prince, that they will not rely upon Mr. Harley's dexterity, but have determined to ſend to you my lord Pagett. You muſt, therefore, prepare to be very vigorouſly attacked by way of meſſage; they ſee the ſpirit of the people here runs ſo high in your favour, that they have no hopes of bringing either them or parliament up to any thing, that may diſcourage the prince's

1714. April.

1714. April. coming. They are, therefore, forced to turn all their views towards you, and are reduced to the miſerable neceſſity of trying whether they can perſuade your court to betray itſelf. I ſhall trouble you no farther than only to give you the unanimous opinion of all our friends upon this occaſion. They are perſuaded that you muſt be convinced by the manner in which this writ was granted, that you have opened a moſt unexceptionable way for the coming of the prince. It is plain, the writ would not have been granted, could they, by law, have juſtified the refuſing of it; and the uneaſineſs they expreſſed, both when it was granted and ſince, ſhews plainly they would not have failed to have attempted ſomething in parliament, in order to have diſcouraged him from coming, could they have had the leaſt hopes of carrying it. From this we cannot think, but that you muſt be ſatisfied that the inclinations of the people here are ſo ſtrongly in favour of the houſe of Hannover, that the prince may come, not only with great ſecurity as to his perſon, but alſo that he will be received with all the reſpect and honour that is due to him. But if, after you have raiſed theſe expectations through the whole kingdom to the higheſt degree by the ſtep you have made, you ſhou'd be prevail'd upon to abandon the thoughts of ſending the prince, or be perſuaded even to delay it, ſuch a proceeding will be ſo fatal, that no man can be anſwerable for the conſequences of it. I cannot conclude this without doing juſtice to Monſ. le baron Schutz, who has upon this and all other occaſions behaved himſelf with ſo much zeal and prudence, that he has deſervedly got the entire eſteem and conſideration of all, both Whigs and Tories, who are well affected to the houſe of Hannover."

Extracts of letters from Schutz to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 3. p. 369.

He has had an interview with Oxford.—The Queen is highly diſpleaſed at his having demanded the writ.—He is forbid to appear at court.

Schutz to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{16}{7}$ April, 1714.

"THEY have held frequent councils here, and continue to ſhew great diſſatisfaction; the lord treaſurer having told me yeſterday, that he never ſaw the Queen in a greater paſſion. All the reaſon he alleges to me for this is, that ſhe had no notice from me of the demand which I was to make of the writ, and although he could not deny but the chancellor prepared

prepared and delivered writs. From whence I wanted to prove to him, that it was therefore to the chancellor I was to addreſs myſelf, as he was the miniſter to whoſe department ſuch things belonged; beſides that my orders imported to go to him, and that he did not diſcover to me that I addreſſed myſelf improperly; yet he ſaid, that I ought to have addreſſed myſelf to the ſecretary of ſtate, or to him, who would not have failed to adviſe very properly in the affair; proteſting, that he had no ſervice more at heart, after the Queen's, than that of the Electoral family, and that he was vexed at what had happened, the Queen taking it as the greateſt mark of contempt that could be given to her; telling me, that had it not been for this incident, her Majeſty would have invited the Electoral Prince to come to pay her a viſit next ſummer; without recollecting that he had told me, but a moment before, that ſhe was too much afraid to ſee any of the Electoral family here; and that, this alone excepted, ſhe would willingly grant every thing elſe that could be demanded of her. 1714. April.

He heaped together ſeveral very unintelligible things in this diſcourſe, to which I made no other anſwer, than that having addreſſed myſelf to the proper officer for a thing which the law determined in our favour, I could not imagine that the Queen was angry at it, nor that ſhe would interpret wrongly a meaſure of that kind."

The ſame to the ſame.

A copy of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Tranſlation.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 371.

London, April $\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{9}$. 1714.

"I Cannot but repeat what I wrote to you already by the advice of all thoſe who have our intereſt at heart, about the coming of the Electoral Prince, &c.

The advice which was given to me by lord Oxford, and confirmed by Mr. Bromley, not to appear any more at Court, ſeems too violent, eſpecially as the miniſters ſay nothing to me, but that I ſhould have addreſſed myſelf to Mr. Bromley, inſtead of demanding the writ of lord Harcourt; and without proving this by any example or argument, they ſay ſimply, that the Queen takes it as a mark of contempt, although it would have been contrary to the cuſtom of this country, as well as to the order of the Electreſs, to have applied the other way.

1714. April. I acquainted our friends with every thing that happened to me, in the courſe of this affair. I placed the ſame confidence in lord Angleſea and Sir Thomas Hanmer, and they blame the conduct of the miniſtry, being now fully convinced that the proteſtant ſucceſſion is in very bad hands.

Lord Angleſea, who is very well acquainted with lord Paget, gives me a bad character of him; ſaying, he is falſe and changeable. He believes, with ſeveral others, that his lordſhip will not go to Hannover; as the coming of the Electoral Prince muſt be determined before he can be ready to go."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 384.

——$\frac{18}{29}$ April. "Sir Charles Cotterell, maſter of the ceremonies, came and read to me a letter from Mr. Bromley, ſecretary of ſtate, in which he intimates, that the Queen commanded him to tell me not to appear any more at court, as ſhe looks upon it as an affront I have done her, to have aſked the chancellor for the writ to the duke of Cambridge, a prince of her blood; and that, for that reaſon, ſhe had ordered Mr. Harley to ſolicit the Elector and Electreſs to recall me inſtantly. Upon which, I ſaid to him, that in conſequence of the reſpect I owed to, and had for her Majeſty, I would not fail to obey her orders."

An original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

Extracts of a letter from Lord Strafford to Sophia, Electreſs of Hannover.

He anſwers her letters.—Adviſes her and the Elector to diſapprove of Baron Schutz's conduct, and vindicates the miniſtry from having any deſigns in favour of the Pretender.

Hague, May 4th, 1714.

——"THE reaſon why Monſ. Dalay makes difficulty to go to the foreign churches, which other miniſters before him never did, is, ſince the paſſing the bill of occaſional uniformity, about three years ago, which only affects thoſe that are in employments of truſt or profit; ſo that my lord Morpeth, having none, did not lye under thoſe difficulties Mr. Dalay does. I make a doubt whether that act extends out of her Majeſty's dominions; but as it is a doubt, I would no more riſque it than I find Dalay will; and had it not been for Mr. Cadogan, I had not minded it. But aſking him, juſt after the act paſſed, to go with me to the French church, to hear a famous preacher here; he told me, he did not

not know what I might do, but for him, he was not ſo fond of going to any church, as to venture the loſs of his employments, which he had not then quitted: ſo I, having a chaplain of my own, have never thought it worth venturing to go to a foreign church, but have conſtantly the common prayers in my family, and ſermons every holiday." 1714. May.

"I am aſſured his (lord Paget) errand is to explain matters, and ſet them in ſo true a light before you, that no artifice of a faction, or party, for private views and intereſt, may be able for the future to cauſe any inquietude between the Queen and your illuſtrious family. I took the liberty, at my laſt coming hither, to ſtate that matter plainly to your Royal Highneſs, who was ſo good as to make me the anſwer I could wiſh, both in relation to your reſpect for the Queen, and your being of neither party; and yet I am ſorry to find your miniſter in England has lately acted as if at leaſt he was governed by the party that is againſt the court, becauſe the chief amongſt them have not the chief employments at court; and I am afraid his late behaviour is ſomething reſented, as being very irregular, and neglectful of that reſpect due to the Queen, for though by ſtrictneſs of law, I believe a peer may demand his writ of the lord chancellor, though abſent, yet it is never done; but the lord chancellor keeps it by him till ſuch time as the abſent peer returns and demands it himſelf, to ſit in parliament. I know this better than any man, it having been my caſe under ſeveral lord chancellors, as I have been abroad ever ſince the firſt year her Majeſty came to the crown, and having often had leave to take turns into England, the chancellors have always kept my writ till I came and demanded it to ſit in parliament, which they immediately were obliged to ſend me; and ſo it would have been with the duke of Cambridge, whenever he ſhould come into England to ſit in parliament. Upon his demanding it, the chancellor is obliged by law to ſend it him immediately. This being ſo, what occaſion had Monſ. Schutz to go, juſt at this juncture, and to demand it of the lord chancellor without having previouſly acquainted ſome of the Queen's miniſters of ſtate, or having firſt notified his intentions or orders (if he had them) to do it to the Queen, by the ſecretary of ſtate, for her Majeſty's approbation, which he might have been aſſured would not have been denied him, no more than ſhe did her leave to lord chancellor to deliver the writ, when he aſked her if he ſhould do it? I muſt own to your Royal Highneſs, I

1714. May. am very ſorry to ſee ſuch things happen. Let the partys jar as they pleaſe; but let not any thing happen, by any miniſter of yours, that may be interpreted as if your illuſtrious family wanted all the confidence and conſideration imaginable for the Queen; who, I find, by Mr. Secretary's letter, is herſelf a little ſtartled at this way of proceeding of Monſ. Schutz; and if you will pardon the liberty I take, I believe nothing could have a better effect than your and the Elector's diſapproving what Monſ. Schutz has done in this matter. As I certainly wiſh well to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in your family, and deſire heartily the peace and tranquillity of my country, I can't but apprehend for both, if ſome effectual means is not immediately found out to put matters upon ſuch a foot as to convince the world, that there is a mutual good underſtanding between the Queen and your Royal Highneſs's illuſtrious family; and that you act on both ſides, with the juſt conſideration and confidence you ought to have for and in one another. Your Royal Highneſs knows my character and opinion of partys. You know my zeal for your intereſt, and therefore, I hope will excuſe thisliberty I take, to beg of you to conſider ſeriouſly with the Elector your ſon upon ſome expedient to put matters upon a foot of reciprocal confidence in the Queen and your illuſtrious houſe. A King or Queen of England muſt govern by the bulk of their people, and muſt never be tyed to one or t'other party; which made King William, and all the Kings his predeceſſors, change from one to the other party, as they had the majority of the nation and parliament; and any King or Queen who would reign with a party, againſt the majority of the nation, would have but a moſt uneaſy life; and God forbid I ſhould live to ſee ever the Queen and her ſucceſſors ſtruggling to ſupport different parties."

"After all the fooliſh and malicious outcry of the danger of the Pretender, I have aſked the people here, to tell me one thing done in his favour, or one thing left undone to exclude him, and to ſecure your ſucceſſion; nay I have deſired them to let me know what was deſired, or if there could be any thing more done to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion in your illuſtrious houſe, and if they would tell me, I would engage it ſhould be done. And upon diſcourſing this matter t'other day with the penſionary, he ſeemed convinced of the truth of what I told him; and that there was no juſt grounds for this outcry about the Pretender, and

that

that nothing could be of a worſe conſequence than the project talked of by ſome Whigs, of getting the Electoral Prince over, and ſetting him up for ſucceſſor, in prejudice to your's and the Elector's right. The penſionary told me upon this, that he would go and talk roundly to that man, pointing to baron Bothmar, who was then in the Treves-chamber, when I was in this diſcourſe with the penſionary; and that he would afterwards tell me, if there was any thing the baron could propoſe to be done. He told me, after having talked to Bothmar, that all he had to oppoſe was, that the Pretender was ſuffered to continue in Lorrain. Your Royal Highneſs is judge whether the Queen can oblige the duke of Lorrain to ſend him from thence if he won't, and has engaged to France not to do it; and what we can ſay more to France, when they anſwer us, that they have punctually executed their treaty, by ſending him out of France; and yet that article, in our treaty, was looked upon as a hardſhip on the French King; ſince even in the preliminaries, in 1709, they did not oblige the French King ſo ſtrongly as we had done in our treaty; being all was ſaid in thoſe preliminaries was, that whereas the Chevalier St. George had a mind to travel, the French King conſented to it." 1714. May.

Extracts of a letter from Galke, Secretary of the Embaſſy at London, to Robethon. The reflections made on Baron Schutz's ſudden departure.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8, p. 385.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{23 \text{ April,}}{4 \text{ May,}}$ 1714.

"THE news of baron de Schutz's departure, which at length ſpread yeſterday over all the town, have given occaſion to reaſonings of every kind: our friends are pleaſed with it, but our enemies, who ſince the baron had been forbid to appear at court, had begun to take courage, do not reliſh it much. I know from good authority, that the lord treaſurer ſaid ſome days ago to one of his creatures, that he never thought that affair ſhould have been puſhed ſo far; and another perſon affirmed to me, that he ſaid that he apprehended he would be very ſoon diſgraced; that they wanted to oblige him to enter into the meaſures of thoſe who intended to eſtabliſh the Pretender; and that the Queen was more determined on that point than ever.

I have received the pacquet for the baron de Schutz; but the letters which came by a ſecret addreſs are not yet decyphered. I ſhall inform

1714. May. lord Halifax of every thing. I hope Mr. Kreyenberg will make the compliments of thanks with which the Electreſs charged the baron de Schutz for lord Angleſea, lord Abington, and the archbiſhop of York, it will be the more neceſſary to make them to the archbiſhop, becauſe it is well known he is not yet quite firm in the good cauſe; and it is for this reaſon ſome friends deſired me to write to you, that a letter from the Electreſs would confirm him much in the ſentiments which he has begun to diſcover.

I incloſe the Examiner of this day. I would not have taken the liberty of ſending it to you, if lord Townſend was not of opinion that it deſerved to be read at Hannover."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 391.

Lord Townſhend to Robethon.

Incloſing a paper of the Examiner, and urging to ſend over the Prince.

This is a French tranſlation in Robethon's hand.

Tranſlation.

May 4th, N. S. 1714.

"I Send you, Sir, the Examiner of this day, which makes a great noiſe in town, and gives great pleaſure to the well-affected. The author, who ſucceeded Dr. Swift, is the lord treaſurer's library-keeper; and none of his papers, of which three appear every week, are printed without the prime miniſter's knowing their contents; ſo that one may look upon this performance as the interpretation of his ſentiments.

You will ſee by this piece, that the Tories are ſo far from exclaiming againſt the coming of the Electoral Prince, that they applaud it, and pretend to have the principal ſhare in his good graces. This we will not envy them, providing they attach themſelves to him as they appear reſolved to do; and it is not to be doubted, but as ſoon as he appears, the lord treaſurer will ſeek his protection, and both parties pay their court to him. There is no queſtion, therefore, of ſending the prince to be the head of a party, but to have the glory of uniting the two parties, who will concur together in parliament to ſettle a revenue of 30 or 40,000l. ſterling upon him; but for this purpoſe, he muſt come before the end of the ſeſſion.

You ſee the Prince may come with entire ſecurity, and with the greateſt pleaſure imaginable, and prevent the deſigns of the Pretender; whereas,

by allowing them to break out, it would be neceſſary to come with fleets and armies, and at an exceſſive expence, and be yet, after all, uncertain of the ſucceſs, which is now infallible, providing the opportunity is not loſt." 1714. May.

The Archbiſhop of York to the Princeſs Sophia.

Profeſſions of attachment.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Strafford.

MADAM, London, May 4th, 1714.

"I Want words to expreſs my deep ſenſe of the great honour which your Royal Highneſs has done me, in vouchſafing to take notice of, and kindly accept my poor endeavours to ſerve your illuſtrious houſe; and in that, the proteſtant intereſt in general, and our own happy conſtitution in church and ſtate in particular. It is ſo much both my duty and my intereſt to do all that I am able, for this end, that I ſhould be unpardonable if I did not. I hope your Royal Highneſs will, every day more and more, have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing, that not only I myſelf, but the whole body of our clergy, are faithful and zealous, as becomes us, in this reſpect; and that the ſame good ſpirit is ſtill among us, which ſo laudably, and, through the bleſſing of God, ſucceſsfully oppoſed and got the better of the attempts of France and Popery in King James's reign.

Madam, I daily and moſt ardently pray to God for the health, long life, and proſperity of yourſelf and every branch of your illuſtrious family; and, particularly, that he would guard and maintain your right of ſucceeding to the crown of theſe realms, as now by law eſtabliſhed. I am, with the moſt profound duty and reſpect, Madam, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz, fils 8. p. 378.

A French tranſlation in Robethon's hand.

His former charges againſt the miniſtry renewed.—Reaſons for ſending over the Prince.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Antwerp, May 5th, 1714.

"I Entreat you to be ſo good as to offer my very humble thanks to the Elector, for the ſhare he appears to take in my affliction for the death of my daughter.

It is ſo evident, that the Queen's miniſters are determined to place the Pretender on the throne, that it would be loſing one's time to produce proofs

1714. May. proofs of it. Their greateſt deſire, and their only view in Mr. Harley's embaſſy, is to obtain ſome declaration from the Elector, which may impoſe upon the nation, and make it believe that your court is ſatisfied with them. If you have fallen into this ſnare, it will render all the efforts of your friends of no avail; but we rely upon the great prudence of his Electoral Highneſs.

A more proper time for demanding the writ for the Electoral Prince could not have been choſen; for you ſee how many of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable among the Tories declare for you, and acknowledge that they were deceived by the miniſtry, who loſe ſo much ground in both houſes, that you may depend upon it, they will take care not to call the ſecond ſeſſion of this parliament, before they have executed their deſign in favour of the Pretender; for otherwiſe they will run a riſk of being proſecuted, for having betrayed their country and violated the laws; and as they cannot juſtify themſelves in that reſpect, it is not to be believed, that they will expoſe themſelves to the hazard of another ſeſſion; for if they loſe any more ground, however ſmall, their ruin is certain.

Luckily, this ſeſſion is to continue for two months longer, as no ſupplies are yet found; ſo that the Electoral Prince will have time enough, before the end of it, to arrive and take his ſeat in parliament; in which caſe the balance will incline entirely to your ſide, as it begins to do already, upon the mere rumour of his coming: ſo that you may judge what effect his preſence would produce. Accordingly our friends write to me, that, in that caſe, the parliament will not riſe before they have ſettled a penſion of 40,000 *l.* Sterling, for a ſubſiſtence to the prince, who will have nothing to do but to make his court to the Queen, and careſs the miniſters, without meddling in any thing.

By this remedy the ſucceſſion will be ſecured, without riſk, without expence, and without war; and likewiſe it is very probable that France, ſeeing herſelf prevented in that manner, will abandon her deſign of aſſiſting the Pretender.

In my humble opinion, it would be proper to uſe diſpatch, and that the prince ſhould ſet out before lord Paget arrives. This journey of the Prince, attended with the ſucceſs which there is reaſon to expect from it, cannot fail to give the Elector new influence, and much greater conſequence over all Europe; as he will ſecure to himſelf thereby the crown

of

of Great Britain, which will attach the Emperor, Holland, and the court of Pruſſia to him, and render him the arbiter of the differences of the North. Whereas, if this opportunity is loſt, (which, according to appearances, will be the laſt) the contrary will happen, and the influence of his Electoral Highneſs at other courts will ſuffer conſiderably by it, eſpecially after the great noiſe which this demand of the writ for the Electoral Prince makes every where, which leaves no one room to doubt of his ſetting out ſoon: ſo that if he does not ſet out at all, your friends in England, who have expoſed themſelves ſo generouſly for your intereſts, will be abſolutely ruined, and the ſucceſſion in the utmoſt danger, which cannot fail to be productive of bad conſequences to your court, in all the other courts of Europe. 1714. May.

It is eaſy for your court to conceive of what importance it is, that the Prince ſhould arrive while the parliament is ſitting, as the reaſon to juſtify his journey is the right he has to take his ſeat in parliament, and the writ by which the Queen calls him to it. I hope you will ſend me good news.

I believe Mr. Molineux will be now at your court. I recommend him to you, as being a man of quality, who has very large poſſeſſions in Ireland, but principally as a man of parts and of merit, with whoſe good principles I am well acquainted. I flatter myſelf that he will be well received by their Highneſſes. I am, &c."

"I may add further, that the Prince being but the third in the order of ſucceſſion, and coming alone without troops, the Queen cannot be juſtly offended."

The Elector to Queen Anne.

An anſwer to the letter he received by Mr. Harley, accompanying the memorial which follows it.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Hannover, $\frac{27 \text{ April,}}{6 \text{ May.}}$ 1714.

"I Received, with the utmoſt gratitude, the letter of the 8th of January, which your Majeſty gave in charge to Mr. Harley. Nothing could be more obliging than the aſſurances it contains of the continued attention which your Majeſty is pleaſed to give to the eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, which is the only means of ſecuring

1714. May. the religion and tranquillity of your kingdoms, and than which you have nothing more at heart.

I imagined I could not make a more ſuitable return to ſuch extraordinary proofs of kindneſs, than by delivering to Mr. Harley a memorial, which will ſhew to your Majeſty what appears to me to be neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture, for the ſecurity of your royal perſon, of your kingdoms, and of the ſucceſſion ſettled by the laws. As there are no other intereſts more worthy than theſe of the attention of a Queen, ſo diſtinguiſhed for her piety, and for her love of her ſubjects, I doubt not but your Majeſty will give them as much attention as I have confidence in your knowledge and goodneſs; being always, with great reſpect,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

A Memorial from the Electreſs and Elector to Queen Anne.

Deſiring the Pretender's removal.—A penſion for the Princeſs Sophia.—Leave to ſend a Prince of the Electoral family to Britain, and titles as Princes of the Blood to ſuch of the proteſtant Princes of the family as have none.

Delivered to Mr. Harley at Hannover, the 7th May, N. S. 1714.

Tranſlation.

"THEIR Electoral Highneſſes received, with the utmoſt gratitude, the freſh mark of kindneſs which the Queen gave them, when ſhe ordered Mr. Harley to aſk them, what they wanted to be done for the greater ſecurity of the Proteſtant Succeſſion eſtabliſhed in their family, and alſo the obliging aſſurances he added to it, that her Britannic Majeſty would have a pleaſure in granting whatever they deſired in that reſpect.

It is in reliance on this, that their Electoral Highneſſes take the liberty of repreſenting to her Majeſty the neceſſity of obliging the Pretender to remove to Italy, and the danger which may reſult from his ſtaying longer in Lorrain, both to her Majeſty's kingdoms and to her royal perſon, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

It is impoſſible to be more obliged to her Majeſty than their Electoral Highneſſes are, for the inſtances which ſhe has been already pleaſed to make for the Pretender's removal. And as the preſent parliament, as well as the former, have ſhewn they are perſuaded, that the ſecurity of the

the nation and of the ſucceſſion is connected with it, which is likewiſe the opinion of their Electoral Highneſſes, they entreat her Majeſty to take moſt effectual meaſures for attaining ſuch a ſalutary end; and the more ſo, the Pretender's adherents publiſh, with the utmoſt aſſurance, that he is preparing to make a deſcent in the North of Great Britain, while the kingdom is unfurniſhed with a fleet and troops; which is confirmed by different advices received from perſons who have been lately at Bar-le-duc, and have a ſhare of the Pretender's confidence, and who affirm that he will begin very ſoon to execute his enterpriſe, and that he depends upon a powerful foreign aſſiſtance. 1714. May.

"Affairs being in ſuch a dangerous ſituation, their Electoral Highneſſes hope, that her Majeſty will own with them, that it is neceſſary for the ſecurity of her royal perſon, and for that of her kingdoms, and of the proteſtant religion, to ſettle in Great Britain ſome one of the Electoral family, who would be attentive to ſuch important concerns, and ſhew her Majeſty, by a fidelity and an inviolable attachment to her perſon, how much their Electoral Highneſſes are filled with reſpect and gratitude towards her. The time appears to be now come, when the ſecurity of their common intereſts cannot be found any longer but in a reciprocal confidence, and in meaſures taken with perfect concert; and when their Electoral Highneſſes, as they do not expect the ſecurity of their rights to the ſucceſſion, but from the continuance of her Majeſty's goodneſs, are ready to contribute, on their ſide, as much as is in their power, to defeat the deſigns of thoſe who would chooſe to diſturb the tranquillity and felicity of her glorious reign.

Their Electoral Highneſſes likewiſe take the liberty of renewing the inſtances they made near two years ago, to her Majeſty and to her miniſters, for aſking that ſuch a penſion and eſtabliſhment ſhould be ſettled by act of parliament on her Highneſs the Electreſs, as the neareſt heir to the crown uſually enjoyed. Their Electoral Highneſſes did not chooſe to form any pretenſions in this reſpect, while the nation was burdened with the expences of the war; but theſe expences being diſcontinued, and as every thing ought to be put upon a ſure and ſolid footing by the peace, they hope, that during this very ſeſſion of prrliament, her Majeſty will be ſo good as to procure them a thing which is ſo juſt, and which is but a natural conſequence of all that ſhe has done already in their favour.

1714. May. "Their Electoral Highneſſes hope likewiſe, that her Majeſty will be pleaſed to grant titles belonging to the princes of the blood of Great Britain, to ſuch of the Proteſtant Princes of the Electoral family, as are not yet inveſted with them."

Done at Hannover, the 4th May, 1714.

The Seal of the Electreſs. | The Seal of the Elector.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol marked Strafford.

Lord Angleſey to the Princeſs Sophia.

MADAM, May 7, 1714.

"YOUR Royal Highneſs does me ſo great an honour in taking notice of any declaration of mine for the ſervice of your family, which my duty obliged me, as well as my inclination ever prompted me to ſerve.

The ſame principles of loyalty and obedience, which make me a faithful, and, I hope, a good ſubject to her Majeſty, muſt needs tie me down a firm and zealous ſervant to the Hannover ſucceſſion, as the only means (whenever we ſhall be deprived of our good and gracious Sovereign) to repair ſo great a loſs; and to ſecure and preſerve to theſe nations our inviolable conſtitution in church and ſtate.

I am, Madam, &c.

ANGLESEA."

Original. Ibid.

Sir Thomas Hanmer to the Princeſs Sophia.

Thanks for her letter, and profeſſions of attachment.

MADAM, Without a date, but ſuppoſed 1714.

"YOUR Highneſs's commands have been obeyed by Monſ. Schutz, who has delivered to me the letter you have been pleaſed to honour me with; and though I have the greateſt zeal for your Highneſs's ſervice, and for the intereſts of your family, I durſt not flatter myſelf with deſerving ſo particular a notice from you upon that account, becauſe it is no more than a duty I am obliged to, and a merit, in which I hope the whole kingdom partakes with me. I am glad your Highneſs ſo well approves the endeavours which were ſet on foot the laſt parliament, for removing the Pretender farther off, and which, by the concurrence and adherence of this, I hope to ſee accompliſhed. Whatever aſſiſtance I can contribute, ſhall, with great application, be ſtill continued

nued to that end; with greater, if poſſible, ſince your Highneſs is pleaſed to expreſs yourſelf deſirous of it, as a neceſſary means, in your opinion, conducing to your ſecurity. In a concern ſo important to us all, no care can be too great in guarding againſt every article and appearance of danger. Our laws and liberties, and religion, are all engaged in the preſerving your right to the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great Britain, and in conveying it down ſafe to the illuſtrious line, who are to derive it from you. And I hope the conviction of this is ſo general here, that nothing will be able to withſtand thoſe who will be united in that public cauſe, among whom ſhall always be found, Madam, &c.

THOMAS HANMER."

1714. May.

Extracts of letters from Galke and Kreyenberg, to Robethon and Bothmar, May, 1714.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. P. 394.

Galke to Robethon.

The Queen's illneſs.—The neceſſity of ſending over the Electoral Prince.—News of the Pretender.—Anecdotes of the times.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{27 \text{ April,}}{8 \text{ May,}}$ 1714.

"I Have opened your pacquet for the Baron de Schutz, which arrived by the yeſterday's poſt, and ſent it afterwards to Kreyenberg, who will not fail to anſwer it, as well as that which arrived by the laſt poſt, under the ſecret addreſs to Monſ. de Bothmar. All our friends flatter themſelves that the prince will ſet out on his journey as ſoon as Monſ. de Schutz arrives at Hannover. They think this abſolutely neceſſary, and that without it the Pretender will be here ſoon, and be very well received.

"I imagine his Excellency the baron de Bothmar will communicate to you the ſheet full of news, which I ſend him this evening; and likewiſe Kreyenberg's letter in cyphers."

1714. May. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 395.

Kreyenberg to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand, of Kreyenberg's letter in cyphers, mentioned in the preceding by Galke.

Tranſlation.

May 8, N. S. 1714.

BOTH Whigs and Tories preſſed Kreyenberg to repreſent the abſolute neceſſity of the prince's coming over, after the ſtep which had been taken. "The Queen," ſays he, "will at laſt reconcile herſelf to it, and the miniſters, at leaſt the greateſt number of them, will pay their court to him. Angleſea, Abington, Orrery, and Sir Thomas Hanmer declared, without being deſired, that before the end of the ſeſſion, the parliament will make ſuch a ſettlement for him as the Queen had when ſhe was princeſs.

Kreyenberg was convinced that the Queen and miniſtry would agree to every thing that could be aſked of them, if the prince did not come over, and would perhaps ſacrifice Bolingbroke, and turn others out of the miniſtry: but he thought that would be done merely to amuſe the Elector until the parliament roſe.

"The Queen ſent for the archbiſhop of York, and made him the greateſt proteſtations, founded on conſcience and ſentiments of religion, that ſhe was ſincerely for the proteſtant ſucceſſion. This prelate cannot reconcile all this with what he himſelf and every one ſees. She ſaid nothing at all of the coming of the Electoral Prince, but only of the diſobliging manner in which the writ was demanded."

"It is confidently ſaid now, and it appears very probable, that lord Oxford has carried his point with the Queen, and is become prime miniſter. It is believed that the affair of the writ contributed not a little to this; as his lordſhip inſinuated, with great addreſs, that lord Bolingbroke's violent conduct induced the Elector to take that ſtep."

In the news which was ſent this poſt in cyphers by Galke to Bothmar, we have the following paſſages.

Ibid. p. 404. "Mr. Johnſton, who was formerly ſecretary of ſtate in Scotland, told l'Hermitage, that the plan was formed for bringing in the Pretender; but that it was communicated only to four perſons. He dined that day with lord Mar, who married his niece. He ſaid that he would go in three weeks to Spa; and that, as he paſſed through the Hague, he would

would diſcover very important ſecrets to Monſ. de Bothmar. He added, that the coming of the Electoral Prince would remedy every thing; that even the miniſters, at leaſt ſome of them, would pay court to him; and that there was no other remedy for ſaving the nation and the ſucceſſions but that it muſt be applied without delay, and before the end of the parliament." 1714. May.

"They give out at court, that it is not the affair of the writ, but the manner of aſking it, which diſpleaſed the Queen; and for that reaſon they affect to ſhew a thouſand civilities to Kreyenberg, who has been two following times invited to dine with the L—d T——r, who is more than ever in credit with the Queen, and appears diſpoſed to attach himſelf to the prince, as ſoon as he appears, in order to gain him her Majeſty's good graces, and to overturn Bolingbroke."

Galke to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 402.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{30 \text{ April,}}{11 \text{ May,}}$ 1714.

"THE Queen's converſation with the archbiſhop of York, of which Kreyenberg will have informed you, begins to make great noiſe. It is confirmed now, that the Lord Treaſurer is more in favour with the Queen than ever he was. Bolingbroke is enraged at this, and it is not doubted but he will take his meaſures upon it in a manner ſuitable to his humour."

"L'Hermitage told me to-day, that lord Portmore employs all imaginable perſuaſions to inſpire the duke of Ormond, who is more firm than ever in the intereſts of the Pretender, with more favourable ſentiments towards the ſucceſſion; but that he has not been able yet to make great progreſs, his Grace being conſtantly beſet by three women, who are lady Ogletorp * and two others, who will overturn to-morrow what he hath built to-day."

The ſame to the ſame.

Ibid. p. 425.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

This letter, and ſeveral others, written about this time by Galke and Kreyenberg, mentioned that the Queen had relapſed, and was in a very dangerous ſituation.

* He means Lady Oglethorpe.

Tranſlation.

1714. May.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{7}{18}$ May, 1714.

"IT appears that all hopes of reclaiming the duke of Ormond are loſt, and that thoſe who attempted it, find that he is more attached than ever to the intereſts of the prince of Wales. He voted, eight days ago, for the Roman Catholicks, when the cauſe of whom I ſpoke" (the right of the proteſtant heir to ſucceed in preference to the Roman Catholic) "was decided in the houſe of lords. Lord North, on that occaſion, even ſpoke in favour of the popiſh ſucceſſor."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 421.

Kreyenberg to Robethon.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Kreyenberg wrote in cyphers. He gave, from the duke of Somerſet, a particular account of the Queen's indiſpoſition, and communicated the repreſentations made to him by Whigs and Tories, of the abſolute neceſſity of ſending over the Electoral prince.

May 18, N. S. 1714.

"SEveral letters from Scotland mention the ſame thing with that which the Electreſs received from the man who was at Barleduc, and the Jacobites of that country give out, that the Pretender will be there before the end of May. It is certain that a Scotſman, Mackintoſh of Bolam, (probably Borlum) came lately from Barleduc, and brought to Scotland a great number of commiſſions from the Pretender. My lord Brodalbin, a declared Jacobite, ſets out for Scotland to-morrow."

Ibid. p. 419.

Mr. Cadogan to Bothmar.

A tranſlation in Schrader's hand.

Reaſons for ſending over the Electoral Prince.

Tranſlation.

SIR, London, $\frac{7}{18}$ May, 1714.

"IF I did myſelf the honour of writing to you ſo ſeldom ſince I have been here, it was to ſave you the repetition of the ſame news which you received from the baron de Schutz and Monſ. Kreyenberg; but now, when every thing is at ſtake, and when our ſafety, and the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion depend entirely upon the journey of the Electoral Prince, I conſider it is my duty to repreſent to you, in the ſtrongeſt manner I am able, that if his Highneſs's journey is put off, the ſucceſſion is inevitably loſt.

"One

"One may ſay, that the whole nation expects the prince now with the utmoſt impatience, and that there is ſuch a general diſpoſition to receive him well, that the miniſters will be obliged to treat his Highneſs with the reſpect which is due to him. But if the opportunity is loſt, this inclination may cool; they will think themſelves neglected, and will be capable, perhaps, of going from one extreme into another. 1714. May.

"Undoubtedly the reaſons for the prince's journey become every day more ſtrong; you know them, Sir, better than any man; therefore I ſhall only ſay, that all the Tories, excepting ſuch as are entirely devoted to the miniſters, wiſh for the Prince's arrival with as much earneſtneſs as the Whigs; and there is reaſon to fear, that if the reſolution of ſending him is changed, our new allies, lord Angleſea, the archbiſhop of York, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, with their friends, will leave us ſoon: for they declare publickly enough, that the ſucceſſion cannot be ſecured but by the preſence of the prince; and they inſinuated, that if he does not come, they will be obliged to take other meaſures.

"You would ſee by the Gazettes, that the ſtocks roſe very high ſince the Prince's journey was ſpoke of; an undoubted ſign of the good diſpoſition of the nation; and, I think, I may aſſure you, that his preſence here will give us immediately a majority in both houſes. The Tories do not conceal their ſentiments in this reſpect, and they ſay publickly, that they only wait to ſee the Prince for declaring againſt the miniſters.

"The lord treaſurer and lord Bolingbroke are more exaſperated than ever againſt one another. The lord treaſurer found means of reconciling himſelf with lady Maſham, and boaſts that he will very ſoon turn out lord Bolingbroke, and the lord chancellor; and the treaſurer's friends begin, by private rumours, to charge theſe two noblemen with the deſign of bringing in the Pretender. In a word, this is a fine opportunity for bringing over the Prince; and the miniſters being come to an open rupture with one another, the parliament and the people are impatient to ſee him arrive, and the partiſans of the Pretender cannot diſguiſe their apprehenſions of this journey, which they conſider as a mortal blow to all their deſigns."

1714. May. A copy in Schrader's hand, vol. marked Bothmar x, No. 89.

Baron de Waſſenaer Duivenvoerde to the earl of Oxford.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, May 18, 1714.

"I Did myſelf the honour of writing to you the 4th inſtant, that I would communicate, without delay, to the court of Hannover, the letter which you was ſo good as to write to me the 25th of April. I have done ſo; and I have had the pleaſure to underſtand, that the aſſurances of your good intentions and of your attachment to the intereſts of the illuſtrious family, gave great joy at that court, and that they deſire to live in perfect confidence with you.

With regard to the Electoral Prince's journey; I am charged to tell you, my lord, that when the Queen gave the prince the patent of duke of Cambridge, and regulated the rank of the Proteſtant princes of the family, as princes of the blood, by the act of precedency, which was carried to them two years ago, by Mr. Harley, that court imagined theſe were real favours, of which they might make uſe when the opportunity offered, and that the Electoral Prince, when he made uſe of his writ of ſummons, only made uſe of what was his right, and that, if he went to England, it would be with an intention to continue inviolably attached to the Queen and to her miniſters, and to your lordſhip in particular; wherein her Britannic Majeſty would find her own ſafety and that of her kingdoms againſt the attempts of the Pretender, who would not dare, in that caſe, to think of an invaſion. Beſides that, the King of France would have this reaſon to allege for diſpenſing himſelf from aſſiſting him, that there would be no means of doing it, as the family of Hannover was beforehand with him: ſo that nothing appears more conformed to the intereſt of the Queen and the nation, than the ſending over the prince, which is evident, as the Jacobites fear it, as a mortal blow to their hopes.

I hope, my lord, that you will have no difficulty of conceiving the Elector's views, and I pray God, with all my heart, that the meaſures taken to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion to the crown of Great Britain may ſucceed, perſuaded as I am, that the preſervation of our holy religion and the ſafety of Europe depend upon it. Your lordſhip is in a ſituation which enables you to procure ſo great a benefit, by uniting, ſtill more clearly, the Queen with the family of Hannover. In the name of God,

God, my lord, employ your influence and your prudence to promote this ſalutary end. You will gain the bleſſing of heaven, and the applauſe of all honeſt men. 1714. May.

If you think that I can be ſerviceable to you in any thing, you will do me a favour and a pleaſure by employing me. I ſhall always ſhew that I have nothing more at heart, than the eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and the union of the two nations; and on all occaſions, I ſhall give you marks of the zeal and reſpect with which I have the honour to be, my lord, &c. Baron de WASSENAER DUVENVOERDE."

"*Extract of a letter from Sir Richard Onſlow, who was once ſpeaker to the houſe of commons.*" Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 426.

Reaſons for ſending the Prince.

A tranſlation from the Engliſh in Robethon's hand.

Tranſlation.

May 22, N. S. 1714.

"WE live here in the hope of ſeeing the Electoral Prince arrive, and of ſeeing him introduced to parliament, by virtue of the writ which was given; and this expectation is ſo ſtrong, that a diſappointment will diſcourage entirely his friends and encourage his enemies.

I can aſſure you, it is the general opinion of people of the firſt conſequence and the well affected to the ſucceſſion, (who are the majority of the kingdom) that nothing can contribute more to render the Queen's reign happy and ſafe, and at the ſame time ſecure the ſucceſſion, as it is eſtabliſhed by the laws in favour of the family of Hannover, than the preſence of the duke of Cambridge among us, that being the ſureſt means to curb the great and continued efforts of thoſe who act for the Pretender, and give themſelves out to be a very powerful party, with a view of gaining over many to their faction at home, and of encouraging France to ſend them the Pretender with French troops. Upon that aſſiſtance their greateſt expectations are founded. You may judge then at Hannover, of what importance it is to prevent ſuch an event, by ſending over the prince. I expect from you, with the utmoſt impatience, the good news of his departure."

1714. May. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. P. 431.

An unknown friend in England to Monſieur de Bothmar.

The ſame ſubject continued.

It is a tranſlation from the Engliſh in Robethon's hand.

Tranſlation.

May 25, N. S. 1714.

"THE Pretender's faction acknowledge that if the prince comes over, their ſyſtem's overturned, and they invent lyes of every kind, to deſtroy all hopes of the prince's coming, producing letters from Hannover, which bear that Monſieur de Schutz has been diſavowed and very ill received, and that it is certain the Elector will not ſend the prince to England.

Mr. Bromley, ſecretary of ſtate, in particular, ſpoke in this manner, which has thrown the Pretender's faction into tranſports of joy, and the friends of Hannover, both Whigs and Tories, into the utmoſt deſpair. I have heard ſeveral of them, and among others, the duke of Argyle, exclaim, if the Elector abandons us in this manner, and refuſes to embrace an opportunity ſo favourable, ſo eaſy, and ſo conformed to our laws, ſacrificing us, and abandoning us to the rage of our enemies, after all that we have done for him, we have no further recourſe, but to go to the other extremity, and invite the Pretender to come over on tolerable terms, and without a French army.

I entreat your Excellency to communicate this to his Electoral Highneſs. Conſider what advantage the Pretender's friends will draw from it, and if, your friends being refuſed and diſguſted, it will not be very eaſy for your enemies to carry any bill they pleaſe in parliament, for infringing the acts of the ſucceſſion, which they have attempted before now ſeveral times, but without ſucceſs. The boldneſs of theſe people goes ſo far, that Sir John Packington, in a club of more than 80 Tories, propoſed that the parliament ſhould order the black box to be opened; ſo they call the ſealed inſtruments of the Electreſs, appointing a regency in caſe of the Queen's death; but the affair was dropped.

This and ſome things ſtill worſe, will be brought now again upon the carpet, if the prince does not come, for then your enemies will reaſſume courage; and ſeeing that your court ſhews no reſentment of the affront done to your Miniſter, they will imagine, as you put up with every thing, that every thing is allowable to them.

The

The pardon which the Queen granted to Doctor Bedford, author of the book on Hereditary Right, is the greateſt affront which her Majeſty could offer to the Electoral family. I don't know if theſe things are underſtood at your court, or if attention is paid to them. 1714. May.

They continue to diſmiſs all the officers, civil and military, who preſume to ſhew any attachment to the Hannoverian ſucceſſion; and yet they give out, that the Queen's miniſters aſſure your court that they have the greateſt zeal and attachment to them. It would be very curious if they could ſucceed to perſuade you of this.

My concluſion from all this is, that if the prince does not come over, the ſucceſſion is loſt. The delaying his journey has had already the bad effects I apprehended from it, having given time to the miniſters to contrive new intrigues, and give life and courage to their party, which was half extinct, and which laughs now at your friends every where, and aſks them, Where is then your duke of Cambridge? And where is your ſucceſſion? Is it not more than a month ſince the writ was demanded? A proper reſolution on the part of his Electoral Highneſs would make them change their language ſoon.

Cadogan to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 435.

The ſame ſubject continued.—The Queen's illneſs.—The quarrels of the miniſtry.—Oxford makes advances to the Whigs.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{13}{24}$ May, 1714.

"THE inexpreſſible impatience which every one ſhows here, for news of the Electoral Prince's departure, induces me to take the liberty of embracing every ſafe opportunity which offers, of repeating to you, that every thing is irreparably loſt if the reſolution of ſending him is changed or delayed; for the earneſt deſire of ſeeing him here, having become ſo univerſal, and augmenting every day, his coming is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that I fear a longer delay may produce very diſagreeable effects.

As to the Queen, ſhe continues much indiſpoſed: the St. Anthony's fire [*Periſipele*] which broke out in her leg and thigh, has conſiderably deminiſhed the violence of her fever; but it is believed, on the other hand, that a mortification may follow. She ſleeps little and eats nothing, and ſhe is in ſuch dreadful anxiety, that her mind ſuffers no leſs than her body.

1714. May. The quarrels between the treaſurer and Bolingbroke are greater than ever. It is true, their common friends reconcile them for a day or two, but they quarrel more violently afterwards. The partiſans of both the one and the other give out, that their leader poſſeſſes all the favour and confidence of the Queen; but it is impoſſible to write any thing poſitively on this ſubject, this ſcene at court having lately changed as frequently as the wind. The fact is, that theſe two miniſters exert themſelves very openly, to ruin one another, and as this diviſion among the leaders reigns alſo among their followers, it is very certain, that if the Electoral Prince comes over, both of them will be very ſoon overturned; to which I may add, that at bottom, the treaſurer would not be ſorry that the Electoral Prince were here, although he is obliged to declare and to publiſh the contrary, for fear of loſing entirely the Queen, who cannot hear the prince's journey ſpoke of without putting herſelf in a paſſion, and the more ſo, that ſhe perceives the nation deſires it with ardour.

What I write to you of the real ſentiments of the treaſurer, concerning this affair, comes from his brother the auditor, who told it to general Erle, from whom I had it. The treaſurer has likewiſe commanded ſeveral ſecret negociations with the Whigs, ſince his credit has begun to decline at court; and they have anſwered, that in caſe he will conſent to the coming of the Electoral Prince, and exert himſelf ſeriouſly to ſecure the ſucceſſion, they will not only forget the paſt, but they will endeavour to ſupport him and to maintain him in his authority and in his office.

I imagine, Sir, that it is impoſſible to act in a more diſintereſted manner than the Whigs do; and I am almoſt perſuaded, that the preſence of the Electoral Prince will determine the treaſurer to adopt that plan.

I ſhall expect, with great impatience, to hear from you, and you may write by the uſual conveyance in the cypher which you gave me. I make no uſe of it in this letter, becauſe I ſend it by a lady who will deliver it ſafely. The houſe of commons adjourned till Thurſday. I am, &c."

The letters which Queen Anne wrote to the princeſs Sophia and to the duke of Cambridge, when the writ of ſummons was demanded for him,

him, and a letter which the earl of Oxford wrote to the duke, diſſuading him from coming over, were made public at the time and are in every one's hands. Her Majeſty's letter to the Elector, which was ſuppreſſed at the time, was as follows. 1714. May.

Queen Anne to the Elector of Hannover.

Communicated to the Editor.

Tranſlation.

May $\frac{19}{30}$ 1714.

"AS the rumour increaſes, that my couſin, the Electoral Prince, has reſolved to come over to ſettle, in my life-time, in my dominions, I do not chooſe to delay a moment to write to you about this, and to communicate to you my ſentiments, upon a ſubject of this importance.

I then freely own to you, that I cannot imagine, that a prince who poſſeſſes the knowledge and penetration of your Electoral Highneſs, can ever contribute to ſuch an attempt; and that I believe you are too juſt to allow, that any infringement ſhall be made on my ſovereignty which you would not chooſe ſhould be made on your own. I am firmly perſuaded, that you would not ſuffer the ſmalleſt diminution of your authority: I am no leſs delicate, in that reſpect; and I am determined to oppoſe a project ſo contrary to my royal authority, however fatal the conſequences may be.

Your Electoral Highneſs is too juſt to refuſe to bear me witneſs, that I gave, on all occaſions, proofs of my deſire that your family ſhould ſucceed to my crowns; which I always recommend to my people, as the moſt ſolid ſupport of their religion and their laws. I employ all my attentions, that nothing ſhould efface thoſe impreſſions from the hearts of my ſubjects: but it is not poſſible to derogate from the dignity and prerogatives of the prince who wears the crown, without making a dangerous breach on the rights of the ſucceſſors; therefore, I doubt not, but with your uſual wiſdom, you will prevent the taking ſuch a ſtep; and that you will give me an opportunity of renewing to you, aſſurances of the moſt ſincere friendſhip with which I am, &c."

Intelligence concerning the Pretender, communicated to Baron de Bothmar.

June. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar viii. No. 107.

Tranſlation.

Luneville, June 1, 1714.

"THE Chevalier de St. George was reſolved to continue the uſe of the waters of Plombiere for 10 or 12 days longer; but a report

1714. June. ſpread here, that the Electoral Prince of Hannover had embarked, and as the Chevalier de St. George came back to this place yeſterday, ſome aſcribe this change to that news. Others ſay, that the waters are not proper for his diſorder of his ſtomach and his breaſt, and that this is the reaſon of his ſudden departure. He will return Monday to Bar."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. P. 457.

This extract of a letter from Luneville, and alſo the copy of the following letter is in Schrader's hand.

Tranſlation.

Luneville, June 5, 1714.

"IT is likely that the Chevalier de St. George is preparing for ſome great deſign which is kept very private. It was believed that he would drink the waters of Plombiere for three weeks, as is cuſtomary, and that he would come afterwards, to paſs 15 days at Luneville; but he changed his meaſures: he did not continue to drink the waters, which he drank only for 10 days, and came back to Luneville Saturday laſt. He ſets out to-morrow very early for Bar; lord Galmoy went before him, and ſet out this morning. Lord Talmo, who came lately from France, is with him, and ſome ſay, that the duke of Berwick is incognito in this neighbourhood.

The chevalier appears penſive: that, indeed, is his ordinary humour. Mr. Floyd, who has been theſe five days at the court of his Royal Highneſs, told a miſtreſs he has here, that when he leaves her now, he will take his leave of her, perhaps, for the laſt time. In ſhort, it is certain, that every thing here ſeems ſufficiently to anounce preparations for a journey; it is ſaid likewiſe, in private, that the chevalier has had letters that the Queen is very ill.

I have done every thing I could to diſcover ſomething of his deſigns. I ſupped laſt night with ſeveral of his attendants, thinking to learn ſomething; but they avoid to explain themſelves. They only ſay, that the chevalier did not find himſelf the better of drinking the waters, that he would go now to repoſe himſelf for ſome time, at Bar, until he goes, in the beginning of next month, to the Prince de Vaudemont's, at Commerci, where their Royal Highneſſes will come likewiſe. They ſay, they do not know yet, if they will remain in this country or not; that they will follow the deſtiny of the chevalier; and that it is not known yet what it ſhall be."

Extracts of a letter from Kreyenberg to Bothmar.
The Prince's coming to England.

1714. June. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 448.

London, $\frac{25 \text{ May,}}{5 \text{ June,}}$ 1714.

"YOUR letters leave me in an uncertainty whether the Electoral Prince will come or not. Here they begin to believe the laſt. I made no uſe of the reaſon which you give me, why the Elector has not come to a determination, that is to ſay, the iſſue of the Queen's ſickneſs, as they would ſay, it is only a pretence. The Queen's dangerous ſituation, they would ſay, ought to determine you ſo much the ſooner. In ſhort, I do not know what to ſay to all this, and I don't believe you expect from me that I ſhould foretel what may be the conſequence. We muſt wait a few days to ſee more clearly.

All I can ſay at preſent is, that our friends are much dejected and diſcouraged. Some of them, as Sir Thomas Hanmer and others of his party, intimate, that as this affair has ſpun out ſo long, and as the court has had time to recollect itſelf and concert its meaſures, it would be more proper, in ſuch a ſtate of things, to wait for the next ſeſſion of parliament, and to ſee, in the mean time, what can be done. I own I cannot agree with them in this, and all our other friends likewiſe, as Nottingham, Townſhend, Sunderland, Halifax, &c. continue in their old opinion. But they all in general think, that if the Elector does not chooſe to ſend the Electoral Prince, it would have been proper and will be proper ſtill to declare ſo, in order that the Elector on the one hand, may take advantage of it at this court, and that our friends on the other, may conſider of ſomething elſe, and of the conduct they are to follow, to keep up the ſpirits of their party."

Letters from the Elector to Queen Anne, June 1714.
An anſwer to the Letters her Majeſty wrote when the writ of ſummons was demanded for the Electoral Prince.

Original communicated to the Editor.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Herrenhauſen, June 11, N. S. 1714.

"I Received the letter of the $\frac{1}{10}$ of May, with which your Majeſty was pleaſed to honour me; but having had the misfortune, two days after

1714. June. after receiving it, to loſe the Electreſs, my mother, by a ſudden death, which filled me with affliction, and which I will not fail to notify to your Majeſty, in a manner ſuitable to the reſpect I owe you; I find myſelf obliged by the grief I juſtly feel, to delay, for ſome days, to anſwer the contents of your Majeſty's letter. I entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded of the attention and earneſtneſs which I ſhall always employ to cultivate the honour of your good graces, and of the reſpect with which I am, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

Original communicated to the Editor.

The ſame to the ſame.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Hannover, June 15, 1714.

"I Received the letter with which your Majeſty honoured me, of the 30th of the laſt month; the contents of which both ſurpriſed and gave me uneaſineſs. I had flattered myſelf I had given your Majeſty the moſt convincing proofs of my reſpect for your royal perſon, and of my gratitude for your kindneſs. Your Majeſty cannot be ignorant, that I always relied with the utmoſt confidence upon the wiſdom of your government, without taking the ſmalleſt concern in factions (far from being capable of encouraging them), and that I always wiſhed, your authority and your royal prerogatives might be maintained in all their luſtre; no one after your Majeſty having more intereſt therein than I and my family.

It is ſo eſſential to me to cultivate the honour of your good graces, that it is natural to imagine the preſence of one of the princes of my family in your kingdoms, could never have any other deſign than to confirm a good underſtanding between the two courts, and to render to your Majeſty all poſſible ſervices. If your Majeſty will be ſo good as to take the trouble of looking to the memorial which I ordered to be delivered to Mr. Harley; you will ſee there with what ſincerity I deſire to concert with your Majeſty whatever may be further neceſſary to confirm the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by the laws. I entreat your Majeſty to pay to it the attention which ſuch important intereſts deſerve, and to be perſuaded that nothing ſhall ever be capable of altering the reſpect with which I am, &c."

The

The Electoral Prince to Queen Anne.

The same subject continued.

1714. June. Original communicated to the Editor.

Translation.

MADAM, Hannover, June 15, 1714.

"IT is with great grief I observed, by the letter of the 30th of May, with which your Majesty honoured me, that endeavours have been used to give suspicions of me to your Majesty, and to represent me as capable of exciting troubles and encouraging factions in your kingdoms. As these are designs, of which I would never forgive myself even the very idea, I should ardently wish to be within reach, to be able to undeceive your Majesty, and to be more nearly known to you. I am persuaded, that my conduct would very soon engage your Majesty to do me justice, and to grant me the honour of your good graces, which I shall always court with the utmost earnestness, being, with greatest respect, &c."

Extracts of letters from Galke and Bothmar to Robethon.

New instruments of regency asked in case of the Queen's death.—Bothmar is ordered to go to England.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutzfils 10. p. 459.

Galke to Robethon.

Translation.

London, $\frac{4}{15}$ June, 1714.

"OUR friends desired me to insist, that new instruments of regency should be sent over, without loss of time. That may be of consequence, if the Queen should happen to die in the mean time. New credentials for the resident should be sent over with them. Sir Peter King sent word to me this evening, to wait of him to-morrow morning, that he might give me information about these things."

Bothmar to Robethon.

Translation.

Ibid. vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 108.

Hague, June 16, 1714.

"I Received your letter of the 12th, with a rescript of his Electoral Highness of the same date, by which he acquaints me with his resolution of sending me to England. He does me a great deal of honour, especially as you tell me, he took this resolution of his own accord. I wish I may be able to succeed in that commission according to my own

1714. June. deſires; but I own to you, that I cannot promiſe myſelf much in that reſpect, in the preſent ſtate of things in that country. It will be a troubleſome and vexatious poſt. I ſhall, however, do every thing in my power to conduct myſelf agreeably to the intentions of his Electoral Highneſs. I preſume he will not leave me there long, and that he will preſerve me my poſt here, eſpecially as it is not known what turn affairs may take in that country, or that I can remain there as long as we would chooſe.

I am ſorry that you are to have the earl of Clarendon and his Jacobitiſh ſecretary:

1ſt, Becauſe he is a ſelfiſh and preſumptuous fool, and a fool to ſuch a degree, that being appointed governor by the Queen in the Indies [he was governor of Penſylvania], he thought that it was neceſſary for him, in order to repreſent her Majeſty, to dreſs himſelf as a woman, which he actually did.

2dly, Becauſe the changing lord Paget for this fool Clarendon, having been brought about without lord Oxford's knowledge, ſhows that Bolingbroke has acquired a ſuperiority, as Kreyenberg writes.

Oxford employed Kreyenberg to make me great compliments in return to thoſe which I made to him by his couſin and by Drummond, aſſuring me, that he will cultivate a ſincere and true friendſhip with me, if I chooſe to return it. This is likewiſe a proof to me that he finds himſelf falling. I ſhall make the moſt obliging anſwers to him, and will endeavour to make uſe of him, without giving my confidence to a man ſo double; perhaps we may draw ſome advantage from him, even though the other ſhould turn him out."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 111.

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

In the ſame ſtrain with his former letters, with compliments of condolence on the death of the Electreſs.

Original in the duke's hand and ſigned.

June 18, 1714.

"THO' I would not trouble you with letters when I can tell you nothing that you don't know, I can't ſatisfy myſelf without deſiring that you will do me the favour to preſent my humble duty to his Electoral Highneſſe, and aſſure him, that I ſhall always be very ſory for any thing that is a trouble or a loſs to his family; and that you wou'd

pleaſe to aſure the Electoral Prince and Princeſſe of the ſame: but the age of the Electoreſs being ſo great, it could not be expected that ſhe cou'd continue long. I have been wiſhing ſome time to hear how you part'd with Mr. Harley, and whether there was any hopes of the Electoral Prince going into England, which I find all the conſiderable men of both ſides ſo earneſtly deſired, that they expreſs a great deal of trouble at the diſappoyntment; this is what my correſpondance write, the 29' O. S. of May, and one thing more; which I think is deverting, that Mr. Auditor Harley gives into theſe complaints, and ſay'd, that if the Electoral Prince had immediately follow'd the demanding of the writte, it had, by this time, put an end to the Jacobite miniſters and party; how ſincere this is in my lord Treaſurer brother, I believe you may be able to judg of as well as any body, by what he has written to your court; but this artifice and a great many others of the ſame kind, ſhew, that hee thinks it of uſe to continue deluding people with ſuch tricks, and pretending that he is for the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover, tho' ſince he had the power, he never made one ſtep that was not derectly againſt it. Pray be pleaſed to take an opertunity of acquainting his Electoral Highneſſe, that my beſt frends think my being in England may bee of much more uſe to the ſervice then my continuing abroad, upon which I deſign to return as ſoon as the parliament is up; and being very deſirous of receiving the Elector's commands, I have already written to Monſieur Bothmar to meet me at Mordick, which may eaſily be done without being known to any body. I ſhall not leave this place till the beginning of the next month. I am with much truth and eſteem, Sir,

Your moſt faithfull, &c.

MARLBOROUGH."

1714. June.

Queen Anne to the Elector.

Communicated to the Editor.

Tranſlation.

Brother and Couſin, Kenſington, June 19, 1714.

"MY experience of the earl of Clarendon's capacity determined me to ſend him to your court, in quality of my envoy extraordinary, and I gave him in charge to declare to you the ſentiments of my heart, concerning every thing which regards your intereſts and thoſe of your Electoral family. I am perſuaded that you will ſoon diſcover his lordſhip's merit, and that you will find him in all reſpects well qualified to maintain the friendſhip which I hope will always ſubſiſt between us. Accordingly,

1714. June. ingly, I have nothing to ſay, but to entreat you to open your mind to him, and to receive the aſſurances which he will give you from me, of the ſincerity with which I am, Brother and couſin,

Your affectionate ſiſter and couſin,

ANNE R."

Communicated to the Editor.

Mr. Bromley to the Earl of Clarendon.

My Lord, Whitehall, June 22, 1714.

"THE Queen coveting nothing ſo much, as that you may be able to conciliate a firm and entire friendſhip between her Majeſty and the houſe of Hannover; I am commanded to acquaint your lordſhip, that when you ſpeak to the Elector upon her Majeſty's good diſpoſition, you are to let him underſtand, ſhe hopes it will meet with ſuitable returns.

Your lordſhip will endeavor to ſatisfie the Elector, the Queen has no intention but to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her crowns, as by law eſtabliſhed, in the houſe of Hannover, and is ready to do every thing that may contribute to that end, conſiſtent with the ſafe and quiet poſſeſſion of them during her own time.

Her Majeſty having been very ſincere in the public declarations ſhe has made, and in the aſſurances ſhe has frequently given in favour of this ſucceſſion; ſhe expects from the Elector, he will ſpeak freely on this ſubject; and particularly, if he thinks he has reaſon to ſuſpect deſigns are carrying on to diſappoint it, that he will declare what foundation he has for ſuch ſuſpicion. And your lordſhip will aſſure him, he may depend, that no perſon ſhall be continued in her Majeſty's ſervice, he has reaſonable ground to imagine has other views; and if that can be made appear, her Majeſty will not fail to make examples of ſuch perſons.

Upon your lordſhip's arrival at Hannover, you will learn what reſolution that court has taken about the Electoral Prince (the duke of Cambridge) coming hither, the demanding the writ for his ſetting in parliament having given an expectation it was ſoon intended. Your lordſhip will find ſuch reſolution is either taken or ſuſpended; or a reſolution taken, that he will not come over without her Majeſty's conſent and invitation.

If the reſolution for his coming is taken or ſuſpended, your lordſhip will repreſent to the Elector, the great uneaſineſs his coming hither, at this

time, will give to the Queen; how unſeaſonable it is, and that it may endanger the ſucceſſion itſelf. 1714. June.

It muſt make the Queen uneaſie, as it will be thought to confirm a jealouſie, maliciouſly and induſtriouſly ſpread, of her Majeſty's want of ſincerity and good inclination to the ſucceſſion; and, as it will be underſtood to gratify thoſe who deſire, and there is cauſe to believe, have ſolicited his coming over, in oppoſition to her Majeſty; it is unſeaſonable, becauſe of the diviſions among us, which his preſence at this juncture, will rather foment and increaſe, than compoſe and quiet. And it may endanger the ſucceſſion, as it will certainly cool the zeal of many now well affected to it, who, from their duty and regard for the Queen, will be diſguſted with every thing that ſhall have the appearance of a contemptuous treatment of her Majeſty; and who will apprehend ſuch a ſtep to be a declaration of the faction, and entering into the heats and extravagances of a party, for whom they have ſo ſtrong an averſion, that they dread nothing more, than their returning again into power.

But if the reſolution is taken, that the duke of Cambridge ſhall not come without the Queen's conſent and invitation, your lordſhip will let the Elector know, that this deference and reſpect to her Majeſty will lay ſuch an obligation on her, as will entitle him to all the good effects he can expect from it.

Upon the whole, your lordſhip will obſerve to the Elector, that a good uſe may be made of this accident, of this attempt to bring over the duke of Cambridge, in oppoſition to her Majeſty, ſince the regards he ſhall ſhew to her Majeſty, on this occaſion, muſt neceſſarily create ſuch a friendſhip and good correſpondence between her Majeſty and him, as muſt be very ſerviceable to their mutual intereſts. I am, with all poſſible reſpect, my lord, &c. W. BROMLEY."

Bothmar to Robethon.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10, No. 114.

Tranſlation.

Hague, June 26th, 1714.

"I Received, laſt night, your letter of the 22d, with a reſcript from his Electoral Highneſs concerning the anſwer which Mr. de Duvenvoerde ſhould make to the lord treaſurer, of which I ſhall ſpeak to him to-morrow *.

* There is probably a miſtake in the date of Duvenvoerde's letter, which is inſerted above.

Lord

1714. June. Lord Middleton's journey to Vienna does not pleaſe me. I hope, however, it is not to treat of the Pretender's marriage with an archdutcheſs, which was ſpoke of ſome time ago."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 163. *

Galke to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{18}{29}$ June, 1714.

"I Am aſſured from very good authority, that Bolingbroke having heard that Oxford ſaid of him, that he could prove he was a Jacobite, told one of his friends that he had proofs in his hands to convict the other of being in the intereſts of the Pretender. Shrewſbury, who was in ſuſpence till then, whether he ſhould be of Bolingbroke or Oxford's party, begins to declare for the firſt. Oxford's diſgrace is believed certain, if he does not find means of appeaſing the Queen, before the end of the ſeſſion.

I am juſt now told, that lord Clarendon ſaid this morning, that he was going to Kenſington to take leave of the Queen; and that he would ſet out to-morrow."

Ibid. p. 169.

The ſame to the ſame.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{22 \text{ June,}}{3 \text{ July,}}$ 1714.

THE Elector's friends in England expected impatiently the arrival of baron Bothmar, to change the inſtruments appointing a regency in caſe of the Queen's death.

"They are alarmed here by letters which came from France ſome days ago, and bear that the Pretender continues with the utmoſt diligence to prepare himſelf for ſome expedition; and that it will be againſt Scotland or Ireland; and that he has actually reviewed his troops; and that veſſels are prepared privately in different ports of France. They appear to be ſo much the more alarmed, that men, who enliſted recruits for the Pretender's ſervice, have been arreſted here, and in different places in the country."

Ibid. p. 481.

The ſame to the ſame.

Tranſlation.

London, $\frac{25 \text{ June,}}{6 \text{ July,}}$ 1714.

"WHAT paſſed yeſterday in the two houſes of parliament gave a very ſenſible joy to all thoſe who wiſh well to the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and I doubt not but it will have the ſame effect in Hannover. I

am

am assured from very good authority, that the affair regarding the Queen's proclamation (which is inclosed), and what happened in parliament in consequence of it ‡, was concerted between Oxford and Shrewsbury, of whom the first begins to re-unite with our friends. It was observed yesterday, that those who were of Oxford's party, as Anglesea and Hanmer, joined the Whigs; and that Bolingbroke's party alone were against the resolution which was taken. 1714. June.

Matters begin to be in a situation which gives our friends reason to hope for great advantages to the protestant succession. They flatter themselves especially that they will be in a condition to overturn Bolingbroke. They have concerted two ways for that purpose; the one by the Queen, and the other by the parliament. With regard to the first, it happens that Oxford, Shrewsbury, Dartmouth, Pawlet, and the bishop of London, who are all of the cabinet council, are already gained; and that there remains on the other side but Bolingbroke, Buckingham, Ormond, Harcourt, and Bromley. Besides, the house of peers is to day on the state of the nation, and particularly on the article which regards the treaty with Spain. It is from that quarter they want to attack Bolingbroke, and they flatter themselves that he will fall."

Kreyenberg to Robethon.

Translation.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Schutz fils 8. p. 482.

London, $\frac{25 \text{ June,}}{6 \text{ July,}}$ 1714.

"I Am come from dining at Mr. Thomas Harley's with lord Harley, lord Duplin, the lord treasurer's son-in-law, lord Mansel, and Mr. Edward Harley; the last conversed with me for a long time about the history of the resolution of the house of commons, concerning the 100,000*l.* He made a thousand protestations to me of the good intentions of his brother, and wanted to give me to understand, that I would see yet further proofs of them, before the end of the parliament. I believe now, it is God's will undoubtedly, that we should have the succession. I doubt not but the quarrels of the ministers will be still productive

‡ He means the Queen's proclamation, offering a reward for apprehending the Pretender, and the address of the lords on the 24th of June, O. S. thanking her Majesty for her proclamation, and desiring her to renew her instances for removing the Pretender from Lorrain, and to issue another proclamation against papists and nonjurors, and offering a reward for apprehending those who inlisted men for the Pretender.

of

1714. July. of great things. We ſee now more than ever, how much the miniſtry would be capable of doing, if they were united. I believe, that there is nothing but they would accompliſh otherwiſe in the circumſtances in which we are now.

Lord Oxford told me, the day before yeſterday, as he ſpoke to me of Lord Clarendon's departure, that he knew very well his lordſhip would not ſpeak well of him at Hannover: a certain ſign that it is Bolingbroke who ſent him.

The baron de Bothmar is arrived. He called upon me, but did not find me. I am going to him this moment."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar, 10. No. 120.

There is a letter from Bothmar himſelf to Robethon of this date acquainting him of his arrival. When he came away from Holland, he left in the hands of Klinggraf, who ſeems to have acted as Reſident from the Elector at the Hague, a letter from his Highneſs to the States, demanding their guarantee of the ſucceſſion according to the terms of the Barrier treaty in caſe of the demiſe of the Queen. He paſſed by lord Clarendon in the Thames, and received a great many viſits and compliments that very evening.

Ibid. No. 123.

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

Original in the Duke's hand, but not ſigned.

SIR, Antwerp, July 9th, 1714.

"I Know not by what accedent, but yours of the 22d of the laſt month came to me but the day before yeſterday. Mr. Molineux went from hence laſt Friday, and embarked the next day at Oſtend, with a faire wind for England. My laſt letters were very full of hopes, that ſome thing conſiderable for the proteſtant ſucceſſion may yet be done, before the parliament parts; ſo that I flatter myſelf that the arrival of Monſ. Bothmar may be of great uſe, the parliament being likely to ſet ſometime longer than was expect'd. I ſhall not leave this place till about the end of this month. I followed your directions in acquainting Mr. M. as to the number of the troups. Thay are all well inclin'd, except the two battalions of Orkney. I am ever with truth,

Yours."

Extracts

Extracts of ſeveral letters from Bothmar to Robethon, from his arrival in London in the end of June to the death of the Queen, 1ſt of Auguſt, O. S. 1714.

1714. July. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 124.

The Quarrels of the miniſtry.—The character and conduct of the Earl of Oxford. Of Lord Bolingbroke.—The Duke of Marlborough is expected in England.—Conjectures on the motives of his journey.—Suſpicions of his correſponding with the Pretender.—The Queen's ſickneſs and death.

Bothmar to Robethon.

London, $\frac{29 \text{ June,}}{10 \text{ July,}}$ 1714.

HE had paid ſeveral viſits, and found none of the miniſters at home but the lord treaſurer and Mr. Bromley.—"I am juſt returned from an audience of the Queen. She anſwered me with a very gracious manner. I find her paler than formerly, but in other reſpects ſhe looks well, and ſeems to be in health, excepting that ſhe cannot walk, nor ſtand up.

I was told here, that it is not lord Middleton himſelf, but his ſon, who went to Vienna; and it muſt be certainly for a different purpoſe from travelling, as he conceals himſelf there in a convent."

——$\frac{6}{17}$ July.—Bromley ſpoke to Bothmar of the publication of the Queen's letters to the Electreſs and to the Electoral Prince. It was ſuſpected by ſome that Bothmar publiſhed them, but he convinced them that he did not. Thoſe who were for the Prince's coming over, were angry at the publication of the letters, as it might produce bad effects among the people, who would ſee by it, that the Queen had ſo much averſion from a prince of the ſucceſſion. The miniſtry continued to be on bad terms. Ibid. No. 128.

——$\frac{9}{20}$ July.—"It is true the treaſurer receives me very well; but the queſtion is, if he is ſincere, and if he will ſtill have power to ſerve us. He deceived the Whigs, and perhaps himſelf. It is thought he has patched up matters with Bolingbroke. I ſhall write to you about this by a ſecret addreſs." Ibid.

The letter, which Bothmar promiſed to ſend by a ſecret addreſs, was written in cyphers; the copy of it which follows, is in Robethon's hand.

"It was believed that the examination of the treaty of commerce with Spain, would have given an opportunity of making Bolingbroke fall, if Ibid.

1714. July. the treaſurer, with his friends, had joined thoſe who wanted to overturn his antagoniſts. He had promiſed it by his brother, through whom aſſurances had been given him, that on that condition, they would ſupport him againſt Bolingbroke. But it ſeems they dared not attack the latter directly, ſeeing themſelves uncertain of the treaſurer and of his friends, while Bolingbroke endeavoured to gain Lord Angleſea, Lord Abington, and ſome others to his ſide. At laſt they contented themſelves with attacking only his friend Arthur More; ſo that lord Bolingbroke will maintain himſelf in his poſt, and may be able to turn out the treaſurer by his credit with the Queen. The fall of the treaſurer appears to be very near, according to the opinion of his own friends. Some of thoſe who would have aſſiſted him to bring down his rival, ſay now, according to the maxim which prevails much here, that he does not deſerve to be aſſiſted, as he does not chooſe to aſſiſt himſelf.

The reaſons of his conduct in this ſituation of affairs are perhaps, 1. His own humour, which does not allow him to keep himſelf entirely to one ſide. 2. The hopes of maintaining himſelf ſtill in the Queen's good graces, by the ſame means, by which he introduced himſelf into her favour. 3. The hopes of entering again into favour, by degrees, although he ſhould now loſe his employment, providing he does not declare openly againſt the court party. 4. That he is engaged ſo deeply in certain projects with lord Bolingbroke, that he dares not attack him openly, for fear of being involved in his ruin; probably, all theſe reaſons contribute to influence his conduct.

He ſeems, however, to reckon upon the good graces of the Elector, and to be inclined to pay attention to them, which Bolingbroke thinks incompatible with the ſervice of the Queen; from which one might conclude what are his intentions, although they were not otherwiſe known. We may be ſure he will proceed rapidly, if the direction of affairs falls into his hands. It is ſaid now, that he wants to continue ſecretary of ſtate; but that Bromley will be turned out, and Sir William Wyndham put in his place. That the treaſury will be put in commiſſion. That lord Angleſea will be the firſt commiſſioner of it, and have alone the vice-treaſurerſhip of Ireland, which he ſhared till now with lord Rocheſter; and that Shrewſbury will continue lord lieutenant of Ireland, from whence they would infer that he will abandon the treaſurer to

unite

unite himſelf with Bolingbroke, although others do not believe this on account of the irreconcilable difference in their tempers." 1714. July.

——July $\frac{12}{24}$.—The letter in Bothmar's hand of this date contains nothing material; but the copy in Robethon's hand, of what Bothmar wrote to him in cyphers, contains the following particulars about the quarrel of the miniſtry. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar x. No. 128.

"It is thought that a reconciliation is made by the mediation of their friends; but that Bolingbroke has always moſt credit with the Queen. They ſay, that not only the favourite but the dutcheſs of Somerſet is ſecretly for him, by the perſuaſions of her daughter, who is married to Sir William Wyndham.

Theſe two miniſters have been for a long time on bad terms, from the oppoſition of their tempers and manners. But what gave occaſion to complete their diffidence of one another and their diſunion, is a project which had been formed, of dividing in 16 ſhares the profits which the Queen was to have from the trade to the South-ſea, of which five were deſigned for the treaſurer, five for Bolingbroke, four for lady Maſham, and two for Arthur More. The treaſurer having had his reaſons for refuſing the ſhare deſtined for him, was ſuſpected on that account, and at laſt became odious to the other ſharers. He afterwards furniſhed their enemies with means of diſcovering this myſtery, which gave them occaſion to examine the treaty of commerce without producing the effect which they promiſed themſelves from it, as the treaſurer did not furniſh them with the aſſiſtance they expected from him, and as the prorogation of the parliament put an end too ſoon to the deliberations on that affair.

The Queen's anſwer to the addreſs of the lords, at which they are ſo much offended, is aſcribed to Bolingbroke. Lord Angleſea is particularly offended, having been the author of the addreſs, to which the Queen gave that anſwer, and if her Majeſty had not interrupted the debates by her preſence, matters, according to all appearances, would have been puſhed very far in the animoſity of all the houſe of peers againſt Bolingbroke and againſt her Majeſty's anſwer. His lordſhip, they affirm, will be proſecuted vigorouſly in the next ſeſſion; but as he apprehends this himſelf, it is feared he will bring over the Pretender before that time, to

1714. July. ſave himſelf and to finiſh his grand ſcheme, from which he expects the completion of the fortune which his ambition promiſes him.

They aſcribe to him likewiſe the Queen's ſpeech; others believe it was compoſed by the chancellor Harcourt. It diſpleaſes people here in many paſſages; they are perſuaded that the laſt article reflects on the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and on the intention of having one of our princes in this country."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 128.

——July $\frac{16}{27}$.—Bothmar having mentioned the quarrels of the miniſtry adds: "It is ſurpriſing, that the duke of Marlborough comes over at ſuch a criſis, and does not rather wait until it is ſeen which of the two competitors will carry it with the Queen; lord Sunderland himſelf does not comprehend this. I am told he will be the day after to-morrow at Oſtend, in order to embark there for this country. Cadogan has been for eight or ten days in the country. He is expected back this evening. He ſaid when he went away, that the duke of Marlborough would wait for him at Antwerp. The impetuoſity of the dutcheſs has probably precipitated this journey."

There is a copy in Robethon's hand, of what Bothmar wrote, by this poſt, in cyphers. He ſays the reconciliation of the miniſtry could not be durable. Their quarrels continued, and he found it very difficult to ſpeak with them. His friends diſſuaded him from preſſing them to an alliance with the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia for guaranteeing the ſucceſſion, leſt they ſhould afterwards think that the parliament demanded it of the Queen, at thein ſtigation of the Elector. His friends likewiſe adviſed him not to aſk, at this time, Engliſh titles for the prince of the Electoral family, as that might be delayed without any inconveniency until the next ſeſſion of parliament.

"Lord Halifax," continues Bothmar, "thinks that the Elector ſhould have the title of prince of Wales, and that very little time is neceſſary to prepare the way for that. They are ſurpriſed that the duke of Marlborough is in a hurry to come here at this juncture. If he adheres to his old friends, he will run a riſk with the miniſtry; and if he wants to pleaſe the latter, he will be abandoned by the former, without gaining much upon the court. It is thought that the treaſurer has led him into this ſtep by the means of Cadogan; and that, at length, he will find himſelf ſhifted off, as his old friends were, to whom the treaſurer had promiſed likewiſe

likewiſe by Cadogan, to ſecond them in the affair of the Spaniſh commerce, of which promiſe he acquitted himſelf in the manner I wrote to you by former poſts." 1714. Auguſt. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Bothmar x. No. 128.

——July $\frac{20}{31}$—" I ſee by what you tell me of the King of Sweden, that his return from Turkey will not be ſo ſoon. It ſeems to me, that his miniſter here flatters himſelf with a real aſſiſtance from this court. I don't ſee, however, that things are yet diſpoſed for that. It is ſaid he has hopes from Bolingbroke, and wiſhes the Pretender were here already." *

—— $\frac{23 \text{ July,}}{3 \text{ Auguſt,}}$ —" We are ſtill in expectations here of a change in the miniſtry. There are ſome who believe that if the duke of Ormond reſigns his employments, the duke of Marlborough will have the command of the army; but I think there are many reaſons for believing, that neither the one nor the other will happen. I imagine your Ker of Kerſland will embarraſs you. Send him away ſpeedily with a medal, *Serve well the beſt.*" Ibid. No. 130.

—— $\frac{27 \text{ July,}}{7 \text{ Auguſt,}}$ —" The duke of Marlborough is not arrived yet. It is probable he wants to remain beyond the ſea, until he knows that there is a change in the miniſtry. It is certain that the treaſurer will reſign his employment. I imagine I can write to you this very evening, that he has actually done ſo. It was ſaid to-day, that Mr. Boyle was to be firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and Mr. Bridges one of his colleagues; but that neither of them would accept." Ibid. No. 132.

—— $\frac{30 \text{ July,}}{10 \text{ Auguſt,}}$ —" I am very curious to know if there is any foundation for what I write in my poſtſcript to his Electoral Highneſs, of a good underſtanding between the duke of Marlborough and the Pretender. His Highneſs himſelf can give a great deal of light in this affair, as I am aſſured, that the lord treaſurer ſhowed him, by his couſin, the originals of the letters between the duke and the Pretender. This correſpondence appears to me to be altogether incredible, it being inconſiſtent with all I ever ſaw or heard of the duke. I refer myſelf to what I wrote about it to his Electoral Highneſs, and to Mr. de Bernſdorf, entreating you to inform me in what manner they conſider this affair. I don't recollect it was to you or to his Electoral Highneſs himſelf, that I gave an account of the communication of a letter, by an unknown perſon, to the duke of Ibid.

1714. August. Marlborough, of which I ſpeak in the ſame poſtſcript; perhaps, that the perſon, who wrote to him that letter, has alſo forged an anſwer to it. That letter conſiſts in great reaſoning on the weak ſtate of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and on the advantages which the duke might find in embracing the part of the Pretender without running any riſk.

I imagine they begin to reaſon much in the ſame manner at Vienna, believing that our party is much weaker here, than it is in reality, and that we will weaken it by our indifference, and that on that account, they ought not to offend our competitor, by too much oppoſition to him, who can the more eaſily mount the throne here, that we are indifferent about it. I write that it would be proper to undeceive the court of Vienna of this miſtaken opinion."

"P. S. This inſtant, at half an hour after nine, the duke of Grafton coming from Kenſington, tells me, that all the phyſicians can do to make the Queen throw up two vomits of antimony, produces no effect either up or down, and that they believe ſhe will not live out the night. I have ſo much company in the houſe, that I find it difficult to write to you."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. No. 4. No. 7.

In another letter to Robethon of this date, he acquaints him, that there was a change in the miniſtry, that Oxford and Buckingham had reſigned, and that the Queen was dangerouſly ill.

Ibid. vol. marked Bothmar 10. No. 132.

——$\frac{31 \text{ July,}}{11 \text{ Auguſt,}}$——"I write to you but theſe two lines. You will know every thing by my diſpatches to his Electoral Highneſs, and by Mr. Craggs who brings them to you. The Queen is at the laſt extremity, and, according to all appearances, another expreſs will ſoon follow with the news of her death, and of the proclamation of his Electoral Highneſs. Every thing goes on very well for him here."

Ibid.

——Auguſt $\frac{1}{12}$.——"I ſhall ſend only theſe two lines to you by Mr. Galke. He will tell you, that the Queen died this morning, and that our maſter was proclaimed without any difficulty. I wiſh we may have him ſoon here."

Mr. Secretary Bromley to the Earl of Clarendon.

Communicated to the Editor.

My Lord, Whitehall, July 27, 1714.

"I Have read your lordſhip's letter of the 27th inſtant, N. S. to her Majeſty, who is pleaſed to hear you have reaſon given you to expect you ſhall find the Elector in a good diſpoſition.

Nothing

Nothing certainly can more contribute to their mutual intereſts, than a perfect good underſtanding between her Majeſty and his Electoral Highneſs; and as your lordſhip is a very proper, ſo I hope you will be an happy inſtrument for ſettling the friendſhip upon a firm and laſting foundation. The way to obtain it can never be by ſuch a conduct as her Majeſty has, at this time, too much cauſe to complain of; and which, I am directed particularly to mention to your lordſhip. 1714. Auguſt.

There has been printed here, as your lordſhip will ſee by the incloſed, the letters her Majeſty writ, on the 19th of May laſt, to the late Electoreſs Dowager and to the Electoral Prince. The copies can only have been obtained from Hannover; and, therefore, it is her Majeſty's pleaſure, that you take notice of it to the Elector, and let him know, that ſhe is concerned to meet with ſuch treatment, which ſhe thinks ſhe has not deſerved.

I am directed to acquaint your lordſhip, that the Queen has removed my lord treaſurer, which you are to take notice of to the Elector; and, at the ſame time, to let him know, that this domeſtic incident ſhall make no alteration, with reſpect to public affairs. The Treaſury will be put into commiſſion.

When your audiences are over, your lordſhip will be pleaſed to give me a full account of your reception, that I may lay it before the Queen, who deſires to know all the particulars relating to it. I am glad your lordſhip has had a good journey to Hannover, and hope your ſucceſs there will be very proſperous. I am, with all poſſible reſpect, &c.

W. BROMLEY."

"P. S. Poor lord Weymouth is like to be dead this night."

Extracts of Letters from Bothmar and Kreyenberg to Robethon and Bernſdorff. Auguſt, 1714.

The King was proclaimed.—Affairs in general were favourable to his Majeſty.—Several noblemen recommend themſelves and their friends for offices and employments. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. No. 4. No. 8.

——Auguſt 3d, O. S. BOthmar writes to Robethon, that the face of affairs was now changed: they began to wear a more favourable appearance, and would go on according to their moſt

1714. August. ardent wiſhes, providing the king came over ſoon. His preſence would prevent any diſturbances, even in Scotland, where they were apprehended. He ſent the King a letter from the duke of Shrewſbury, who wanted to be chamberlain, and would reſign his place in the Treaſury and the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, which Bothmar propoſed firſt ſhould be given to the duke of Ormond, when the duke of Marlborough got the command of the army. But he thought afterwards, it would be better to place the duke of Ormond at the head of the prince of Wales's houſehold, as being fitter for a court than for any other employment, and to make Sunderland lord lieutenant, and Stanhope commander in chief in Ireland. Ormond could not ſubſiſt without his penſion. Sunderland ſhewed always, and continued to ſhew more attachment to the King than any other.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcel. d'Etat. No. 1. ——Auguſt 6th, O. S. Bothmar, in a letter to Baron Bernſdorff of this date, mentions Mr. Steel's ſervices to the family of Hannover, and recommends Dr. Hill for the biſhoprick of Ely, the duke of St. Alban's to be captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners, lord Halifax to be firſt lord of the Treaſury, Mr. Boyle and Mr. Walpole to be his colleagues, and lord Orford to be firſt lord of the Admiralty, in the room of lord Strafford, "who knew nothing about the buſineſs. The duke of Marlborough came to town yeſterday, amidſt the acclamations of the people, as if he had gained another battle at Hochſtet. He will be of great ſervice, if the Pretender makes any attempt. He is not pleaſed, that he is not of the regency, and that there is any man but the King higher than him in this country."

Bothmar recommended to allow Shrewſbury to retire, to ſatisfy Marlborough and Sunderland, to provide for Stanhope and Cadogan, and then to think of doing ſomething for lord Somers.

Ibid. No. 9. Kreyenberg wrote to Robethon, in a letter of this date, that the King had been proclaimed very quietly over all England, and that they expected to hear he had been proclaimed in the ſame manner in Scotland and in Ireland: that it was thought the Jacobites would not ſtir, unleſs they were aſſiſted by France; and that the French ambaſſador declared his maſter was determined to obſerve the Treaty of Utrecht.

Ibid. No. 1. Auguſt 10th, O. S. Bothmar, in a letter to Baron Bernſdorff of this date, acquaints him, that things go on very quietly in England. The King

King has been proclaimed very quietly at Edinburgh, and probably will be ſo likewiſe in Ireland, where ſome propoſe to ſend general Stanhope, while others think he will be made more uſeful in the Engliſh parliament. He recommends to deprive lord North and Gray of the government of Portſmouth, and to give it to general Erle, and to make this change before the King's arrival. He hopes the houſe of commons will grant the King for life the ſame civil liſt they gave the Queen, and that the enſuing parliament will augment it on account of the Prince's family. He forwards a letter to the King, from lord Mancheſter, who had been ambaſſador in France and at Venice, and ſecretary of ſtate at home, and now begs only to be made a lord of the King's bed-chamber; a favour which Bothmar recommends to grant to him; but he propoſes that no anſwer ſhould be given to his lady, who wants to be one of the Princeſs's ladies of the bed-chamber. He recommends brigadiers Honnywood and Dormer to be made grooms of the bed-chamber; the laſt having been recommended by the duke of Marlborough. He thinks it will be ſufficient now to give general promiſes to ſuch as aſk favours, and to fulfil them when the King has formed his plan. "He may then turn out in general all the late Queen's court and council." 1714. Auguſt.

He writes to Robethon, of the ſame date, that a great change had happened, by the King's acceſſion to the throne of theſe kingdoms; and that things go on very favourably for his Majeſty. It is reported that they are arming and preparing tranſports in France. This is not probable; but preparations are made to guard againſt it, and 15 ſhips will be ſoon ready. It is ſurpriſing that Mr. Prior ſends no intelligence of theſe things from France, and that he writes in cyphers things which he might very ſafely write plain. Some members of the regency ſuſpect that letters are concealed from them. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. No. 10.

Bothmar to Bernſdorff.

Auguſt 13th, O. S.

THE archbiſhop of York and Sir Thomas Hanmer recommended Dr. Hill to Bothmar for the biſhoprick of Ely; but lord Townſhend told him it would be proper to give it at the recommendation of the good old archbiſhop of Canterbury.—Mr. Cadogan told him, that lord Sunderland wanted to be ſecretary of State: in caſe the King chooſes to gratify him, Bothmar propoſes that Townſhend ſhould be provided in Ibid. No. 1.

1714. August. another place. Lord Wharton and ſeveral other noblemen propoſed to him to recommend colonel Tirel to the King for one of the grooms of his Majeſty's bed-chamber. Biſhop Burnet recommends his own ſon; but Bothmar thinks it would be better to give him ſome employment in the law. Mr. Santyan wants to be a commiſſioner of the cuſtoms in England, and Ridpath deſires to be made one in Scotland.

The prince cannot take the title of Prince of Wales, until the King creates him. The duke of Bolton recommends his brother-in-law, Mr. Crofts, to be a groom of the bed-chamber. Lord Wincheſter's eldeſt ſon aſked the ſame favour for himſelf. He is well made, but irregular in his conduct, and on that account is on bad terms with his father. Lord Hertford, the duke of Somerſet's eldeſt ſon, wants to be a lord of the bed-chamber to the King or to the Prince. Townſhend and other friends recommend lord Lincoln for ſuch a place. Lord recommends himſelf. Bothmar thinks the King ſhould give ſuch a place to lord Dorſet, to recompenſe him for his journey, and make lord Orford firſt lord of the Admiralty, "before lord Strafford applies to be continued; and likewiſe to recal that man ſoon from the Hague; that will pleaſe the Dutch and a great many here. He is not only hated, but likewiſe deſpiſed by his countrymen, as a vain man, who has not the ſmalleſt pretenſions to be ſo."

The duke of Buckingham requeſted, that his dutcheſs might be made lady of the bed-chamber to the princeſs. "She is handſome, and appears to me fit for ſuch a place; but ſhe could not obtain it from the late Queen, although ſhe was her natural ſiſter. I don't know if it was for that reaſon ſhe did not chooſe to have her ſo near her, but preferred rather to give her a penſion." The duke of Grafton, whoſe mother had married the Speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer, deſired likewiſe to be of the King's bed chamber. Bothmar gives him a high character, and recommends him.

The

The preſent ſtate of the Peerage of England, in relation to the ſucceſſion after the Queen's death, recommended by a club of gentlemen converſant in both parties †. 1713. Auguſt.

For the Family of Hannover.

Duke of Somerſet,
Devonſhire,
* Ormond,
Grafton,
St. Albans,
* Shrewſbury,
Bolton,
Bedford,
* Newcaſtle,
Schomberg,
Earl of Carliſle,
Derby,
Huntington,
Suffolk,
Dorſet,
Bridgewater,
Leiceſter,
Mancheſter,
Rivers,
Peterborough,
Stamford,
Kingſton,
Sunderland,
Eſſex,
Burlington,
Shafteſbury,
Suſſex,
Radnor,
Berkley,
Portland,
Montague,
Holderneſs,
Torrington,
Scarborough,
Bradford,
Romney,
Oxford,
Pembroke,
Coventry,
Lord Townſhend,
Abergaveny,
Ferrers,
Fitzwater,
Wharton,
Paget,
Grey,
Lovelace,
Pawlet,
Maynard,
Mohun,
Ragby,
Byron,
Colpepper,
Lucas,
Rockingham,
Barclay,
Cornwallis,
Aſelſtein,
Aſhburnham,
Somers,
Halifax,
Leimpſter,
* Haverſham,
Chirbury,
Barnard,
Hervey.

Uncertain.

Duke of Northumberland,
* Leeds,
Earl of Jerſey,
Sandwich,
* Winchelſea,
Warrington,
Lord Longueville,
De-la-war,
Brook,
* Guilford.

For the St. Germains Family.

Duke of Buckingham,
Richmond,
Earl of Lindſey,
Exeter,
Northampton,
Denbigh,
Thanet,
Cheſterfield,
Scarſdale,
Clarendon,
Ayleſbury,
Angleſea,
Lichfield,
Yarmouth,
Rocheſter,
Nottingham,
Abington,
Plymouth,
Derwentwater, papiſt,
Lord Montacute, papiſt,
Falconbridge, papiſt,
Weymouth,
Hatton,
Chandois,
Petre, papiſt,
Arundel, papiſt,
Longdale, papiſt,
Weddrington, papiſt,
Eſkrig,
Dartmouth,
Grenville,
Guernſey,
Dover, papiſt.

† This account ſeems to have been ſent to Hannover ſeveral years before the ſucceſſion of George the Firſt to the throne. Thoſe marked thus * on the ſide of the family of Hannover, were ſecretly in the intereſt of the Pretender. Thoſe that are marked doubtful ſeem to have been moſt inclined to Jacobitiſm, though neither they nor many of the reſt would run any riſk for either of the rivals for the crown.

1714. Auguſt. Communicated to the Editor.

Mr. Prior to Lord Bolingbroke.

My Lord, Paris, Auguſt 17th, N. S. 1714.

"WE remain ſtill in the ſad incertitude, or rather mortal apprehenſions of what has happened; nor expreſs nor news having arrived here, ſince laſt I writ to your lordſhip. This court, and the King particularly, ſeem under very ſenſible concern, in this melancholy conjuncture. Upon the beſt inquiry, I cannot find that any thing is acting for the Pretender. An expreſs is gone to Lorrain from his mother, to acquaint him with the preſent caſe of the Queen of Great Britain, as ſignified by D'Herville's expreſs to this court*.

At the diſtance I am from you, and the light in which I ſee matters from hence, you will eaſily judge, my Lord, how much I am aſtoniſhed at what has paſſed within theſe three weeks at London. What may paſs there, in three weeks more, God above only knows. It is in ſuch extraordinary conjunctures, that one either requires or needs one's friends. Whilſt you continue to act, as you have hitherto done, for the ſafety and honour of your country, I will abandon you and life at the ſame time. Adieu, my Lord. God bleſs you. Send me your inſtructions, and believe that I will always execute them with zeal and truth; and that I am ever and inviolably, my lord, &c.

M. PRIOR."

Extracts of letters from Schrader and Klingraff to Robethon. Auguſt, 1714.

The Sentiments of the Dutch on his Majeſty's acceſſion.

Schrader to Robethon.

Hague, 16 and 18 Auguſt.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell d'Etat. No. 13.

"THE States are overjoyed at his Majeſty's acceſſion, and are preparing a fleet to eſcort him. The Penſionary and his friends cannot conceal their joy. Nordwyk and his adherents weep, and endeavour now to perſuade the world that they were always for the ſucceſſion.

* The two laſt ſentences in this paragraph are in cypher.

Klingraff

Klingraff to Robethon.

1714. Auguſt. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. No. 14.

Hague, 16 and 18 Auguſt.

"HE congratulates him upon their maſter's acceſſion, and acquaints him, that at the Penſionary's deſire, he had delivered his Majeſty's letter, and a memorial to the States, containing a requiſition of their guarantee of the ſucceſſion, which they granted very chearfully. Lord Strafford has received no notice of the Queen's death as yet. He is extremely mortified, but no one pities him. They all wiſh, in this place, that he may be recalled, and that lord Townſhend may come back again."

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Craggs to Robethon.

His opinion of the Tories.—Recommends a change in offices.

Ibid. No. 30.

Tranſlation.

London, Auguſt 17th, 1714.

"I EaſIly obſerve here, that thoſe who are called the Tory-party have very good intelligence from your court, and that you recommend ſtrongly a proper conduct to them. Three months ago they treated us as ſeditious on account of the zeal we ſhewed for the ſucceſſion, at a time when we believed it to be in danger: ſince they ſee it confirmed, they diſpute to be for us. However, they had the indiſcretion to ſhew themſelves Saturday laſt, more than they intended, by their oppoſition to the act for putting a price on the head of the Pretender. I can aſſure your Excellency I do not ſay ſo from a ſpirit of party. I ſhall be the firſt to rejoice to ſee that the King may ſucceed in annihilating parties, and in employing, without diſtinction, thoſe who are the beſt affected and the moſt capable. But I own I diſtruſt ſuch a ſudden change, and cannot help remarking to you, that a great change in offices is neceſſary, in order to be able to ſay, that you are not governed by a party: for as they are now given, they are in the hands of the moſt violent of a party, of whom the moſt moderate had left them.

I aſk your Excellency's pardon for the liberty I take. If what I have the honour to write to you does not appear to you to be reaſonable, you will have only the trouble of reading it. I own, that after what I obſerved at Hannover with what I ſee here, I am perſuaded the miniſter who attends you, directs the conduct which I ſee a certain ſet of men follow, and which, though

1714 August. though it appears ridiculous to thoſe who ſaw them behave in ſuch a different manner, ſo ſhort a time before, may deceive for ſome time thoſe who did not ſee that."

Mr. Craggs adds, that Lord Orford did not think it was for his Majeſty's intereſt to publiſh his patent.

Communicated to the Editor.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Secretary Bromley.

Hannover, Auguſt 17th, N. S. 1714.

HE acknowledges the receipt of his letter of the 31ſt July, O. S. with the news of the Queen's death. It was the firſt, he tells him, of his letters "that was not welcome; as the news it contained was the only misfortune he had to fear in this world. It would have had its full effect upon him," he ſaid, "if God had not bleſt him with conſtancy enough to conſider, that not being there upon his own account, he was not his own maſter; and muſt, till he is diſcharged, make his own misfortunes yield to the ſervice of his country. He owns it a very hard taſk, upon this occaſion; and therefore hopes, if he fails in any part of his duty, that allowance will be made; ſince it is certain it ſhall not be wilfully."

Communicated to the Editor.

The Earl of Strafford to Monſieur Robethon.

Hague, Auguſt 10th, 1714.

"AFTER ſo great a loſs," he tells him, "as he has had, by the death of the Queen, nothing could comfort him like the honour of the King's gracious letter; and he hopes he may repay the loſs he has of the Queen, as ſhe did that he had of his late maſter King William." He has the happineſs, in the midſt of his grief, that they both died content with his faithfulneſs and ſervices. He offers his ſervice to the Prince and Princeſs by that miniſter; and deſires him to tell them that he ſhould be proud to be honoured with commands of either.

Communicated to the Editor.

The ſame to the Earl of Clarendon.

Hague, Auguſt 23d, 1714.

HE ſends a letter to the King, to let him know both France and Spain are ready to acknowledge him; and that his Majeſty will find thoſe who

who made the peace not ſo much his enemies as ſome would make him believe. 1714. Auguſt.

Lord Marlborough's triumph ſhews what he drives at, and he vies in popularity with the King.

Schrader to Robethon.

Hague, Auguſt 21ſt.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. No. 13.

THE Marquis de Torcy aſked Buys, the Dutch ambaſſador at Paris, if his maſters intended to interfere in the ſucceſſion, and ſaid they had better not. The French Ambaſſador at the Hague did not congratulate lord Strafford. "He," Strafford, "is become as ſmooth as a glove; he careſſes me now: he ſhewed me immediately the letter which his Majeſty wrote him: he entreated me to write that he offers his houſe to the King. I am perſuaded it will be agreeable neither to the States nor to the people, that his Majeſty ſhould lodge with him, as they do not judge him worthy of the honour of receiving ſo great a Monarch."

There are ſeveral letters written by Schrader and Klingraff to Robethon in the courſe of this and the following month, mentioning ſeveral particulars about the King's journey; the manner in which the Dutch were to receive him; the preparations made to lodge him at Baron Bothmar's at the Hague; and the arrival of the Engliſh fleet to convey him.

The earl of Stair wrote a letter to Robethon, dated from London the 24th of this month, thanking him for having deſigned him for the command of the troops in Scotland.

Ibid. vol. marked Stair. No. 1.

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

Original. Ibid. vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. No. 4, 31.

SIR, Auguſt 24th, 1714.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the honour of your letter of the 26th, and I aſſure you I ſhall always deſire the ſtricteſt friendſhip and correſpondence with you, who have been ſo uſeful and ſerviceable to our maſter, and who have ſuch juſt and true notions of our affairs. 'Tis a great pleaſure to me to hear Monſieur Bernſdorff will attend the King. His credit with the King, his prudence and great abilities will be of ſingular advantage to the nation. I beg you will preſent my moſt humble

1714. Auguſt. ſervice to him, and aſſure him of all the reſpect I can pay him; and if I can give him any light into the nature of our affairs, or the characters of men, that may be uſeful to his Majeſty, I ſhall be very free to communicate them to ſo faithful a miniſter. I was mightily pleaſed with the King's letter to the lords juſtices; it was ſo clearly and ſo judiciouſly writ as gave univerſal ſatisfaction. I wiſh, while the King is at the Hague, he would concert meaſures with the States to ſecure the navigation of the Baltic. We find the reputation and intereſt of England loſt and ſacrificed in all parts of the world; the Spaniards, the Algerines, and ſeveral other nations inſult us in the Streights; the Danes and Swedes in the North; and if Providence had not, in this juncture, called the King to the throne, our trade had been every where deſtroyed: if, therefore, his Majeſty can retrieve our ſinking commerce, he will gain the hearts of all his people. The Dutch were quite wearied out with the double-dealing and tricks of this court about their barrier: if the King, by his good offices, could adjuſt that between the Emperor and the States, it would be a great glory and happineſs to his Majeſty; they being the moſt uſeful allies, both to the King and theſe nations. I did not doubt that the King would approve what we had done to put a ſtop to the league which was framing againſt the Emperor in Italy; and I thought nothing could be more agreeable to the King than the making a ſtrict union between him and the court of Vienna. The affair of Portugal is fully ſet out in our letter to his Majeſty; and I will trouble you no further, but to aſſure you that I am your moſt, &c.

HALIFAX."

Extracts of letters from Kreyenberg and Bothmar to Robethon, and from Robethon to Baron Gortz. Auguſt 1714.

Kreyenberg to Robethon.

London, Auguſt, 27th, 1714.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell d'Etat. No. 2.

"THE parliament being diſſolved, the King will not be troubled with it on his arrival, and will have time to take his meaſures before he calls another." Kreyenberg perceived clearly, that it depended entirely on the King to regulate the civil liſt as he choſe. Gaultier, who was the Pretender's agent, and in whom the Jacobites placed more confidence than in Iberville, was recalled.

Bothmar

Bothmar writes to Robethon, in a letter of the ſame date, that he will take care that the King's trunks, about which Robethon appeared to be very anxious, ſhall not be examined by the officers of the cuſtom-houſe; that people in general will be ſurpriſed to ſee lady Briſtol among the Princeſs's attendants; a lady who made her huſband's fortune by her influence with lord Bolingbroke: and that Baron Bernſdorff might lodge at St. James's, but Baron Gortz and others muſt have furniſhed houſes in the neighbourhood. 1714. Auguſt. Hannover Papers, vol. marked M cell. d Etat. No. 3.

Bothmar to Baron Gortz. Ibid. No. 42.

London, Auguſt 27th, 1714.

"I Entreat you not to think of putting the expence of your tables, or any other expence for the court which you bring along with you, upon the civil liſt here: that would be directly contrary to the laws which exclude ſtrangers from offices and emoluments in this country. Such a pretenſion would exaſperate; and ſo far from giving any room to hope for a mitigation of that law hereafter, would ſuggeſt to them to make it ſtill more ſevere, when they ſaw that we pretended to elude it, as France eludes treaties.

If the King pays out of his finances at Hannover all the court which he brings from thence, it will be of infinite advantage to him, in gaining the opinions and affections of the nation. It will ſhow his diſintereſtedneſs, his generoſity, his rectitude, and regularity in every thing. The very propoſal of charging that expence upon the civil liſt, would not only deprive him of that advantage, and give a quite oppoſite idea of him, but would likewiſe create great difficulties with the enſuing parliament about the augmentation of the civil liſt, which, without ſuch an unſeaſonable propoſal, there is room to hope for, as alſo for a mitigation of the law I have juſt now mentioned.

Beſides this, we may depend upon it, that this pretenſion of maintaining our Hannoverian court in this country, at the expence of England, would not be admitted; and, inſtead of aſcribing them to the King's generoſity, that he is at that expence out of his Electoral revenues, they would aſcribe it entirely to the refuſal he met with here. As you yourſelf anſwer the arguments drawn from the cuſtoms of the court of France, I have nothing further to ſay to you about them. You will eaſily conceive,

1714. August. that you would not be welcome to the Engliſh, with the offer of a French example for their imitation. I flatter myſelf you will find my reaſonings ſo ſolid, that this propoſal ſhall never be mentioned again.

Bothmar to Robethon.

August 31.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. No. 3. BOthmar delivered to the regency the King's meſſage about Bolingbroke: he wiſhes his place may be given to lord Townſend, though Sunderland aſks it. "Lord Bolingbroke makes up Mr. Prior's diſpatch, which may very well happen to be the laſt. He ſaid formerly, that he would never ſerve the Elector: he did not believe then, that the time would ever be when he would be taken at his word." Bothmar incloſed a letter from lord Mar, and another from lord Bolingbroke, to the King. Bolingbroke wrote about his diſmiſſion, for the regency had deprived him of the ſeals. He deſired to ſpeak to Bothmar the next day, and probably on the ſame ſubject.

Ibid. Sept. 3d.—Bolingbroke had been with Bothmar. He attributed his diſgrace to the inſinuations of Oxford, whom he ſuſpects of having miſrepreſented him to the King. Oxford endeavours to perſuade the world that, by his influence with his Majeſty, Bolingbroke was turned out, in order to create a belief that he will have ſtill the giving away of employments. He hates lord Nottingham, and to prevent his being preſident of the council, he adviſes the duke of Devonſhire to apply for that place, in order thereby to keep lord Powlet in his office of lord Steward of the houſehold; and what is ſtill more entertaining, he ſays that, unleſs this plan is adopted, he will be obliged to make Powlet preſident of the council.

The Britiſh envoys and reſidents at foreign courts, wrote ſeveral letters to Robethon, during the courſe of this and of the preceding month.

Ibid. No. 19. Mr. Jeffries, from Adrianople, ſends intelligence of the King of Sweden's behaviour at Bender, and of his reſentment againſt the treaty between

Ibid. No. 21. Hannover and Denmark. Mr. Whiteworth, from Francfort, congratulates his Majeſty on his acceſſion, and aſks his commands at the diet of

Ibid p. 17. the Empire. Mr. Pultney writes from Copenhagen, that upon receiving ſecretary Bromley's orders, he had notified the Queen's death to the

Ibid. No. 25. King of Denmark, and profeſſes the ſtrongeſt attachment to his Majeſty. Mr. Prior writes from Paris, that he had made the King's compliments

to

to the duke of Orleans; and that he, and the whole French nation, rejoiced at his Majeſty's acceſſion; and he himſelf profeſſes great attachment to him. There are four letters, during theſe two months, from lord Strafford, with inſignificant attempts to keep up the credit, which he found he was loſing daily. The earl of Albemarle wrote three letters, during the ſame period, about the King's journey from Hannover to Holland. 1714. Auguſt.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. No. 18.

Lord Bolingbroke to the Biſhop of Rocheſter.

Communicated to the Editor.

My Lord, 1714.

"TO be removed, was neither matter of ſurpriſe nor of concern to me. But the manner of my removal ſhocked me for at leaſt two minutes.

It is not fit that I ſhould be in town without waiting on the King when he arrives; and it is leſs proper that I ſhould wait on him, after what has paſſed, till by my friends, ſome *eclairciſſement* has been had with him. I have writ to the King, and I have ſpoke with Monſieur Bothmar; and both, I hope, in a way becoming me. On Sunday morning I go home, from whence I ſhall return, as I receive advices from hence.

The ſatisfaction and the advantage of converſing with your lordſhip are ſo great, that I ſhall certainly make uſe of the opportunity of ſeeing you, which you are ſo kind as to afford me. About eight to-morrow, in the evening, I will not fail to be at the Deanry.

I cannot conclude this letter without aſſuring you, that I am not in the leaſt intimidated from any conſideration of the Whig malice and power. But the grief of my ſoul is this, I ſee plainly that the Tory party is gone. Thoſe who broke from us formerly, continue ſtill to act and ſpeak on the ſame principles, and with the ſame paſſions. Numbers are ſtill left, and thoſe numbers will be increaſed by ſuch as have not their expectations anſwered. But where are the men of buſineſs, that will live and draw together? You my lord, know my thoughts, as well as you know your own. Nothing ſhall tempt or fright me from the purſuit of what I know is right for the church and nation. But the meaſures of the purſuit muſt, I fear be altered. Till to-morrow, my lord, adieu. I am now, then, and ever, your moſt faithful obliged ſervant,

BOLINGBROKE."

1714. September. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 4. No. 32.

Mr. Addiſon to Monſ. de Robethon.

Original.

SIR, St. James's, Sept. 4, 1714.

"I HAVE been obliged to ſo cloſe an attendance on the lords juſtices, and have had ſo very little time at my own diſpoſal, during my abſence from their Excellencies, that I could not do myſelf the honour, before now, to aſſure you of my reſpects, and to beg the continuance of that friendſhip which you formerly honoured me with at Hannover. I cannot but extremely rejoice at the occaſion which will give me an opportunity of waiting on you in England, where you will find a whole nation in the higheſt joy, and thoroughly ſenſible of the great bleſſings which they promiſe themſelves from his Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne. I take the liberty to ſend you incloſed a poem written on this occaſion, by one of our moſt eminent hands, which is indeed a maſter-piece in its kind; and though very ſhort, has touched upon all the topics that are moſt popular among us. I have likewiſe tranſmitted to you a copy of the preamble to the prince of Wales's patent, which is a very grateful taſk impoſed on me by the lords juſtices. Their Excellencies have ordered that the lords and others who meet his Majeſty be out of mourning that day, as alſo their coaches; but all ſervants, except thoſe of the city magiſtrates to be in mourning. The ſhortneſs of the time, which would not be ſufficient for the making of new liveries, occaſioned this laſt order. The removal of the lord Bolingbroke has put a ſeaſonable check to an intereſt that was making in many places for members in the next parliament, and was very much reliſhed by the people, who aſcribed to him in a great meaſure the decay of trade and public credit. You will do me a very great honour, if you can find terms ſubmiſſive enough to make the humble offers of my duty acceptable to his Majeſty. May God Almighty preſerve his perſon, and continue him for many years the bleſſing of theſe kingdoms!

I am, with great eſteem and reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

J. ADDISON."

Extracts

Extracts of ſeveral letters to Robethon.

1714. September. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcel. d'Etat. No. 6.

Bothmar to Robethon.

London, Sept. 7, 1714.

HE propoſes a change of miniſtry. Marlborough and Orford to be put at the head of the military departments. The lord chancellor Harcourt to be diſmiſſed. Lord Stair to be employed in Scotland. The duke of Argyle would chooſe to go.

——Sept. 10.—The duke of Shrewſbury feigns to be ſick. Bothmar will explain the reaſons to Robethon when they meet. Ibid.

——Sept. 11.—The King is arrived at the Hague. Bothmar alarmed the regency, by telling them that, perhaps, the King might land at Harwich, which would diſconcert their plans, and diſappoint the people, who had aſſembled to receive his Majeſty at Greenwich. He deſires Robethon to ſoften the expreſſions in their letter to the King, when he tranſlates it. Ibid.

It appears from theſe letters, and from a letter written by Cadogan to Robethon of the laſt date, that a commiſſion was early ſent over to the duke of Marlborough, appointing him commander in chief of the forces; but that it was left in Bothmar's hands, and not to be opened before his Majeſty's arrival, but in caſe of neceſſity. Mr. Craggs writes to him, of the ſame date, that it was not his fault that the patent was not given to the duke of Marlborough; for he found, when he arrived from Hanover, that Bernſdorff, in the P. S. of a letter to Bothmar, had forbidden him to give it, but in caſe of neceſſity. Ibid. No. 26. Ibid. No. 28.

Mr. Addiſon to Robethon.

Original. Ibid. No. 27.

SIR, St. James's, Sept. 11, 1714.

"THough I am not without hopes of ſeeing you in England, before this letter comes to your hands, I cannot defer returning you my thanks for the honour of yours of the 17th, N. S. which I received this morning. I beg leave to ſend you the encloſed ceremonial for the King's entry, publiſhed by the earl of Suffolk, deputy earl Mariſhal, and regulated by the lords juſtices and privy council. The attorney general is preparing a proclamation, reciting the rewards ſet on the Pretender by

1714. September. the late Queen and parliament, with the ſecurity for the payment, as eſtabliſhed by a clauſe of an act paſſed ſince his Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne. As ſuch a proclamation is very requiſite, ſo, perhaps, it may come with a good grace from the regents, before his Majeſty's arrival. It will, I believe, be fixed up in all the market towns, eſpecially among the Highlands in Scotland, where there have been ſome meetings; but, by the care of the regents, of no conſequence.

I am, with great eſteem and reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

J. ADDISON."

"This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Greenwood, who will acquaint you how highly ſenſible I am of the honour of your friendſhip."

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. Nov. 34, 37, and 39. Ibid. No. 46, 47, 50, 51.

The correſpondence, during the remaining part of this year, regards principally the affairs of the continent, and the princeſs of Wales's journey to England. Mr. Jeffries's letters to Robethon, ſecretary Bromley, and lord Townſhend, from Adrianople, Vienna, and Stralſund, contain an account of the King of Sweden's negociations at the Porte, and his return to his own dominions. He travelled, in a fortnight's time, upwards of 200 German miles, and arrived in Stralſund before his ſubjects could hear of his departure. His legs were ſwelled ſo much, that the ſurgeons were obliged to cut his boots. Jeffries notified to him his Majeſty's acceſſion, which he received in a very gracious manner.

Ibid. No. 33, 40, and 43.

There are ſeveral letters from Schleinizt, the Ruſſian reſident at the Hague, to Bernſdorff and Robethon, about the King of Sweden's return, and the affairs of the north, and the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel's intrigues with France in favour of Sweden. Schleinizt complied with Bernſdorff's deſire in propoſing to baron Heems, the Imperial envoy at the Hague, that the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the States General, ſhould declare to the King of Sweden upon his return, that they were reſolved to keep the peace of the North.

Ibid. No. 41, 45, 48, 52, and 56.

Duvenvoerde wrote ſeveral letters to Robethon, before the end of this year. He gives a very high character, in one of them, of the princeſs of

Wales, the late Queen Caroline. Strafford, Albemarle, and Nortwyke oppoſed his going as ambaſſador to England. Strafford was deteſted at the Hague: he abſented himſelf, and no body knew where he went. He came back, after an abſence of fifteen days. Duvenvoerde was at laſt appointed ambaſſador from the States to England, and he propoſed to ſet out on his embaſſy in the beginning of January, 1715. He gives a tedious account, in theſe letters, of the negociations about the barrier and the fort of Mardyke. 1714. September.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

THE Editor has thought proper to annex to this volume an Appendix, containing a ſhort review of ſuch papers, in Nairne's collection, as were not deemed ſufficiently important to be inſerted. He has alſo ſubjoined ſome account of papers collected by Carte, relating to the affairs of this kingdom before the Reſtoration, in the year 1660. There are many letters, correſpondences, memorials, and anecdotes concerning the reign of George the Firſt, ſtill in the Editor's hands. Theſe he deſigned to have printed; but he finds that this volume has already ſwelled to a ſize that precludes him, at preſent, from executing his purpoſe. They ſhall, however, be ſoon given to the public. In this Appendix the order of time is not obſerved, as in the preceding collection. The papers omitted are marked as the volumes preſented themſelves to the Editor's hands.

Life of James II. *Written by himſelf.*

KING James the Second was born, on the fourteenth of October, 1633, about twelve at night. He went out of London, with his father, the Queen, and the princeſs Mary, to Dover. He was ſent back to St. James's; prince Charles only going to York. About Eaſter, the marquis of Hertford was ordered to bring the duke to him. The marquis had received an order from the parliament not to carry the duke of York out of town; yet he did. He went with the Palſgrave, and other lords and gentlemen, to Hull; the King intending to follow the next day. Sir L. Dyves came, the next day before dinner, and told the governor, that the King would dine with him. They were on a platform, by the water-ſide. The governor turned pale. He deſired the duke and company to retire to their lodgings. The gates were ſhut and the garriſon put in arms. The King came; and, ſeeing the gates ſhut, aſked to ſpeak with the governor, who excuſed himſelf from letting him enter, as truſted by the parliament. The King gave reaſons, in vain. The governor had received advertiſement from York, from William Murray *, one of the King's bed-chamber, as a friend, adviſing him not to let in the King; who was reſolved, if maſter of the town, to ſecure him and cut off his head. Nothing was more falſe, yet it had effect on Hotham. Bundle of looſe papers.

The King then deſired, that his ſon and the reſt might come out to him. They were, accordingly, ſent out, one after another. He then went back to Beverly

* He was, afterwards, created earl of Dyſert.

and York. In Hull, there was a magazine of arms and ammunition, for above twenty thouſand men, and a train ſuitable. The King could not arm a hundred men. Had he not ſent Sir L. Dyves before, he might, perhaps, have been admitted, and would then be maſter of the town, which was affectionate to him; and the gentry attending were too numerous for Hotham to reſiſt. The ſoldiers of the garriſon all threw down their arms, being called upon, by ſome of the King's train without, to do ſo; nor did they take them up again, till their officers, with their ſwords in hand, forced them. Some vigorous, bold men, that went with the duke of York, ſhould have been truſted with the deſign, with an order on the reſt to obey the duke. For it was in their power, ſeveral times after Hotham ordered the gates to be ſhut, to have ſecured him, or knocked him on the head: Either would have done the work. Hotham came into the duke's room without any officer with him, where he had before confined the duke; yet none ſeized the opportunity. Sir L. Dyves and William Murray, groom of the duke of York's bed-chamber, were the only ones for ſuch a ſtep; and were reſolved to kill him. But they were confined, before they could do it, and a guard put upon them; yet they were let out with the reſt.

The King wanted money and arms. The Queen ſent captain J. Strahan, with arms and ammunition and officers in the Providence, from Holland; elſe, the King could not have formed an army. Captain Strahan brought them into the Humber, where leaſt expected; ſo run a-ground at a place appointed. He went from Brill to the Humber. The ſignal was not anſwered. He was forced to anchor, when the tide was ſpent. The parliament ſhip of fifty-four guns came down from Hull and anchored, with another from Grimſby, near him. They ordered him aboard. But, commanding one of the King's ſhips, he refuſed. He waited till afloat, and then ſtood towards Hull, till near high-water. He paſſed over a ſand, then but twelve feet water; and, when paſt it, ran a-ground. The parliament's ſhips drawing more water, were not able to follow. The Providence drew but eleven feet and a half water. He got into the other channel, by bearing up with all his ſails. The parliament's ſhips, trying to follow, ſtuck faſt. Strahan landed at Powle, ſome miles below Hull, on the ſame ſide of the Humber; and ran his ſhips aſhore; ſo that it ſerved for a battery to defend itſelf, whilſt the arms were landed, and the ſeamen and officers were intrenched; ſo that Hull garriſon durſt not attack them. A convoy was ſent from York. The King would not let the ſhip be burnt, after the guns were taken out and carried to York. The ſeamen were made gunners.

1642. Oct 23. Eſſex's men were poſted in the vale near Keynton. The King marched down the hill to fight them. Ruthen, who had ſerved as major general under the King of Sweden, and the earl of Brentford, being ordered to draw up the army, Lindſay took

took it ill, and ſaid he would ſerve as colonel; and put himſelf at the head of his regiment of foot poſted againſt Eſſex. The King's army was above four thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot. The rebels were three thouſand ſtronger in foot; but had not many more horſe, and few cannon. It was three *p. m.* before the King's army were embattled; when they marched ſlowly, but with great reſolution; receiving the rebels ſhot, till they came to puſh of the pike. Both ſides retiring, as if by mutual conſent, back a few paces, ſtruck down their colours and ſtood firm, till both drew off, when it began to grow dark. The enemy's left wing fled, as ſoon as charged. They were purſued, without falling on the foot. The enemy's foot made the King's retire to their cannon; which, playing with ſucceſs, ſtopt them. Prince Rupert could not ſtop his horſe from purſuing, or make them charge the foot. Lord Willoughby's gallant behaviour over his father's * body, who lay with his thigh broke by a muſket-ſhot, and carried him to be dreſſed. But he was taken, by ſome ſtraggling horſe, who came in the way. Sir Edmund Verney was killed and his ſtandard taken. But it was recovered, by the means of Sir James Smith. Both armies retired to their former poſts; and the King ſent, early next morning, five hundred horſe, which brought off his own cannon, and ſix of the enemy's. Sir Faithful Forteſcue had given notice of his intention, ſome days before. There were not full one thouſand, on both ſides, ſlain; as the parſon, who buried and counted them, ſaid. Lord Aubigny and lieutenant-colonel Monro were among the number. The earl of Lindſey died of his wounds at Warwick. About ſixty ſtandards were taken from the rebels. The King marched to Edgert and Banbury, taking the caſtle; and ſo to Oxford. But it was of fatal conſequence, that he did not march to London; which, in the fright, would not have coſt him a ſtroke.

Ruthen, the day after the battle, deſired the King to ſend him, with moſt of the horſe and three thouſand foot to London, where he would get before Eſſex, ſeize Weſtminſter, drive away the rebel part of the parliament, and maintain it, till the King came up with the reſt of the army. But this was oppoſed, by the advice of many of the council. They were afraid that the King ſhould return by conqueſt; and ſaid ſo openly. They perſuaded the King to advance ſo ſlowly to London, that Eſſex got there before him; and the parliament, ready before to fly, took heart. All the King's old foot were loſt in the ſiege of Glouceſter and battle of Newbury.

* The earl of Lindſey, who died, ſoon after, of his wounds at Warwick. He was an officer of experience. He ſerved with great reputation under Maurice and Henry, princes of Orange.

1648. April 20. The duke of York might have eſcaped from Oxford, if Sir George Ratcliff, his governor, would have ſuffered it, without a poſitive order from the King. He was carried to London, where the duke of Glouceſter and the princeſs Elizabeth had been left, when the King went to the North. The earl of Northumberland was made his governor. All reſpect was uſed to him. George Howard, brother to the earl of Suffolk, and colonel Joſeph Bampfield * contrived his eſcape; the firſt carrying all the meſſages between the duke and Bampfield, which was all he had to do.

All things being prepared, the duke of York ſupped, at the uſual hour, about ſeven, with his brother and ſiſter, and after ſupper all played at hide and ſeek, with the reſt of the young people of the houſe; having played at it conſtantly every night for above a fortnight before. The duke uſed to hide himſelf in a place where they could not find him, for half an hour or more; and then he would come out to them. To prevent ſuſpicion of his being gone, when he really was, the duke lockt up a little dog, that uſed to follow him, into his ſiſter's chamber, to prevent his coming after him, ſlipt down the back ſtairs, went into the innermoſt garden, and ſo into the Park, out of a back door of the ſaid garden, of which he had a key, where Bampfield ſtaid for him; having a footman with a cloak, which the duke put on, with a peruke he had ready, and went through Spring-Gardens, where one Mr. Trip ſtaid with a hackney-coach, which carried them to Saliſbury-houſe. Here the duke and Bampfield went out of the coach, as if going in there; and Trip went with the coach into the city, and kept it as long as he could, at the end of the town. But as ſoon as the coach was gone, they took boat and landed on the ſame ſide of the river, cloſe to the bridge, and went to one Loo's, a ſurgeon, where they found Mrs. Murray, who had women's cloaths ready for him to put on. He was dreſt preſently, and went with Bampfield to Lion-key, where there ſtayed a four-oared barge for them. They went in it down the river; the tyde ſerving them.

But they no ſooner entered the barge than the maſter ſuſpected ſomething; Bampfield having told him to be there with his barge, and he ſhould bring a friend with him, not ſaying it ſhould be a woman. He thought ſomething more was in it, and was ſo frightened, that, as they went down, he did nothing but talked with them, how impoſſible it was for them to paſs by the Block-houſe at Graveſend, without being diſcovered; and that they had no other way to get on board the ſhip that ſtaid for them at the Hope, but to land at Graveſend, and get a pair of oars to carry them down. When they debated the diſtance, and ſhewed him the hazard of getting a boat to carry them to the ſhip, he objected, the light of the moon. He was ſoon ſatisfied fully, that his woman was ſome diſguiſed body of great quality. For, peeping through a cranny of the door of the barge, where they then had a candle burning, he ſaw the duke put his leg upon the table and

* His real name was Bamford; an Iriſhman.

pluck

pluck up his ſtockings, in ſo indecent a manner, as made him conclude what he had before ſuſpected. This confounded him ſo, as he told them afterwards, that he hardly knew what he did or ſaid; which they perceiving, thought it beſt to tell him the truth and truſt him, knowing him to be an honeſt man. So the duke told him who he was, and aſſured him, that he would take care to provide for him; and, if it was not ſafe to return to London, to carry him to Holland. The man's mind was now ſettled. He reſolved to paſs by the Block-houſe, without going aſhore; and, when they came near the town, he put out the light; let the barge drive down with the tyde; paſſed undiſcovered by the Block-houſe, and got to the ſhip, a Dutch pink of ſeventy tons, lying for them, at the upper end of the Hope. She had been cleared at Graveſend, where Sir Nicholas Armourer, colonel Mayard, Richard Johnſon, three gentlemen, with each a ſervant, expected them, whom Bampfield had truſted and ſent before, that, by their help, he might maſter the veſſel, if need.

They ſet ſail, at break of day, with a fair wind, and anchored early next morning, before Fluſhing, where they ſtaid, expecting the tyde to carry them up to Middleburg. The maſter, with two of his four hands, went aſhore with the boat to Fluſhing, intending to be back, by the time the water was high enough to go to Middleburg. But before he came back, Owen, maſter of the barge, who came along with the duke, came down, in a great fright to the ſmall cabbin, telling them that a parliament frigate was coming in to look for them, and would be with them preſently; and that they muſt get their anchor on board and ſail for Middleburg. He was poſitive it was a frigate. The two ſeamen would not get up anchor till the maſter came back. But they were forced by the gentlemen and ſervants to do it; though they ſaid there was not water for it, and the ſhip would be loſt. The ſhip proved only a merchantman. The veſſel ſtruck twice or thrice. But the maſter coming on board, and the tyde ſerving, they got to Middleburg, before the tyde was ſpent. The duke landed in women's cloaths, ſtaid all night, went next morning to Dordrecht; and ſent Bampfield, next day, to the Hague, to acquaint his ſiſter and the prince of Orange of his arrival, and to deſire cloaths. He was miſſed, in an hour's time, at St. James's. When he was not found, on ſearch, notice was given to Whitehall and general Fairfax.

Riſing in Kent.—Rainſborough commanded a ſquadron in the Downs of one ſecond-rate, three or four fourth, one fifth, and three or four ſixth rates, and ſome ketches; the Conſtant-Reformation, Convertin, Antelope, Swallow, Satisfaction, Hind, Roebuck, Pelican, Conſtant-Warwick. Theſe, on notice of the three caſtles being ſurprized and ſeized, by the inſurgents, declared for the King. Rainſborough ſeeing that they of Deal had been inſtrumental in it, went on board a ketch to go nearer to the ſhore, the better to ſee what was doing there, and thence ſent orders to his ſhip to get under ſail, and ſtand as near as they could to the ſhore, May, 1648.

ſhore, in order to batter the town. Accordingly, they worked to get their anchors on board; and in doing which, in the Conſtant-Reformation, Rainſborough's ſhip, and heaving out the capſtern, one of the boatſwain's mates, Robert Lindale, thought it the proper time to execute the reſolution, which he had taken ſome time before, of doing ſomething to ſerve the King. Having opened himſelf to three more common ſeamen, whom he had found to be of his principles, he propoſed, as all Kent had declared for the King, to get ſome of the ſhips to do ſo. They, now, as heaving the capſtern, began to grumble at the orders received; ſaying, they had no reaſon to batter Deal, which was full of their wives, children, and relations, to deſtroy it and them. This working on the men, they ventured further to ſay, that it would be better to join with them for the King. On crying, one and all, for the King, Lindale told them, he believed that the lieutenant and ſome other officers of the ſhip would be againſt it, and they muſt immediately poſſeſs the gun-room and arm themſelves; and then they might ſeize their officers and thoſe that would not join them. They did ſo; ſecured their officers, telling them they would declare for the King; and, as they would not comply, they put them in the hold, till they let them go aſhore, and ſuch as had a mind to go with them. The officers were forced to ſubmit. This done, he got under ſail, and, paſſing along the broad-ſide of the next ſhip, told them what they had done, and bid them ſeize their officers, in like manner, elſe they would ſink them; and thus, from ſhip to ſhip, till every one had declared for the King.

Rainſborough, ſeeing his ſhip had got under ſail, and yet not come up to him, as he ordered, but ſpeaking to one another, went to them with his ketch, and aſked his own ſhip what they were doing. They told him, he muſt not put his foot in it, they having declared for the King; but would ſend him his ſervants and ſome of his officers. They did ſo; and, on his beginning to talk with them to return to obedience, bid him hold his tongue or they would fire on him. So he went away in his ketch up the river to acquaint the parliament. The other ſhips turned out all their commanders, then came aſhore to tell the Kent gentry what they had done; and to deſire ſome that were ſeamen to come on board and command them, as Sir William Palmer, captain Bargrave, captain Foy, and others did, and put in other officers. Before they got out of the Downs, the earl of Warwick came down in a ketch from the parliament, to get them to return to their duty, and deſired to come on board of them. They ſent to know firſt what his buſineſs was. He offered pardon, redreſs of grievances, if they would declare for the parliament. Their anſwer was, they valued not the promiſes of parliament: that they had declared for the King, and would be loyal. The earl ſhewed a letter, by which he had been invited down by ſome. All theſe were ſent to him. He deſired one of the ſhips, for his better accommodation, to carry him up the river; promiſing, on his honour, to ſend it back. They let him have the Nicodemus, a ſixth rate, but he did not keep his word.

They

They then went to Holland, where the duke of York was, to receive the prince's commands, and arrived at Helveotſluys. The duke went and ſtaid on board with them, till the prince came by ſea from France. He took the command and ſailed for the Downs; leaving the duke in Holland, and having firſt diſcharged Bampfield, an unquiet, intriguing head, from his brother's ſervice. His tampering with the ſeamen, and driving on a preſbyterian intereſt, ſo offended the duke, that he would never take him again into his ſervice, whatever application was made. Yet he ſupplied him with what he was able, in his condition, till the Reſtoration.

The prince, about the end of ſummer, came with the fleet to Helveotſluys. The earl of Warwick, with the parliament-fleet, followed to the ſame port. The Dutch would ſuffer no hoſtilities; and Warwick returned. Prince Rupert, who was made commander of the King's ſhips went with prince Maurice to Ireland, Portugal, the Streights, and the Weſt Indies, where prince Maurice and ſome ſhips were loſt. Prince Rupert returned to Europe, in 1653, and landed at Nantz. The duke of York went to Paris, a few days before his father's murder. The King came thither, in his way to Ireland, where nothing conſiderable remained in the rebels hands, but Dublin. But he ſtaid all the ſummer at St. Germains, or in Jerſey, till the end of September, where he landed on the twenty-ſixth of September, and received an account of the rout near Rathmines. All thoughts of Ireland were laid aſide; and the two ſhips ſent by the prince of Orange to tranſport him, were ſent back to Holland. Addreſſes were made there from Scotland, by one Windram, an honeſt gentleman. The King reſolved to return to Holland to treat with the Scots. The Queen-mother met him at Beauvois. After ſome days ſtay, he proceeded to Holland. He agreed with the Scots commiſſioners, and went to Scotland. The duke of York ſtaid at Jerſey, till the September of 1650. He went to Paris, by the King's orders, on the ſeventeenth. But he left it on the fourth of October, and came to Bruſſels on the thirteenth of the ſame month, where he ſtaid till the middle of December. The prince of Orange died of the ſmall-pox on the ſixth of November; and the princeſs was delivered of a ſon on the fourteenth, eight days after his death.

He went to the Hague, and ſtaid till the twelfth of January, 1651, when the Engliſh ambaſſador was there received; and then went to Breda. But, ſome days after, he returned to the Hague. In June he was ordered, by the King, to return to Paris, and follow the Queen-mother's advice. He arrived there in the end of June. The King landed about the middle of October, at Feſcamp in Normandie; and coming to Paris, cardinal de Retz brought him a vaſt ſum of money in his coach, which the King would not receive, not knowing when he ſhould be able to pay it. The cardinal ſhewed himſelf very affectionate to him. He propoſed his marriage with the duke of Orleans's daughter. The King viſited

her often. But ſhe grew cool; being put in the head of marrying the King of France, and that the Queen-mother would be forced to conſent to it. So the match was broke off. Mademoiſelle, only daughter of the duke of Longueville, by his firſt wife, ſiſter of the cardinal Soiſſons, was, at the ſame time, propoſed for the duke of York; the greateſt match, next to Mademoiſelle, in France. But the court of France would not conſent. The duke went a volunteer in the campaign of 1652.

King Charles the Second's Letters in Manuſcript.

In the Scotch College.

June 8th. 1648. Charles II. when prince, ſends Sir J. Berkley from St. Germains to attend the duke of York in lord Byron's abſence.

July 28th. Captain P. was in the Downs. He came thither from Yarmouth Road; and expected Battin hourly, with the fleet from Breſt, where he had gone two days before his arrival.

Aug. 14th. The Queen deſired the duke of York to be adviſed by Sir J. Berkley, who had her's and the chief preſident's confidence.

Oct. 24th. George Howard had aſſiſted the duke of York in his eſcape from England; and had been promiſed, by the Queen, the poſt of maſter of the horſe to the duke of York. But William Crofts having been ſworn into it, Howard was made gentleman of the bedchamber, with a penſion.

1649. April 1ſt. Charles the Second would, purſuant to his father's deſire, have put the duke of York in the admiral's place, as ſoon as the great ſeal was ready, on the twenty-fifth of May.

June 16th. Breda.—He ſent lord Byron to acquaint the Queen-mother with the way he intended to take for Ireland, and to aſk his brother's company.

1651. May 20th. The Queen-mother invited the duke of York back to France; the Queen of France deſiring he might be ſent for, and aſſuring him of twelve thouſand crowns penſion, for his ſubſiſtence.

The King to the Duke of York.

Cologne, Nov. 10th, 1654.

"The news I have received from Paris, of the endeavours uſed to change my brother Harry's religion, troubles me ſo much, that if I have any thing to anſwer to any of your letters, you muſt excuſe me if I omit it this poſt. All that I can ſay, at this time is, that I conjure you, as you love the memory of your father, and if you have any care for yourſelf, or kindneſs for me, to hinder, all that lies in your power, all ſuch practices, without any conſideration of any perſon whatever. I have written very home, both to the Queen and my brother, about it; and I expect that you ſhould ſecond it, as I have ſaid to them, with all the

arguments you can. For neither you nor I were ever ſo much concerned, in all reſpects, as we are in this. I am able to ſay no more at this time, but that I am yours *."

Cologne, Nov. 10th.

"I have commanded this bearer, my lord of Ormonde, to ſpeak with you at large, concerning my brother Harry. Therefore, I deſire you to give him credit, in all that he ſhall ſay to you from me, and to do all that he ſhall deſire you. In the mean time, I have nothing more to add to this, but to conjure you to behave yourſelf as you ought to do, in a thing that concerns both you and me ſo much. I am yours."

Cologne, Jan. 19th, 1655.

Count de Brienne had notified to lord Jermyn, that French affairs ſuffered by the retreat of King Charles's ſhips into the French ports. King Charles ſends the duke of York directions, without which the French governors would have had orders not to ſuffer them to enter the ports, to order the captains, that had the King's or the duke of York's commiſſions not to retire thither, but rather to the north of Scotland, where they might do ſervice.

The King bids the duke of York be ready to come to him, expecting every hour to hear out of England, that there is ſomething adoing. Jan. 26th.

He invites the duke to Holland; and to paſs by Cologne, if France made peace with Cromwell. May 25th.

Cologne.—King Charles had particular aſſurances of the good diſpoſitions of Spain to his ſervice; and he deſired the duke of York to be ready to come to him, when he ſhould call for him. 1656. Feb. 15th.

Bruſſels.—King Charles was treating there, in private, with Spaniſh miniſters, He deſired the duke of York not to take any employment in the field that year. April 8th.

Bruges.—He deſires to know how the duke's ſtay at Paris comes to be allowed of. 28th.

The duke of York ſent Charles Berkeley to the King, to learn his reſolutions about him and his own buſineſs. May 3d.

Bruges.—The King was not ready to ſend his final reſolution. 5th.

Bruges.—The King complained that the duke of York engaged to ſerve the campaign in France. The friends that adviſed it, conſulted only the duke's humour, without regard for the conſequences to King Charles, who could make no other 19th.

* The duke of York, it ought to be remarked, was, now, as vehement a Proteſtant, as James the Second was afterwards as violent a Roman Catholic. He did not begin to be ſtaggered in his faith till after the Reſtoration.

judgment of their extraordinary civility, in offering him what is unfit for him to accept; and who had made ſuch a difficulty to grant it, when it was a reaſonable thing in him to deſire it. All public reaſons made all he conſulted think it very unfit for the duke of York to ſerve again, as he had done; and private ones rendered it ſtill more unfit. So he deſired him to put it quite out of his mind. That muſt convince him, with his own deſires, to be ready to come to him. The duke of Ormonde was executing at Bruſſels.

May 26th. The duke of York excuſes his ſerving in France; not ſeeing ought likely to be done, by Spain or in England. Cromwell had conſented to his ſtay in France; but oppoſed his ſerving in Flanders. Mazarine had augmented his penſion, and ordered the payment of his arrears.

July 21ſt. Bruges.—King Charles had received the ratification of the treaty with Spain, as fully as he could wiſh. He did not doubt but effects would follow very quickly. He deſires the duke of York to prepare for a journey; being confident they ſhould have ſomething to do ſoon; eſpecially ſince the great work of Valenciennes was over. Few of the Mareſhal la Torcey's men eſcaped.

Aug. 11th. He deſires the duke to conſult with him about particulars. Auguſt 18th, Condé taken.

25th. He deſires him to make all the haſte he can, without ſtaying to pay debts.

1657. Jan. 6th. The King had wrote yeſterday, by the duke of Ormonde; and in one conjures the duke of York not to proceed in the courſe he was going; which if he did, he would be the ruin of Charles the Second, of the duke of York, and of their whole family. He conjures him, by the memory of their father, and all the commands he gave the duke of York; and if he had any duty for him to come to him immediately.

12th. Paris.—The Queen-mother invites the duke of York to return thither; and the Queen of France and the cardinal would welcome him.

22d. Bruges.—The King, by the duke of Ormonde, preſſed the duke of York to come back. He aſſured him nobody ſhould behave undutifully to him.

Feb. 9th. Bruges.—The King, by a letter from the duke of York, brought by H. Jermin, was aſſured of the duke's coming to him.

23d. Paris.—The Queen-mother adviſes the duke of York to ſtand firm for Sir J. Berkeley.

March 1ſt. Paris.—She was ſurprized, that Sir J. Berkeley was not returned with him; and imagines it a loſs to his reputation. She deſires him not to ſerve againſt France.

1659. July 19th. The King's inſtructions to the duke, empowering him to pardon all but regicides.

Aug. 27th. The Queen-mother tells the duke, that Turenne would go to Amiens, to have a private conference with him there, at Abbeville or Montreuil, as he paſſed.

Turenne's

Turenne's propoſal was rejected. He was maſter of no port. Iriſh troops could not be ſent from Flanders to France to embark. But Charles Dillon, and Thomas Howard were ready to come with their regiments. Sept. 8th.

The King, at Rochelle, going to Spain, had ſent Ormonde to the cardinal. 24th.

Fontarabie.---Had received all imagineable demonſtration of Don Louis's kindneſs to him, at his reception. He had broke his buſineſs to him, and was confident of ſucceſs, if it only depended on him. 31ſt.

Peace ſigned. Nov. 9.

The King was at Colombè, in his way to Bruſſels. Dec. 7.

" Liſt of the commiſſioned officers of the forces in Ireland, in the ſervice of King James the Second, after the Revolution." D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 1.

There were ſeven regiments of horſe, ſeven of dragoons, forty-four of infantry, and five independent companies.

" Commiſſions and orders for the King's army in Ireland, from May the eighteenth, to the twenty-firſt June, and ſome in Auguſt, 1689." 7.

The beginning of a copy-book of daily orders. It contains nothing material.

" Memorial concerning the deanery of Chriſt Church in Dublin, and his Majeſty's right to nominate the dean." 8.

Chriſt Church in Dublin was a convent of regular canons. King Henry VIII. by letters patent under the Great Seal of Ireland, erected it into a corporation of dean and chapter, reſerving to himſelf the right of nomination to the deanery. This right was exerciſed by him and by Queen Mary: therefore, " his Majeſty conceives it is his right to name to his Holineſs a fit clergyman to be dean of Chriſt Church."

" Letter of Mr. Tempeſt to his brother, urging motives to adhere to King James. Dublin, 29th March, 1689." 13.

It appears that the brother had eſpouſed the intereſt of King William. Mr. Tempeſt repeats to him the arguments ſo frequently uſed by the Non-jurors, and by the abettors of paſſive obedience, and of the indefeaſible right of Kings. He vindicates Tyrconnel's conduct, and James's government in Ireland; and ſeems to think that he muſt, in the end, triumph over his rival.

" Mareſchal Schomberg to" (Kirk), " the commander of the fleet before Derry. Whitehall, July 3d, 1689." 28.

Orders to relieve Derry, and promiſes of a reinforcement.

" Memoire des choſes que le Roy de la Grande Bretagne manque en Irelande." 35.

An account of the muſquets, ſwords, powder, ball, &c. which James demanded from Lewis XIV. when he ſent lord Dover to France. *Tres neceſſaires* is marked in his own hand, on the margin of ſeveral articles in this memorial; and he is ſometimes more particular, as follows.

Tres neceſſaires. Des muſquets 4000.

Tres neceſſaire. Ou de monſtrer la maniere de la faire, en cas qu'on n'en peut pas envoyer. De la meſche.

Des gens qui ſachent faire de la meſche.

Pour eplanir les chemins depuis le port ou les troupes François meterent pied à terre, et les quartieres qui leur ſeront aſſignee. Des outils pour remuer la terre, et raccommoder les chemins, par ou l'on paſſera quand on ſera arrivé en Irelande.

James's genius extended to the minutiæ of buſineſs. An article which had been forgot, is marked in his hand at the end of this memorial. *De la toile pour faire des chemiſes aux ſoldats* 100,000 *aulnes pour le moins.*

This liſt is followed by other two.

"*Memoire de ce que ſa Majeſté ſouhaite luy etre envoyé inceſſament par ſa Majeſté Tres Chreſtienne; et memoire de ce que le Roy croit neceſſaire luy etre envoyé par ſa Majeſté Tres Chriſtienne, pour ſon deſſein en Angleterre.*"

D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 50. "Eſtabliſhment in Scotland, as to civil and military employments, 1690."

This paper is indorſed "For the Queen." It contains the names of perſons in office.

51. "Order of ſequeſtration of loyaliſts eſtates in Scotland, 1690."

A copy of the order of council in Scotland, for ſequeſtrating the eſtates of thoſe who were then in rebellion againſt their Majeſties.

52. "A liſt of the forces in the prince of Orange's ſervice in Scotland."

93. "Copy of the King's letter to Sir William Aſhurſt, lord mayor of the city of London, to be communicated to the court of aldermen and common council of the ſame city."

94. 95. James intended this letter by way of declaration, upon his landing in England, in 1692. It is followed by a preamble to a declaration, and by a draught of a declaration, at length.

105. "Heads of a capitulation to be made with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as well for the forces belonging to the King of Great Britain, now expected from Ireland, as alſo for the troops ſent from thence into France, in the year 1690; and for all other his ſubjects, who now are, or ſhall be hereafter employed in the French ſervice. December, 1692."

They were to ſerve in one body, under the command of James, and of ſuch general officers as he ſhould appoint. All the officers were to receive their commiſſions from him, and the troops were to be ſubject only to ſuch rules and diſcipline

of

of war as he ſhould appoint. He was to have a ſecretary at war, a judge-advocate general, a provoſt mariſhal general, and a chaplain general, with ſix prieſts, two able phyſicians, and ſix ſurgeons, all with ſuitable appointments. The pay of officers and ſoldiers was ſtipulated; and the laſt article of the capitulation was in the following terms: "That the King of Great Britain be at liberty, at any time hereafter, to bring all or ſuch part of the ſaid forces, as he ſhall think fit, into any of his Majeſty's dominions, or elſewhere, as he ſhall judge neceſſary or convenient."

"*Memoire touchant des moyens pour avoir des recrues d'Irelanae*, 1693." D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 108.

An agent was to be eſtabliſhed at Dublin, who was to have agents to act according to his directions in the ſeveral counties. They were to enliſt recruits, and to facilitate their eſcape from Ireland. Iriſh officers were to be eſtabliſhed on the frontiers of Flanders; and two Louis d'Ors were to be given to every ſoldier that they could engage to deſert from the allied army.

"Pope Innocent the Eleventh's faculties to Roman Catholic biſhops in England," (original) "December 16, 1693." 113.

"Pope Clement the Eleventh to Lewis XIV." (copy) "October 4, 1761." 114.

Compliments of condolence on the death of the late King James the Second, and thanks for acknowledging his ſon.

"Liſt of the commiſſions required by, and to be ſent to colonel Parker by Standiſh. February, 1692." 115.

"Names of the officers of ſix regiments of horſe, and three of dragoons." 116.

"Copies of earl Middleton's letters to England, when earl Melford parted from St. Germains, June and July, 1693." 121.

They contain nothing material. They are only the beginning of Middleton's correſpondence with his friends in England, on Melfort's reſignation. He ſigns them "J. Dorrell." The names of thoſe to whom he wrote are, Jackſon, Mrs. Harbert, South, Jonſon. Nairne enters the dates of letters he wrote at the ſame time to Ferguſon, Berry, Sackfield, &c.

"Traduction de la relation que le Sieur Wall a donnè en écrit à ſa Majeſté Britannique, ſignée de ſa main, à St. Germain en Laye, le 1re Septembre 1695." 126.

Wall was employed as a ſpy by the Engliſh miniſtry, but he was ſecretly in correſpondence with the court of St. Germains. A great part of this account is wanting.

"Reflections on the ſtate of England. October 15th, 1695." 127.

Tedious, inſipid, and ſuperficial.

"A letter from Amſterdam to a friend in London, 1695." 131.

It

It gives an account of a converſation ſuppoſed to have paſſed between ſome Engliſh merchants at a tavern meeting in Amſterdam. It is in Nairne's hand; and was probably written by Caryll, as it is marked Mr. C. on the top. Some feeble attempts to be witty; and ſuch reaſonings as the advocates of paſſive obedience have often employed.

D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 134. "A copy of Mr. Charnock's letter, written to a friend after his condemnation." The contents of this letter are well known.

135. "Memoire preſenté au Roy de la Grande Bretagne par le ſieur Fontaine au nom de pluſieurs des fidels ſujets de ſa Majeſté en Angleterre. A St. Germain en Laye ce 23 Avril, 1695."

A propoſal to purchaſe bullion in England to be coined into light ſpecie in France, and then returned to England without any riſque or expence to James, who was to have 20 *per cent.* upon all the ſilver, and 5 *per cent.* upon all the guineas coined in this manner. They were to begin with a capital of 30,000 *l.* ſterling; but they expected to raiſe it to 50,000 *l.* in a few months; and they hoped that James's profits would amount to 100,000 *l.* ſterling a-year. They were to coin the bullion into the money of the two laſt reigns. They promiſed to make it of weight ſufficient to ſecure its circulation; and with a mark known only to thoſe who were in the ſecret, and by which James might diſtinguiſh it after his reſtoration, when he could call in this light coin, and indemnify thoſe who might ſuffer by it. The whole plan appears to have been well-concerted; and would have ſoon drained England of a great deal of its ſpecie.

146. "Copie de la lettre du prince de Conti au cardinal Radioſki. 30 Juilliet, 1697."

148. "A faithful account of King James's expedition, together with ſome reflections thereupon, by an Engliſh gentleman in Amſterdam, to his friend in London."

Dry ſpeculative reaſonings on the ſtate of Europe in general, and of England and Holland in particular. Dull and unimportant. The expedition mentioned is James's expedition to Calais, 1696.

149, 150, 151, 152. "James the Third's diſcharge to his mother, as executrix of his father's will.—The beginning of James the Second's laſt will and teſtament, dated September 8, 1701.—Rough draught of the King's will, in 1698-9.—Brouillon de la traduction du teſtament du Roy Jaques II."

Copies in Nairne's hand. They are of no conſequence.

154. "Preambles to patents of creation;" viz. of the following peers created by King William, Normanby, Bradford, Romney, Caermarthen, Newcaſtle, and Devonſhire.

155. Reſolution des Seigneurs Etats de Friſe, touchant Holſtein Plawen, ſervant de replique ſur la reponce de LL. HH. PP."

"Reflections

" Reflections on the coins and monies of England, by Sir Philip M——, with a ſupplement to the memorial delivered the twelfth of November, 1695;" marked on the back " Doctor Davenant's memorial." D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 156.

" April 2d, 1696. Copy of a letter from the honourable colonel Bernard Howard, of Norfolk, to King William, ſent in a letter to the lord Portland, to be given the 3d of this inſtant April, 1696." 158.

This copy is in Nairne's hand; but ſigned, " a true copy, examined by me, B. Howard of Norfolk." After the above title on the back, the following note, in Nairne's hand, is likewiſe ſigned by Howard: " April 29th, 1696, memorandum: the lord Portland told the lord Cheſterfield, that the King and his lordſhip had read this letter; and that his Majeſty gave it to the duke of Shrewſbury, and I cannot get an anſwer to it."

Colonel Howard appears to have been a bigotted Roman Catholic, and a weak, though perhaps honeſt, enthuſiaſt in his own ſyſtem of religion and politics.

NAIRNE'S PAPERS, D. N. VOL. II. FOLIO.

" SUndry letters from Sir Toby Bourke, during his embaſſy at Madrid, from June 19th, 1705, to December 27th, 1706, to lord Caryll, ſecretary of ſtate." D. N. vol. ii. fol. N. 14.

In one of the quarto volumes of Mr. Nairne's papers, there are " ſundry letters from Sir Toby Bourke, envoy extraordinary from the King of England to Spain; beginning with one from Paris, before his ſetting out, the 17th of May, 1705, and continued from Madrid, &c. to the 19th of October, 1706."

Sir Toby was a vain, heavy, and prolix correſpondent. He wrote upwards of ſixty long letters to lord Caryll, during the above period; containing nothing but compliments from their Catholic Majeſties to the Queen at St. Germains, and her ſon, with aſſurances of their attachment and friendſhip; the oppoſition which had been made to Sir Toby's being received in a public character at Madrid, with the difficulties of ſettling his rank; and a confuſed account of the military operations in Spain.

" Liſt of the Engliſh and Dutch fleet before Gibraltar, or laying in the Bay, as communicated to the Spaniſh government by John Fitzgerald." 15.

" Mr. Power's draught of a patent for Mr. David Nairne to be Clerk of the council, with a copy of ditto for Mr. Blaithwaite's being in that poſt in England, under Queen Anne. June, 1706." 16.

Two letters from Sir Toby Bourke to lord Caryll, one in May, 1709, and the other in September, 1710; containing military news from Spain. 17, 18.

" Memorial about raiſing a regiment for lord Clermont, in Flanders." 19.

A propoſal to form a regiment for him of deſerters from the Britiſh troops.

D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 20. "Memorial about Scotch ſhips trading to France."

It is demanding peculiar privileges and exemptions for the Scottiſh nation, in order to keep up a correſpondence between it and the court of St. Germains.

24. "Copy of a letter ſent to Queen Anne, November 9th, 1708."

Methodiſtical nonſenſe, written by a woman, and ſent to the Queen upon the death of the prince of Denmark.

31. Letters from count Mahony, from the Spaniſh army, in 1710 and 1711, to the earl of Middleton; containing an unintereſting account of military operations.

40. "Relation de l'affaire de Denain."

Differs in nothing from the received accounts.

41. "Two letters to the King," (the chevalier de St. George) "from the mareſchal de Villars, from the camp at Spyre, the 7th and 10th of June, 1713;" giving news of his operations.

46. "Liſt of general officers in Scotland, 1716."

53. "Paper in French and Engliſh, about a legacy left by Sir William Godolphin, to the colleges at St. Omers and Liege."

54. "Brouillon du placet de major-general Buchan au Roi pour avoir un regiment Ecoſſois au ſervice de S. M. Cath. en Flanders."

55. "Colonel Rateray's memorial, or petition to the Queen, for a penſion to his wife, &c."

59. "Copy of a deed to John Caryll."

A conveyance "of a free-farm rent of 20 *l. per annum*, iſſuing out of the parſonage of Horſeham, in the county of Suſſex," to lord Caryll's ſecond ſon, by one of his relations.

60. "Memoire à M. de Chamillard touchant les fils de milord Middleton."

Lord Clermont and his brother, ſons to the earl of Middleton, were taken on board the Saliſbury in the year 1708. They were now (1709) priſoners in London; and, in the abſence of their father, who had followed his maſter to Flanders, the Queen applied to M. de Chamillard to claim them as French officers.

63. "Raiſons, que M. Johnſton à donné de ſa converſion à la Foi Catholique."

Quibbles, which have been repeated times innumerable.

66, 67, 68. "Warrant for erecting ſeignor Andrea Virgilio Davia, ſenator of Boulogna, earl of Almond, viſcount Moneydie, lord Davia, and a peer of Scotland, with the copy of his patent. April 9th, 1698."

Seignora Donna Victoria Davia Montecuculi, his wife, had attended the Queen from her infancy, and ſhared in all her good and bad fortunes.

" Draft of a bill for licence to the duke of Berwick to be naturalized in France, 1703." D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 69.

" Memoire et placet de Madame Dunkeld epouſe de milord Dunkeld, 1705." 77.

A petition to M. de Chamillard, for a penſion to lord Dunkeld's widow.

The remaining numbers of this volume, *i. e.* from No. 78. to No. 148. contain either printed papers, or petitions and memorials from the needy dependents of the court of St. Germains, with ſome other private buſineſs, equally inſignificant.

D. N. VOL. I. QUARTO.

" A Latin paper, concerning the oaths to the P. of O." D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 7.

It is addreſſed to Roman Catholics, and ſuited to their prejudices.

" A memorandum about biſhops regulating the miſſions."—A memorial concerning the college of St. Iſidore at Rome;—and the ſtate of the Iriſh ſtudents in that college." 8, 9. 13.

Trifling particulars concerning the Roman Catholics and clergy of Ireland. 10, 17.

" The archbiſhop of Mechline's confirmation of the ſtatutes of the Benedictine Nuns at Bruſſels, 1612; and the Pope's bull to the Nuns of Ghent, 1658." 29.

" Copy of the King's warrant, appointing Dr. Betham preceptor, and Dr. Ingleton under-preceptor to the prince of Wales, in 1695." 32.

" A liſt of all thoſe who lodge in the caſtle at St. Germains." 34.

A letter from colonel Macaulife, about raiſing a regiment in Spain, 1709.—Complaint from the captains in Macaulife's regiment; both addreſſed to lord Middleton. 37, 38.

" Mr. Dicconſon's declaration, that the rents in the hotel de Ville, (at Paris) in his name, in 1708, belonged to the King." 44.

The ſum was 63,275 livres, which he had placed there at the deſire of the late Queen.

" Authenticated copies of two letters wrote to the grand maſter of Malta; one by King Charles the Second, in 1678, the other by Queen Anne, in 1713." 45.

" King's power to the honourable James Murray, to open letters during his abſence from Rome, in 1719; and to ſolemnize his nuptials with the princeſs Sobieſki." 47.

" Doctor Wood's relation of the princeſs's caſe annalized." 58.

Doctor Wood's defence of his treatment of the princeſs, during her illneſs, is here examined and cenſured through nine and twenty pages. This is followed by

obſervations on his ſtate of the caſe to ſome French phyſicians, and on their anſwers.

D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 59. 75. Printed papers.

D. N. Vol. II. Quarto.

D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 3. "Counſellor Robert Power's opinion about the licence the duke of Berwick wanted of the King, to be naturalized in France, ſent to lord Caryll, the King and Queen's principal ſecretary of ſtate; with a draft of a warrant from the King, to make aboveſaid Power his counſel at law in Ireland. Jan. 18th, 1704."

4. "Draft of licence to the duke of Berwick, to be naturalized in France. Jan. 29th, 1704."

13. 14. Papers which paſſed between the earl of Melfort and M. de Legny, director-general of the commerce of France, about paſſports for ſix Scotch ſhips, in February, 1692.

22. "A rough ſketch and orders, about complaints and calumnies againſt the King's ſervants." This order was probably obtained through the influence of the earl of Melfort, who had become very diſagreeable to many of James's friends in England. There is a paper in his own hand, after he had retired from St. Germains, entituled, *Memoire juſtificatif du comte de Melfort, 17 Mai*, 1694. This paper conſiſts of twenty-four pages. Melfort begins with obſerving that he had been in great favour with Charles, and with James; and that neither the changing his religion, nor his riſing ſo high in office, had procured him many enemies, "before the prince of Orange's arrival, which he had always foretold, without being believed: but that he had drawn upon himſelf hatred, and many enemies, for the following reaſons, viz. for having adviſed the King to accept of the aſſiſtance of France, to ſend the prince of Wales into a place of ſafety, and to ſeize the moſt conſiderable of his enemies before the prince of Orange's arrival."

23. When the earl of Sunderland was diſmiſſed, King James's buſineſs with the court of France was committed to Melfort. He ſays he perſuaded his maſter to accept of the aſſiſtance of France; and having, by his orders, made the propoſals to Barillon, he received, for anſwer, that there were no troops now on the coaſt of France, nor veſſels to tranſport them. This gave great offence to the Engliſh, particularly to the earl of Middleton, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. Melfort was in danger of being aſſaſſinated; ſuch were the prejudices of the people againſt the French. He was obliged to retire to France, and had their Majeſties orders to meet the prince of Wales at Dieppe, where the prince would have landed, if he had been ſent, according to their Majeſties orders, from Portſmouth. Upon James's arrival at St. Germains, Melfort was made ſecretary of ſtate for England; and, againſt his will, was obliged to attend his Majeſty to Ireland. He dreaded

lord

lord Tyrconnel's temper and pride. He claims great merit to himſelf, for having ſaved that kingdom, by his invention of copper currency, and from his other ſervices and fatigues. He left Ireland, and expoſed himſelf to be ſuſpected of having been in diſgrace with his maſter; until it was ſeen, that he was employed to execute a particular commiſſion at Rome. But ſtill he ſays, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp and his lady, who is very intriguing and cunning, continued to do him ill offices. They thought it impoſſible that he ſhould pardon them; and therefore, they retained their malice againſt him.

Melfort was recalled from Rome, where he acquitted himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the French miniſtry, to act again as ſecretary of ſtate. He carried on the correſpondence with England. James's friends increaſed. The King of France was induced to attempt an invaſion, and communicated his intentions to Melfort alone. James, from thenceforward, never called to his council five Roman Catholic ſervants, with whom he uſed to conſult while Melfort was at Rome. This ſtep, which Melfort oppoſed, in vain, created him many enemies.

While Melfort was abſent, Montgomery, whoſe father and grandfather were great enemies to the crown of Scotland, propoſed to the King and to the Queen, by his emiſſaries, and particularly by one Jones, to ſeize the government. The papers, which concern this affair, were delivered up to the miniſtry, though Montgomery and Jones maintained the contrary; as Melfort had foretold from Rome, from his knowledge of the men who were to conduct it. Montgomery, on account of his hatred to the prince of Orange, having gained credit with two or three of the King's friends, began again to make propoſals to the King, and to give him information of ſome men of quality who were in his intereſt. As theſe men, in whoſe name Montgomery had advanced ſeveral things, were for the prince of Orange and Whigs at bottom, the King had reaſon to diſtruſt him, and aſk an explanation. Jones was ſent over by Montgomery; and, when he arrived at St. Germains, inſtead of ſhewing who theſe men of quality were, the King ſaw that he had nothing to expect from Montgomery; and the correſpondence was interrupted until Melfort returned from Rome, except ſome letters which Montgomery wrote from time to time to Strafford, ſoliciting money. A perſon who was ſo attached to the King, that he ſuffered the torture with great firmneſs, without making any diſcovery, was ſent, in the mean time, by one of the King's loyal ſubjects from Scotland, to inform him, that Montgomery had declared, at the table of the marquis of Montroſe, who is the King's great enemy, that he alſo would be his enemy to his death.

The correſpondence was interrupted. Jones, at the inſtance of the King's friends in England, was thrown into the Baſtile. Abbé Renaudot complained, that Melfort received few letters from England, and furniſhed him with no materials for his Gazette. He went to ſee Jones in the Baſtile. Jones promiſed to renew

the correſpondence, and, by Renaudot's means, was allowed to make his eſcape. When he arrived in England, he blamed Melfort for his impriſonment.

Melfort, in the remaining part of this long memorial, enlarges upon the prejudice done to him, by the miſrepreſentations of Montgomery and Jones in England; the intrigues of Abbé Renaudot in France; his own difference of opinion with the Marquis de Croiſſy, about the terms of a letter, propoſed to be written by James to the two houſes of parliament; and with the earl of Middleton, about the conceſſions to be promiſed in declarations to be addreſſed to his ſubjects in general.

D.N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 29—37. "Mr. Sheridan's account, at his return from Germany, Nov. 1695."

A whimſical propoſal to unite ſeveral princes in a confederacy againſt what ſome choſe to call the Proteſtant League, contained in a diſcourſe held by J. A. T. T. N. at C. probably Cologne.

30. "Lettre de Monſ. le Comte Savenberg à M^lle. Clement, du 6 Sept^bre. 1695."

Theſe appear to be feigned names; and the letter is unintelligible, there being no key to the cant names uſed in it.

39. "Tranſlation of the Dutch anſwer to the King's manifeſto," *i. e.* of an anſwer, publiſhed in Holland, not only to James's manifeſto, but likewiſe to *memoire ſommaire contenant les raiſons qui doivent obliger les princes confederes catholiques, de contribuer au retabliſſement de ſa majeſté Britannique.* And to *memoire ſommaire qui doivent obliger les princes, et les etats proteſtans, de contribuer au retabliſſement de S. M. B.*

45. A draught, in Nairne's hand, of an atteſtation, by John lord Carryl, baron of Dunforde, concerning the late King James the Second's Will.

56. "Project d'une deſcente, avec la liſte des rades, &c. les plus commodes pour un debarquement." It is addreſſed to the court of France, and in the ſame ſtrain with the other papers, which are publiſhed, on this ſubject.

57. "Paper concerning father Coſmo Clark, a ſort of *factotum* to Ruſſel at Rome, and pretending a commiſſion from the King." A looſe paper, in the earl of Perth's hand, and probably a part of one of the letters he wrote, during his embaſſy at Rome. It is in the following terms: "I ſuppoſe you have heard of the great doings here, with the *principe Ingleſe*, as they call him (Ruſſel). Here he paſſes for duke of Bedford. The cardinals and ambaſſadors themſelves make court to him. His defects are ſupplied by father Coſmo Clark, who is every thing to him, except his divine; which office is ſupplied by a parſon. But the father is interpreter, maeſtro di camera, major domo; and I pray God he be not ſomewhat beſides. To ſpeak freely, but with ſecrecy, there are great abuſes in this matter; this father pretending to every body, by way of ſecret, that he has a ſort of commiſſion from the King to treat with the Engliſh nobility, who may come hither; and ſays, that the King has, by Mr. Carryl, writ to this lord, and given him the title of marquis of Taviſtock. Whether all this be real or ſuppoſed, is not the queſtion;

queſtion: that is not my buſineſs, &c. But it ſeems very improper, that one who has no better guard upon his tongue, ſhould be truſted in affairs of conſequence; one whoſe glory and vanity would make him not only boaſt of what is, but invent what is not: of the which I'll give you a conſiderable inſtance. At Torre de Specchi, very lately, he gave himſelf out for a perſon of a great family, and related to the King. (By the by, he is grandſon to a taylor, and his father was a contemptible advocate.) By this lie, he got a conſiderable preſent of Agnus Deis, finely wrought and ſet into caſes, from a nun of the houſe of Maſſimi. Mrs. White told me, this enquiring into his birth being aſked by the ſaid nun if what he ſaid was true. His keeping company with Proteſtants does not paſs, without giving great ſcandal: and, if he has any ſuch commiſſion, as pretended, he makes no other uſe of it, but to ſatisfy his worldly ſatisfactions and appetites; which his habit would not allow him to do, without this pretext of the royal countenance, he ſays he has. If you would be informed of him, aſk ———, who had, from an eye-witneſs, an account of his atheiſtical wickedneſs. Monſeigneur Caprara and the two Rectors are too much impoſed upon by him. I have no quarrel at him, and only tell you this to prevent ſcandal to religion and diſſervice to his Majeſty, &c."

"An anonymous letter about Mr. Pigott, his converſation at a tavern near the palace at Paris; intimating as if he was a ſpy. Paris, 29th June, 1696." D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 63.

"Intelligence from Lawrence Dupuy, from Breſt, 19th June, 1694." News of Talmaſh's attempt againſt that place. 64.

"Verſes on various ſubjects." 65.

The Laureats of the court of St. Germains appear to have been bad poets. The following anecdote is found in a looſe piece of paper, before one of their birth-day odes. "In Lincoln's church-yard there is an inſcription on a tomb-ſtone, thus: Here lieth the body of Mitchel Honeywood, D. D. who was grandchild, and one of the three hundred and ſixty-ſeven perſons that Mary the wife of Robert Honeywood did ſee, before ſhe died, lawfully deſcended from her, *i. e.* ſixteen of her own body, one hundred and fourteen grand-children, two hundred and twenty-eight of the third generation, and nine of the fourth."

"A note of the Queen's charities;" that is, of the money ſhe diſtributed to the Iriſh biſhops and monks, and to the Engliſh, Scotiſh and Iriſh ſeminaries and convents abroad. 66.

"A note of the King's Sickneſs." A boulletine of James's ſufferings in his laſt illneſs. 67.

"Copy of the King's certificate of nobility, to Nicholas Geraldin, 1691: Ditto of the biſhop of Oſſory's, 1677; and of the duke of Ormond's, 1679." 68.

"Copy of the Nuncio of Madrid's complaint of Sir Toby Bourke's not viſiting him, 15th July, 1705." 73.

Sundry letters from Sir Toby Bourke, &c. 74.

D. N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 1.

VOL. III. QUARTO.

"THE dutcheſs of Tyrconnel's letters to Mr. Nairne, &c."

This article contains ſeveral letters from lady Tyrconnel and others, to Mr. Nairne, Abbé Innes, &c. Many of them are on private buſineſs, viz. the management of her ladyſhip's jointure, &c. The intrigues of the times are mentioned in others: but theſe letters are allegorical; and there is no key to the cant-names. Some of them were written from Bruſſels; and it appears that her ladyſhip, while ſhe was in Flanders, had frequent acceſs to her brother-in-law, the duke of Marlborough, and aſſiſted to carry on the correſpondence between that nobleman and the court of St. Germains.

2. "Three letters from Sir Toby Bourke, envoy extraordinary to Spain, January, 1708."

Unimportant, as uſual.

4. "Copie du certificat de M. de Pontchartrain touchant les priſonniers faits à la deſcente de Camarets, le 6 Juin, 1708; et un autre du duc de Berwick touchant les priſonniers en Cevennes, le 4 Juin, 1708."

7. "Ordre de la marche de l'armée partant du camp D'Aguy pour aller ſur l'armée des ennemis."

10. "Two letters to L. Middleton, by J. S. about the King's leaving the camp in Auguſt and Sept. 1710."

"1ſt, You know friends in England, who would be glad the King were out of the camp. 2dly, His indiſpoſition, not ſo naturally to be recovered where he is, at any other time, might juſtify his return. 3dly, Villars himſelf leaves the camp. This laſt article is as big-bellied as the Dutch counteſs. I am quite confounded at the prodigious ſwiftneſs of affairs in England. Pray God they do not raviſh you, before you have time to ſqueak out."

11. "Letter to L. Middleton from Barclay, about the King of France's penſion to him. Yſſudun en Berry, 22d April, 1710."

12. "A letter from John Maxwell to L. Middleton, about a penſion he was allowed by the late K. James II. from Madrid, 9th March, 1710."

13. "Ditto from M. Bromfield, about her penſion, Paris, 12th March, 1710."

14. "Ditto from Jo. Orme, Dinan in Bretagne, to borrow ſome money of lady Middleton, February, 1710."

15. "Letter from ——— Browne, Sens en Bourgoyne, to lord Middleton, about ſome intelligence he had had from England; with copy of the letter he had received from Portſmouth, 20th July, 1710."

16. "Letter from one M. Cook, recommending a Mr. Ward to his charity, Verſailles, 21ſt July, 1710."

"D. Boyd

"D. Boyd to lord Middleton, about his and companion's confinement, for ſome miſdemeanour about the caſtle of St. Germains." D. N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 20.

"A father Johnſon to the Queen, about a ſpy; and extract of a letter from one father Kennedy, London, May, 1710." 21.

"L. Middleton's letter to cardinal Noailles, about his lordſhip's daughter, Mrs. Gifford, wanting to marry without his conſent, and the cardinal Noailles's anſwer, February 20th, 1710." 22.

"Three letters from count Mahony, in Spain, to lord and lady Middleton; with an account of the King of Spain's affection, &c. to the King of England, June, 1710." 24.

"Two letters from a Richard Barry to lord Middleton, from Bayonne, 17th and 20th Sept. 1710." 25.

An account of affairs in Spain.

"Account of a political converſation between a Roman Catholic and a Whig, upon the Hannover ſucceſſion, in a letter I dated as from Leyden, 7th Auguſt, 1712, and ſent ſome copies of it into England; one particularly to Mr. St. Amand *." 28.

The letter is ſigned Jo. Newman. Middleton and Caryll amuſed themſelves frequently with writing a *jeu d'eſprit* of this kind, which was probably well received by their friends, but could make very little impreſſion on ſuch as differed from them in political opinions.

VOL. IV. QUARTO.

THIS volume conſiſts almoſt entirely of original letters concerning the intrigues of the courts of St. Germains and Barleduc, during the years 1712 and 1713. It conſiſts of 77 numbers; and almoſt every one of theſe numbers contains ſeveral letters. But extracts have been made from them all, as they occurred in the order of time; conſequently there is no occaſion to take any notice of them here.

Lettres et Memoires du Cardinal Gualterio. 2 Vols. 4to.

THESE two volumes contain Gualterio's correſpondence and negociations during the years 1716, 1717, 1718, and 1719. They are almoſt all in Italian, and conſiſt of memorials to the Pope, letters to Nairne, and a few to the Chevalier de St. George himſelf. The cardinal was the Chevalier's agent at Rome. The ſubjects of his letters and memorials are the ſeverity of the oaths of allegiance on the Engliſh Roman Catholicks—An application to the Pope for a diſpenſation to take them—Lord Peterborough's arreſt at Bologna—Secret negociations about

* *i. e.* The duke of Marlborough's friend Berry.

the

the Chevalier's marriage—Negociations with the court of Spain, and an offer of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, providing that court placed the Chevalier on the Britiſh throne—Difficulties attending the Chevalier's marriage and place of abode—Coldneſs of the court of Rome—Various negociations and correſpondences.

Gualterio's letters are moſtly in cyphers, but the cant-names are eaſily explained. Neither his letters nor his memorials are of much importance; and accordingly few extracts have been made from them.

VOLUMES VII. VIII. and IX. QUARTO.

THE firſt of theſe volumes is "a copy-book of the earl of Middleton's letters begun at St. Germains, 19th April, 1693, to 28th March, 1695." The ſecond is, "Entrys of ſome letters of the earl of Middleton's, moſt of them writt by M. from the 14th June, 1713, to the 13 Juillet, 1712, with ſome letters of 1700." And the third is, "Entries of ſome letters writt to England to Abram and Berry, &c. from 1709 to 1713; ſome by earl Middleton, and moſt by N." (Nairne.)

Theſe letters throw conſiderable light on the intrigues of the times, and every thing has been extracted from them, that was any ways connected with the general hiſtory, or with the private conduct and characters of individuals. They are moſtly allegorical and in cyphers, and are often without a key: but every thing of importance in them hath been explained by a careful attention to trace the chain of the correſpondence, and an unwearied application in comparing them with one another, and in diſcovering the views, connexions, &c. of the ſeveral perſons concerned. Acceſs to the letters, to which theſe volumes contain anſwers, would have greatly abridged this labour, but perhaps have brought but few important facts to light.

The late Mr. Thomas Carte was a great collector of anecdotes. From one 8vo. and three 4to. volumes of his memorandum-books, and a bundle of looſe papers, ſuch of them have been inſerted in the preceding volumes as were ſupported by collateral evidence, and connected with the hiſtory of the period to which Mr. Nairne's papers extend. But as many of the papers collected by him in a large folio volume, marked A. L. were not comprehended within this period, it is neceſſary to give a more particular account of them. He himſelf made ſome uſe of them to the year 1654, where his hiſtory ends. It will be ſufficient to give a liſt of thoſe to which he has not referred, and a ſhort account of their contents, where they are of any importance.

A. L. folio. page 44. "Letter of King Charles I. to the preſident (Henry marquis of Worceſter) and council of Wales, 24th July, 1631."

"Letter

"Letter of J. de Sacraboſco to the marquis of Worceſter, with news, foreign and domeſtic, July 4th, 1683." A. L. folio, page 45.

"Letter of Sir George Cartwright to the King (Charles II.) 9th Feb. 1649." 48.

Enumerates his own ſervices and the ſervices of his family to the late King, and makes a demand of 8000 piſtoles, which he had laid out to ſupply the iſland of Jerſey, &c.

Saumaiſe [Salmaſius] to the King. Leyden, June 8th, 1649. 50.
He agrees to publiſh *defenſio regis*, &c.

Inſtructions to Sir William Boſwell to oppoſe Walter Strictland, the parliament's agent in Holland. St. Germains, September 4th, 1649. 52.

Lord Byron's proceedings in Cheſhire, from the 20th of February to the middle of September, 1648. 56.

"An account of my proceedings ſince my coming into Cheſhire, and of what happened in thoſe parts, from February 20th, 1648, till the middle of September following." This account is very particular and was never publiſhed: but all the important facts are well known.

"Sir John Cockrane's relation of the particulars that lately occurred in his negotiations ſince his coming to Hamburgh." The ſtate of the town, diſpoſition of the magiſtrates, and an unintereſting account of his own reception, diſappointments, &c. 74.

"Sir William Boſwell to ſecretary Long; with a memorial concerning Strictland and Mac Doual, and the papers in p. 82, 83, and 86. Hague, October 12th, 1649." William Mac Doual was one of the deputies from the province of Groningen, and had a conſiderable eſtate in Groningen and Friſland. Boſwell petitioned the States to refuſe an audience to Strictland. 80.

Anſwer of the provinces of Guilderland, Utrecht, Friſland, &c. to a proteſt of Holland, on their not admitting Strictland. September 30th, 1649. 82.

Proteſt of Holland, exhibited the 4th September. 83.

Sir William Boſwell's memorial againſt Strictland, and order thereon. October 21ſt, 1649. 84.

Walter Strictland's memorial, deſiring an audience. (Copy.) 85.

King Charles the Second's declaration about Wales. Jerſey, October $\frac{21}{31}$, 1649. 89.

Sir Robert Stuart to the King. Delft, November 4th, 1649. An account of affairs in Ireland. 92.

Lord Colpepper to lord Jermyn, at the Louvre at Paris. Hague, Nov. 9th, 1649. Sent by Mr. Windram, commiſſioner from the Scots to the King. His opinion of the treaty with that nation. 95.

A. L. folio. page 96. Sir William Boſwell to Mr. Secretary Long at Jerſey. Hague, Nov. 30th, 1649. "Many able and active Preſbyterians have ſhowed me their deſires of tempering the demands of Scotland; and for better effects thereof, hope that the King will not give unto Wyndram any final or ſudden anſwer."

99. Sir Richard Brown to Lord Jermyn. Private buſineſs.

101. Sir John Berkley to Mr. ſecretary Long. Louvre, Dec. 7th, 1649. Scotiſh affairs.

103. Sir William Boſwell's memorial to the States. Dec. 18th, 1649. Deſiring that no Engliſh merchants, ſettled in the territories of the States, ſhould be obliged to ſign the engagement propoſed by the parliament.

104. A liſt of ſuch Merchants in Rotterdam, as ſubſcribed and refuſed to ſubſcribe the new engagement.

124. Mr. Mac Donald's memorial to the King. Affairs of Scotland.

125. A memorial for the marquis of Newcaſtle. He mentions propoſals to be made to the princes of the Empire, and propoſes to be employed, as ambaſſador to the King of Denmark.

126. "Rough draught of inſtructions (in Sir Robert Long's hand) to the lord viſcount Bellamont, as ambaſſador extraordinary to the Emperors of Perſia and Morocco."

127. Letter, by way of memorial, from one Hogia Padre to the Sultana of Perſia, for collecting duties, &c. at Ormis, for the benefit of the King of England, and preventing the parliament's agents from taking them.

129. Anſwer of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany to Mr. Thomas Killegrew's memorial. Jan. 10th, 1650.

130. Sir John Berkley to Mr. ſecretary Long. Paris, Sept. 11th, 1649.

——"The Queen hath not been in good humour of late, ſpeaking with more earneſtneſs than heretofore, of her going to remain in the Carmelites §. The great want ſhe is in for want of money to ſuſtain her houſhold hath ſomewhat diſpoſed her M. thereunto. She hath been, this two laſt days, in debate about the reducing and regulating her family, and hath not made any conſiderable alteration. Though her Majeſty expreſſed, in her laſt to his Majeſty, her opinion for his going into Ireland; yet ſhe is a little troubled to find his Majeſty hath taken his reſolution to go thither before it came to him. Mr. Montague hath been heer this four days, and returns to Pontoize to-morrow. He is very much with the Queen, and I believe we ſhall be able to know what her Majeſty intends, before ſhe goes into the *Carmelites* convent, which will be five days hence, to remain there for ten days.

§ Sir John certainly meant the Carmeliteſſes.

I ſent,

I ſent, as ſoon as I came thither, my lord duke of Buckingham's commiſſion into Flanders, as judging it the ſafeſt conveyance. His Grace is expected here the next week. I think I did not inform you, in my laſt, that my lord duke Hamilton hath written to a confident friend of his heer, that, by no means, his Majeſty ought not to acknowledge the parliament of Scotland, but in a full concluſion with them, in which caſe there can be little ſayd for the contrary; only, I am ſtill of opinion, that Windram is not to have a refuſal; but that his Majeſty ſhould ſend his anſwer into Scotland, by deputies of his own, inſtructed as amply towards their ſatisfaction as will ſtand with a good conſcience, voyd of ſcruples, and without doing any prejudice, either to his hopes of Montroſe or to his preſent poſſeſſion in Ireland; and, ſince the Scots have, in a manner, appeared for the crown Swedeland, methinks it ſhould be of no ill conſequence, that his deputies, in caſe of diſagreement in the treaty, ſhould provoke them to a deciſion, by an arbitration of that crown. But I am not ignorant how unlikely any ſuch propoſition is to take effect, without the expedient you know of; without which I muſt and do deſpayre of it. I ſhall endeavour it ſtill to the utmoſt of my power. My moſt humble ſervice to my lord Wilmot, and am yours,

J. B."

M. de Marſys to ſecretary Long. Nov. 10th, 1649. A. L. folio. page 132.
He was tranſlating King Charles the Firſt's works.

Lord Colpepper to Mr. ſecretary Long. Anchuiſen, January 11, 1650. 137.

The following paragraph of this letter is in cyphers. "The Emperor of Ruſſia hath, you know, baniſhed all Engliſh trade, and the merchants are making up their packs as faſt as they can. But before they go, I intend to demand of the Emperor of Muſcow the cuſtom unpaid for the Engliſh goods, ſince they ſubmitted to the new authority in England; and if the Emperor will comply with the King's deſire in any thing, it will more probably be in this demand, which is ſo notoriouſly grounded on his Majeſty's right, and which will not coſt the ſaid Emperor any thing out of his own purſe. This ſhall not ſlaken my endeavours in the reſt (literally in my inſtructions) but ſhall only be a reſerve.—The duke of Courland, as his agent at Amſterdam told me, will lend his Majeſty three good ſhips; the leaſt of twenty-five guns. They are now in theſe parts; but it ought to be concealed, if accepted, until they ſhall be at ſea, for many reaſons. M. Wicford, at the Hague, will negociate any thing with the agent who had orders to comply with the King's deſire therein, that you ſhall intimate. He himſelf has a deſign to ſend two or three good ſhips to the Eaſt Indies, with the King's commiſſion, and likewiſe with goods to trade, if his Majeſty thinks fit; paying a good proportion of the value of the prizes to him. I only propounded for you to judge of it as I do the raiſing of a very round ſum, upon the iſlands of Scilly, upon a treaty to be made with theſe States. Think well of this latter, and whether the

King will be able to defend and relieve them this next ſummer. But, if he might receive 50,000 *l.* and they be put into the States' hands, as caution only for the money, whereby they ſhould be defended by them, and poſſibly they thereby inſenſibly engaged in the King's quarrel, it might be no ill bargain."

A. L. folio, page 138. A copy of King Charles the Second's letter to lord Loudon. Jerſey, January $\frac{12}{22}$, 1650.

The letter was ſent by Mr. Wyndram. Charles appoints commiſſioners from Scotland to meet him at Breda. Along with it was ſent a letter to the clergy of
139. Scotland. Charles, in theſe letters, promiſed to ſubmit to the conditions which were propoſed to him, and particularly to acknowledge the convention of eſtates, then aſſembled in Scotland, to be a parliament. At the ſame time he wrote a letter to the marquis of Montroſe, aſſuring him, that he would make no conceſſions, inconſiſtent with the powers he had given him in his commiſſion; and declaring, that, though he called them a committee of eſtates, he was determined not to acknowledge them to be legally ſo. This letter was intercepted, and was of infinite prejudice to the King. Abram Cowley, on the 13th of March, writes about it to
140. ſecretary Long, in the following terms: "No doubt it has done the King a great deal of hurt; but it is very happy, that it has miſſed of the chief end, for which I conceive it was publiſhed, which was to hinder the treaty. That danger is now over; and the only doubt remaining is, whether the treaty will produce an agreement; and I dare ſay, all the world, beſides a few of our nation, believe it ſo great a madneſs not to agree, that they think it impoſſible to happen."

142. Anonymous letters, with news from Leghorn, April 9th and 13th, 1650.

145. The Queen-mother to the King. Paris, May 26th, 1650.

Original.

"Monſieur mon Fils,

J'ay veu par la copie du traité avec les Eccoſſois que vous m'avez envoyé, comme vous avez conſenty á tout ce qu'ils ont deſiré touchant le cove*nant*. Je confeſſe que cela m'a ſurprise extremement de voir que vous avez fait ce que vous proteſtiez ne vouloir jamais faire: et quoique vous ne le preniez pas preſentement, neamoins *s'eſt* le *prandre* en une autre *eſpeſſe*, que ce *fermant* que vous avez promis de *prandre*, et auſſi des advantageux pour vous, et autant contre ce que je vous ay ouy declarer. Vous ſavez *aſes* comme j'ay *ſoueſte* (ſouhaité) *ſette* accomodement, mais auſſy ſur *quells* termes, qui ſont elloygnees de ce qui s'eſt fait, vous ayant toujours dit, qu'il ne *faloit* jamais *prandre* ce cove*nant*, et * encore je vous dis, hors *ſe* cove*nant*, et § et le *ſoing* de vos amis, vous ne deviez pas deſputer ſur le reſte. Je ſuis obligée devant Dieu, et envers vous, de vous faire congnoiſtre que ce n'a pas eſté de mon advis, ce qui a eſtte fait, et que je crois vous

* A word illegible. § A word illegible.

y avez eſtté ſurpris : etant une choſe encore laquelle je vous ay entandu tant proteſter, et que le feu Roy votre pere avoit en *ſy grande horeur*. Mais s'en eſt fait. Il *nia* plus de remede. Il *n'an fault* plus parler, puisque l'affaire eſt conclue : ce que j'ay à vous dire davantage, eſt ſur mon particulier. Le cove*nant* eſtant ſi vio*lant* contre moy et ma Religion, il peut eſtre que les Eccoſſois ne voudront plus, que je me meſle de vos affaires. Vous ſcavez qu'il y a longtems que je l'avois *ſoueſte* (ſouhaité) et vous l'avois demandé. Mais vous m'aviez toujours commandé le contraire, et jugiez que mes ſervices vous pourroit eſtre utilles. Ce que j'ay à dire eſt, que *ſy* ils *ſents* dans cette opinion, et vous *oſſy*, que je ſuis toute preſte à me retirer. Pour vous faire voir que je n'ay point d'auſtres de*ſeings* que pour votre ſervice, quoique je croye que je vous peus ſervir à cette heure plus que je n'ay fait auparavant. Car *ſer*taine*mant tout* les princes *Catoliques ſonts* alarmés de la maniere de ce traité, et il y a *aparance* qu'ils *oront* plus de croyance en moy, qu'en perſonne pour les raſſurer : et *ſy* les Eccoſſois pre*tan*dent de vous reſtablir tout ſeuls, je crains qu'ils *ce trompe*, ou vous tromperont : l'affair n'eſtant pas *ſy ayſee* que cela : et *ſans aſſiſtance* des Princes de dehors, vous ne feres jamais rien. Je voudrois me tromper moymeſme. Mais je crains beaucoup. Mes prieres ne manqueront jamais, et rien ne me puis oſſter la *tan*dreſſe, qui eſt dans mon coeur pour vous. Dieu vous *done toute* ſes benedictions en *ſe* monde *yſy*, et dans l'autre que jamais perſonne ont eu ; *ſeſt* l'ar*dant* priere de

Monſieur mon Fils

Votre tres affectionnee Mere,

HENRIETTE MARIE R."

There is a poſtſcript of eight lines to this letter; but the pen is drawn through it in ſuch a manner as to make it totally illegible.

The ſeveral papers concerning Sir Robert Long, Sir Richard Greenville, and Peter Maſſonet's accuſation of Sir Edward's Hyde's correſpondence with Cromwell, and of Hyde's accuſation of Long's correſponding with Ireton, are preſerved in this volume. All the particulars of this affair, which made a great noiſe, at the time, and was afterwards the tenth article in the impeachment againſt the Earl of Clarendon, are already well known.

A. L. folio, page 144—160 and 189—201.

King Charles II. to Sir Robert Long. Paris, Nov. 11th, 1651.

1675

Original.

"Robin Long, I forgot laſt weeke to write to you, to give you notice of my being heere. This is now to that purpoſe ; and I can yett give you no further account either of myſelfe or my buſines ; I know not whether I ſhall ſtay here, or to what other place I may be caled, by the condition of my buſſines. Pray, therefore,

fore, bee very carefull to advertice as many of my ſervants as are in the Low Countries, that they doe not come this way, till they heare from me. It would bee very inconvenient to mè and themſelves, if they ſhould. This is all I have at preſent to ſay, more than to aſſure you, that I am,

Your moſt affectionate friend,

CHARLES R."

"Pray excuſe me to my ſiſter and to the Queen of Bohemia, that I did not write this poſt: for really, I did not thinke the poſt had gone away ſo ſoone; for I had ſcarce time to write this."

A. L. folio, page 168.

The Queen-mother to ſecretary Long.

Original.

SIR, Jully the 4th.

"The King will be upon his remove within forteen days after the date of this. I give you this notis too prevent your removal, and that you may the better prepare your applications you would make to the King for a juſt trial. Other things that I will not mention, will fall accours. If you have had any thoughts of the King's beuſines for the prokewring of hors, foot or tranſportation, it is well. If not, let that little time, before we ſee you here, be alike occupied in that. The duke of Yorke has taken the feeld with verry good equipage. I ſhall trouble you no more, till I aſſure you of my ſerviſe. Adeu."

169, 170, 171, 172. Sundry letters to Mr. ſecretary Long; of no conſequence.

"Draughts of letters to count Magnus de la Garde, the father, and to the chancellor of Sweden, on ſending an extraordinary embaſſy to that court."

Qr. 179. A letter from the general aſſembly of the kirk of Scotland to the King, about his conſenting to the covenant. July 6th, 1650.

180, 182, and 184. Letters from Mr. John Simpſon and Mr. Maſon. Hague, July and Auguſt, 1650.

The Prince of Orange's ill reception at ſome towns in Holland; his diſputes with the States of Holland, &c. &c.

Qr. 183. "A letter from the general aſſembly of the Kirke of Scotland to the King. Auguſt 19th, 1650." Thanks for his ſigning the covenant, and for omitting, in his declaration, the name of the queen-mother, on account of her idolatry.

185. "Copy of King Charles II.d's letter to the Emperor of Morocco, by his ambaſſadour, lord Bellamont, written from Scotland, in the year 1651." He notifies the murder of his father, and deſires the Emperor's aſſiſtance to recover his dominions.

186. "J. Webſter to the King. Amſterdam, Sept. 2d, 1650. He endeavours to raiſe 30,000 pounds in Holland. But was diſappointed by the Prince of Orange's attempt upon Amſterdam. He gives an account of the ſale of the crown jewels at Rotterdam.

"Con-

"Conſiderations worthy to be weighed, in the caſe of the Engliſh gentlemen now in priſon." Theſe gentlemen were impriſoned in Spain, for killing the agent of the commonwealth of England. All the particulars of this affair, which are well known, are at full length, in letters to the King from lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde, his Majeſty's ambaſſadours to the court of Spain, in this volume, p. 174——177. A. L. folio, page 188.

Abbé Salmonet to the King and to Queen Chriſtina of Sweden. He writes to the King about his hiſtory, and aſks materials for the ſecond part of it, which related to the death of King Charles I. He writes in the ſame ſubject, to Queen Chriſtina, to whom he had addreſſed his book. 201—204.

King Charles II.d's original letter to the marquis of Montroſe. He deſires him to diſband the troops, on concluding the treaty of Breda with the Scots. 205.

Account of William duke of Somerſet's death and funeral, October 24, 1660, ætatis 74, and of his ſucceſſor, William duke of Somerſet's death, Decembor 12, 1671, æthtis 19. 208.

Original letter from the privy council to "our very good lord, the lord Herbert, lord-lieutenant of the county of Hertford," about defaulters in muſters. December 14, 1660. 209.

The ſame to "our very good lord Herbert, of Ragland, lord-lieutenant of the county of Glouceſter. January 8, 1660." Directions about diſarming the diſaffected, &c. 210.

Sir John Talbot to lord Herbert, at Bodmington, Wiltſhire, July 11th, 1663. News of the earl of Briſtol's impeachment of the earl of Clarendon. 212.

Original letters to the lord Herbert; one to him, as lord-lieutenant of the county of Glouceſter, about the militia, &c. on Auguſt 19th, 1661; another to him, as lord-lieutenant of the county of Hereford, on the ſame ſubject, Auguſt 5th, 1663. 213—214.

Original of a letter from the privy council to the marquis of Worceſter, lord-lieutenant of the county of Hereford, September 29th, 1668; enjoining mayors and bailiffs of burroughs to take the oaths. 215.

Sir Leoline Jenkins to the marquis of Worceſter. Doctor's Commons, Sept. 8th, 1675. He writes about the diſpoſal of an eſtate, and gives his opinion, at full length. 216.

Copy of the duke of Ormond's letter to the earl of Rocheſter. Dublin, December 30th, 1684; written to that lord when he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. 221.

Godfrey Harcourt to the duke of Beaufort, May 9th, 1685. News of Otes's being convicted of perjury. 223.

Copy

A.L. folio, Page 224. Copy of a letter from the duke of Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell. Windſor, Auguſt 17th, 1685, on family buſineſs. "I am not certain, but there may be ſome attempts to trim the ſettlement of Ireland; and ſome neate-handed barbers of the law may contrive how it muſt be done, if they are back't with force. Yet I ſhould think there are but two ways; either by commiſſion or by parliament. That of commiſſion has bin tried and laid aſide: but it may be reaſſumed, and this thought to be a more favourable conjuncture for it than 1670. To ſhake the ſettlement by parliament requires more preparation; ſheriffs to favour elections muſt be named; and the houſe of lords muſt be filled with peers, that will concur. In ſhort, I know not what is deſigned, or by what means.

I believe you will ſhortly heare, that the earl of Macklesfield is priſoner in the Tower, as well as his ſonne. I am certain they both deſerve it. Time will produce what may prove fatal to them. I am, with reality, Sir,

Your moſt affectionate humble ſervant,

ORM."

277. Account from Edinburgh of the earl of Argyle's defeat. June 18th, 1685.

It is an account of facts which are well known.

229. Extract of a letter from Sir John Percival, July 14th, 1685.

He writes about the affairs of Ireland; the hardſhips of the act prohibiting the Iriſh to trade directly to the plantations; and the conſequences of the proclamation calling in the arms of the militia.

"This proclamation doth diſquiet the minds of the militia, eſpecially of the common ſort, who are all fearful, leſt endeavours ſhould have been uſed to repreſent them to his Majeſty, as perſons diſaffected to his ſervice, and not fit to be truſted with arms, though they are all Engliſh, and univerſally, in thoſe parts, Proteſtants of the church of England, and have all taken the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, a little before King Charles the Second's death (ſuch being then turned out as refuſed); and the officers have all produced certificates of their having taken the ſacrament, as required by the church of England, upon an order from the government of this kingdom, about 12 months ſince. And many of the Iriſh gentlemen of this country openly ſpread abroad reports, and tell the Engliſh themſelves, that their arms are thus called in to be given to them, as the King's beſt ſubjects; and that, they ſay, is the meaning of the proclamation, in the expreſſion uſed therein, viz. that the captains are to keep the arms, for the uſe of the militia, or ſuch other uſes as his Majeſty may have for them. This ſerves to diſquiet the minds of the common people: but the officers, and all others of better ſenſe, are ſo well ſatisfied with his Majeſty's gracious and royal opinion, declared to the advantage of all the church of England principles, that no ſuch idle fear enters their thoughts; but they wholly rely upon, and acquieſce in, the aſſurances given by his Majeſty, whoſe word, they know, is ſacred and inviolable.

People's

People's fears of troubles here are very great, eſpecially if the rebel Monmouth ſhould have any ſucceſs; which diſturbance breeds a great deal of ill blood here between the Engliſh and the Iriſh; the latter charging this rebellion on the whole body of the Engliſh, and telling them, that now their turn is come, and that they will make the Engliſh of this country good ſubjects: and the Engliſh, on ſuch occaſions, juſtifying themſelves, and telling them, that though this be a rebellion in England, yet it is only by the worſt of the King's ſubjects there; and that there are none, but his ſubjects of England, that appear in the King's ſervice againſt them; with abundance of other hot diſcourſes of this kind that run about the country; the Iriſh charging all the Engliſh univerſally, hardly three excepted in all this country, as devoted to Monmouth, and not fit to be truſted by the King: which language gives great offence and provocation to ſuch of the Engliſh as hear it, and adminiſters greater occaſion of jealouſy between the Iriſh and them than formerly; inſomuch as each ſay they are afraid the others will cut their throats. And ſome, more fearful or diſaffected than others, ſpeak of ſermons being in many places preached, by the friars of this country, upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th verſes of the ninth chapter of Ezekiel; and though I cannot find any ſuch ſermon any where, by them preached, yet it ſerves to amuſe and diſquiet the ignorant ſort of people, and to prejudice the little trade that is going about the country; nobody buying any thing of the countrymen: inſomuch that I have not been able to receive the ſixth part of my rent in money, and am fain to receive the reſt in beef or corn, or to go without it.——The moſt apprehenſive of my friends, on this ſide the water, have been adviſing me, upon ſcore of ſecurity, to croſs the ſea, and to go live privately in England; and, though I ſee not ſo much cauſe to fear, or expectation of diſturbance, as they pretend to ſee, yet, becauſe they deſired me to move it to you, I deſire the favour of your advice about it. It is upon the advice of our friends, that we have thoughts of ſending part of our ſtocke of children, &c."

Letters from Robert (afterwards baron) Price to the duke of Beaufort, 15, 22, 24, 27, 29 Nov. 1688. A. L. folio, P. 231—239.

He gives an account of occurrences previous to, and at the time of the Revolution. Extracts have been made from ſome of theſe letters in the preceding volumes.

The ſame to the ſame, from the 20th of January, 1690, to the 16th of December, 1699. 243—286.

Theſe letters contain the occurrences of the times; a particular account of what paſſed in the two houſes of parliament; trials of perſons who adhered to King James II.; a liſt of the members who would not ſubſcribe the aſſociation. Among Price's letters, there are two letters from Henry Morgan to the duke of Beaufort, giving a particular account of Dr. Oldis's plea in favour of thoſe who acted as privateers under a commiſſion from King James II.

A. L. folio, P. 288. "Rights of the maſter of the horſe." An account of his privileges, perquiſites, &c.

289. Settlement of the Somerſet eſtate on lord Bruce's marriage.

290—291. Petition of Sir Edward Walker, knight-garter, principal king at arms to King Charles II. at Breda (1650), about the right of garter, to carry the order to foreign princes, with a report thereon, and the King's confirmation of the ſaid right.

292—308. "Sundry papers" of no conſequence.

309—314. Letters and commiſſions to colonel Robert Ellice, communicated by his grandſon, Mr. P. Ellice, to Mr. Thomas Carte, about raiſing a regiment for the King's ſervice, 1642 and 1643.

315—322. Copies of, and extracts from, papers which are printed.

324—338. Treaty with Portugal, in 1703; journey from England to France, by a ſpy, 1704; orders from the admiralty about foreign ſhips, 1704; letters from Mr. Harley, 1703 and 1706; inſtructions to lord Peterborough, 1706; official letters and papers, 1706, 1707, 1709. Theſe papers contain nothing that is not very well known.

340—354. Extracts from different books of Mr. Thomas Carte; letters written to him; and ſome papers, which contain nothing material, collected by him.

355. Introduction to the hiſtory and antiquities of Durham.

It conſiſts of fifty-three folio pages; and is rather a collection of materials for the hiſtory of Durham, than an introduction to it.

356—360. Extracts and papers, which contain nothing material.

Beſides the papers of which a liſt is given in this Appendix, and thoſe few which are publiſhed in the preceding volumes, or to which Mr. Carte himſelf refers in his hiſtory, this volume contains extracts by him from Rymer's Fœdera; from the firſt duke of Beaufort's letters, from 1644 to 1658; from letters of the privy council to ditto, from 1660 to 1697; from O. Cromwell's letters and papers, publiſhed 1742, by Nicholas; E. Strafford's letters and diſpatches, in two volumes, and Sir George Radcliff's Eſſay on his Life, 1739; and from other books, particularly lord Clarendon's tracts, 1727; from the ambaſſade de Noailles, from 1553 to 1557, about Mary, Queen of Scots; from Wavrias's hiſtory in MS. of England, in 2 vols. in Bibl. Reg. in Paris, about the death of Hen. VI.; with the value of peers' eſtates in the counties of Glouceſter, Monmouth, and Hereford, and of the rectory of St. Petherton in Somerſet, and of the manor of Halberton in Devon; Thompſon, dean of Briſtol's vindication from a charge of rebaptizing, &c. &c.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 July, 2016